1952 AUG 22 PM 9

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

03

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

MS 14

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

B109CC 3B 33 PD INTL

N PEKING AUG 22 1952 VIA MACKAY RADIO

PAUL ROBESON

23 WEST TWENTYSIXTH STREET NEWYORKCITY

AUGUST NINETEENTH CABLE RECEIVED HAPPY KNOW YOU ARE DOING EVERYTHING POSSIBLE ORGANIZE AMERICAN DELEGATION TO SEPTEMBER PEACE CONFERENCE HOPE DELEGATION ARRIVE PEKING IN TIME GREETINGS.

LIUNINGI

845P

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

(08)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

I=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1952 SEP 5 AM 10 09

NA028 PD=PEKING VIA NEWYORK NY 5

PAUL ROBESON, CARE FREEDOM ASSOC=

53 WEST 125 ST=

HAVE NOT HEARD FROM YOU FOR SOMETIME ANXIOUS TO KNOW PROGRESS AMERICAN PREPARATORY WORK AND FORMATION DELEGATION=

LIUNINGI.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1256-A

Charge to the account of _____ $ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
ORDINARY	
URGENT RATE	
DEFERRED	X
NIGHT LETTER	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the cablegram will be transmitted at full rates.

WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

A. N. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD — JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

_____ 19____

TO OBTAIN OUR FAST AND ACCURATE SERVICE PLEASE INSERT "*Via* W.U.Cables" BELOW.

→ *Via* _____

Lin Ming I
Secretary General
Peace Committee
Hotel Peking
Peking, China

Will do all in our power to secure American participation Peace Congress.

Will advise details later. Greetings.

Kingsbury-Robeson

Dr. John A. Kingsbury 114 East 32nd Street, Room 803 New York 16, New York

COPY

Acknowledge

O.K. acknowledged.

WESTERN UNION

B49cc 4B INTL

N PEKING VIA MACKAY RADIO 112/110 9 0230

LT KINGSBURY ROBESON

DUBOIS TWENTYTHREE WEST TWENTYSIXTH STREET NEW YORK CITY

PREPARATION WORK FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS PEACE CONFERENCE IN ALL COUNTRIES ARE PROCEEDING VERY WELL STOP JAPAN INDIA AUSTRALIA ETC ARE MOBILIZING BROAD MASSES EXPECTING SEND LARGE DELEGATIONS STOP FRIENDS IN EVERY COUNTRY HOPE USA TOO SEND LARGE DELEGATION STOP ASSUME KINGSBURY HAS CONVEYED SPIRIT AND PLAN OF PREPARATORY CONFERENCE THEREFORE URGENTLY BESEECH YOU HELP ORGANIZE BROAD AMERICAN DELEGATION AND INFORM REGULARLY PROGRESS OF PREPARATION WORK STOP CONFERENCE DATE SET LAST WEEK OF SEPTEMBER INFORM EARLIEST POSSIBILITY NAMES OF YOUR DELEGATES AND MAKE ALL NECESSARY TRAVELING ARRANGEMENTS TO ARRIVE ON TIME PLEASE CABLE OPINION AND REPLY

LIUNINGI SECRETARY-GENERAL PREPARATORY COMMITTEE

803A AUG 9 1952

P. ROBESON AND DR. J. KINGSBURY'S MESSAGE TO PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 23 /HSINHUA/:- "We will do all in our power to secure American participation in the peace congress," Paul Robeson, well-known American peace leader and Dr. John A. Kingsbury, U.S. delegate to the Preparatory Meeting for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference cabled on August 19 the Preparatory Committee for the forthcoming conference in Peking.

Dr. Kingsbury told the New York Daily Compass on August 7 of his impression of the preparatory meeting and said that he was particularly impressed by the emphasis on discussion and conciliation of differences at the conference. The chairman of the day never permitted a vote till everybody had spoken and opposing views had been debated fully and brought near agreement, he said.

Dr. Kingsbury also expressed his admiration for the gigantic construction work in New China and the new life of the Chinese people.

JAPANESE PEOPLE NOMINATE OVER 200 CANDIDATES FOR DELEGATION TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 24 /HSINHUA/:- Japanese people have nominated more than 200 candidates for the peace delegation to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. Names of the candidates have been submitted by peace groups, students anti-war organisations and mass organisations and people's societies in Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Kanagawa, Ibaragi and Hiogo and other parts of the country.

Liu Ning-i, Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee for the Peace Conference, has received a cable from the Japanese preparatory committee stating that the Japanese National Peace Conference wishes to choose 100 delegates to attend the conference in Peking and hopes the conference will receive all other candidates as observers.

Acclaiming the enthusiastic support of the Japanese people for the Peace Conference, Liu Ning-i replied that as the number of delegates from each country has been decided upon and approved by all countries, it is agreed that 40 delegates shall come from Japan and other peace fighters are welcomed to attend the Peace Conference as observers.

Selection of delegates from among the candidates will be made at the National Conference which has been called by the Japanese Preparatory Committee for the Peace Conference for the last few days of August.

The younger brother of the Emperor of Japan, Prince Mikasa Miya, has also expressed his support for the Peace Conference and his wish that Japanese delegates should participate. /contd./

[illegible] Japanese cultural circles, headed by Michio Iwamura, Masamato Ozawa, Yoichi Fukushima and Aikiko Soki, sent a joint message to Chinese cultural circles saying:"Despite all obstructions, Japanese cultural circles will send delegates to participate in the September conference."

CHINESE PEOPLE'S ORGANISATIONS WELCOME JAPANESE DELEGATES TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 24 /HSINHUA/:- A warm people's welcome for delegates from Japan to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions is expressed in the messages from six leading people's organisations of China.

The delegates are invited to tour the country after the conference. The All-China Federation of Labour cabled to the Japanese Preparatory Committee on August 22 stressing that peace and security of Asia are seriously threatened by the American aggressors and hailing the unique courage displayed by the Japanese workers "in their great struggles against foreign occupation and for national independence, against the reactionary rule and for people's democracy and freedom and for peace in Asia and the world."

The message continues:"We have been fervently interested in your every struggle. The five nation-wide strikes you launched successively from April 12 to June 20 this year and the 500,000-strong May Day demonstration in Tokyo directly hit the schemes of the American imperialists, invaders of Korea and revivers of Japanese militarism. We are firmly convinced that the united struggle of the Japanese workers and workers of China will certainly play an important role in the struggle for checking American imperialist aggression and rescuing peace in Asia. Therefore we warmly support the Asian Pacific Peace Conference to be held in our capital, Peking, in the last week of September and we cordially welcome the delegates of the Japanese workers to attend. After the conference we would like to invite them to remain here for a time to visit the great works of construction of New China and to see the new life of the Chinese workers after liberation so as to advance friendship and solidarity between the Japanese and Chinese working class which will develop ever greater strength in the great struggle for rescuing peace in Asia and the world. Dear brother and sister Japanese workers, let us join hands tightly in this great struggle for saving peace in Asia and the world. We send our best wishes."

Another cable was sent by the ACFL to the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the Congress of All-Japan Industrial Workers Union, the Joint Struggle Committee for Wages and the Liaison Bureau of Japan with the World Federation of Trade Unions, it says, "Since the

/contd./

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

preparatory meeting for the peace conference was convened in June, big strides have been made in the peace movement in the Asian and Pacific regions. We are convinced that the participation of Japanese workers' delegates in the conference will further enhance the strength to defend peace."

A message to Japanese women from Tsai Chang, President of the All-China Federation of Democratic Women, assures them of an ardent welcome for their delegates to the peace conference. "We believe you will overcome all difficulties to send you delegates to the conference," it says.

Messages expressing equal ardour in looking forward to meeting the Japanese delegates have been sent to the corresponding organisations in Japan by the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth, the All-China Federation of Students and the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles.

The Preparatory Committee of the All-China Federation of Industrial and Commercial Circles has also sent a message to the industrial and commercial circles of Japan. This declares that "the people of both China and Japan ardently wish our two countries to enjoy peaceful coexistence so that normal trade relations will be developed.

ALL-INDIA SPONSORING CONFERENCE FOR ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

New Delhi, August 23 /HSINHUA/:- The All-India Sponsoring Conference for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference will be held on September 9 at the New Delhi Town Hall. The Conference will discuss reports of the preparatory work in various provinces, delibarate and formulate documents on issues to be raised at the coming peace conference in Peking and finalise the lists of the Indian delegation to the conference. Provincial delegations to the sponsoring conference will be selected by provincial sponsoring conferences as well as mass organisations supporting the peace conference.

At two recent meetings, the All-India Preparatory Committee for the Peace Conference formed a working committee to carry out the immediate tasks connected with the preparatory peace conference work. Headed by Dr. Gyan Chand, noted economist, the committee will grant credentials to delegates attending the Peking conference.

The Women's Self Defence League of West Bengal, has called to the women of Bengal to participate actively in the preparatory work of the peace conference. The Women's Peace Committee of the Bhowanipore area in Calcutta met on August 18 to establish their programme for the preparatory work of the peace conference.

MONGOLIAN DELEGATION TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE FORMED

Peking, August 25 (HSINHUA) - A delegation to attend the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference has been formed by the Mongolian people, Bazar Shirindib, President of the Mongolian Peace Committee, said in his letter to Liu Ning-I, Secretary General of the Preparatory Conference for the coming Peace Conference.

The Mongolian people unanimously support the declaration and resolutions of the Preparatory Conference, the letter says. They consider that the agenda for the coming conference has been clearly defined in the declaration of the Preparatory Conference. However, emphasis should be laid on the questions of ending the Korean war, stopping the use of bacteriological weapons in Korea and Northeast China, signing of a peace treaty with Japan and stopping the wars in the colonies.

CAMBODIA PEOPLE SUPPORT ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 25 (HSINHUA) - On behalf of the people of Cambodia, Son Ngoc Minh, President of the Cambodia National United Front has sent a message supporting the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference to the Preparatory Committee of the conference in Peking. The message reads:

"On behalf of the people of Cambodia, we sincerely welcome the declaration of the Preparatory Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. We approve of all questions which the Preparatory Meeting has submitted for discussion at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. We will carry out all resolutions adopted by the conference and effectively push forward with the people of Viet Nam and Laos, our war of resistance against the French colonialists and American interventionists, and struggle unswervingly for national independence, freedom and peace in Asia and the rest of the world.

THIRD ALL-INDIA PEACE CONGRESS TO BE HELD IN SEPTEMBER

New Delhi, August 25 (HSINHUA) - The third All-India Peace Congress will be held from September 12 to 14 in Jullundur, East Punjab. Leaders of the peace movement are undertaking extensive tours to various parts of the country in preparation for the congress.

Dr. S.D. Kitchlew and Sardar Gurbux Singh, President and Vice-President of the All-India Peace Council, Chatur Narain Malaviya, Congress member of the Indian Parliament and former chief Minister of Bhopal State, Dr. J.C. Kumarappa, a follower of Gandhi and noted economist, and R.K. Karanjia, member of the All-India Peace Council, are among those who will travel around the country mobilising peace partisans for the September meeting. Pandit Sundarlal, leader of the Indian delegation to China last October, and Romesh Chandra, Secretary of the All-India Peace Council, has been to East Punjab, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

NORTHWEST FRONTIER PROVINCE PEACE COMMITTEE OF PAKISTAN ELECTS 10-MAN DELEGATION TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

New Delhi, August 25 (HSINHUA) - The Lahore Peace Committee's Executive Committee session of August 8 decided to organise peace committees in the districts of West Punjab, Pakistan. Khan Ghulam Mohammad Khan Lundkhor, President, and Syed Muttalabi Faridabadi, General Secretary of the Peace Committee, were chosen to tour the whole province on this work.

Support for the decision of the World Peace Council to hold a world peace congress in Vienna this December was expressed in a resolution.

A Northwest Frontier Province Peace Committee was formed on August 18. It has elected a ten-man delegation to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE ON ASIA WEEK IN INDIA

Peking, August 25 (HSINHUA) - Yesterday's Peking People's Daily carried an article congratulating the Indian people for the spectacular results achieved by holding of "Asia Week" throughout India. The author, Cheng Chen-to was a member of the Chinese cultural delegation which visited India last year.

The Indian people, he writes, have a traditional love for peace and their widely growing peace movement, which is based on their historical opposition to aggression, will most certainly win unprecedented results. Since the return of the Indian delegates to the Preparatory Meeting for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, he points out, peace-loving people all over India have been holding meetings and mass rallies to prepare for the coming peace conference in Peking; discussions have also centred on the ways and means for ending the present strife in Asia.

He recalls the warm friendship between India and China, maintained for over 2,000 years, broken only by the imperialists but now happily restored. The people of India and China, along with those of many other nations in Asia and the Pacific Region , Cheng Chen-to writes, form a great force for peace. United and fully developed, this force will be able to thwart any conspiracies of the warmongers.

In conclusion he offers his sincere congratulations to the peace-loving Indian people on their successful holding of "Asia Week." The accomplishments of "Asia Week", he says, are but a foretaste of what the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference will achieve.

NEW ZEALAND PEACE DELEGATE ON ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 26 (HSINHUA)- "The Peace movement is a people's movement in the truest sense. It rests on the strongest of bases - that desire for peace which is now man's first essential, before he can advance further."

So writes Rewi Alley, a member of the New Zealand delegation to the Preparatory Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in the Preparatory Committee's bulletin of August 22.

In his article entitled "A new step to peace" Mr. Alley says that neither the Soviet Union nor China wants war, and from the bomb shattered London to the docks of New Zealand and Australia, from factories in India to those in Japan the cry for peace is the same.

"And so last June, there came the historic step of calling together in Peking a Preparatory Meeting to discuss a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions", the article continues. "Delegates from countries of Asia and those of the Pacific met in the conference hall in small meetings, and together privately. They talked about the ways and means to bring their peoples together for peace. They expressed what they felt on dangers to peace. They armed themselves with facts and figures to enable themselves to struggle better for peace. Then they returned to their own countries to organise for the next step."

Referring to the forthcomung peace conference, Rewi Alley declares: "Now, in this autumn, we shall see some of the fruits of their work, in the great conference which shall assemble in Peking, and which will carry their work still further. A conference which shall include large delegations of many countries, races and creeds, people with greatly differing political opinions, different backgrounds, yet people who will have come because they have felt that the cause pf peace justifies any effort, any sacrifice, people who believe in the call to the conference issued by the Preparatory Meeting."

The article refers to China as "a force for peace and construction". "In travelling to and fro to Peking," it says, "the delegates will see a China that is alive and determined; a China miraculously changed in these past three years since liberation; a China that works in an organised, thoughtful scientific manner; a China of steel, whose rulers are the people, and who will no longer bend knee to any predatory interest; a cultured China, warm and friendly to those who come in friendship and sincerity - a China as a leader in the world of man-to-be, together with all great nations that work for peace."

NEW ZEALAND PEOPLE WIDELY INTERESTED IN PEKING PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 26(HSINHUA)- Allan Monteith, Secretary of the New Zealand Peace Council in a letter to the Preparatory Committee of the Peace Conference has stated that the September conference is attracting wide attention in that country. It is believed that a delegation made up of people in all walks of life can be elected on a broad basis to the Peace Conference in Peking.

Monteith has been elected to the Preparatory Committee of New Zealand.

ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT FOR ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE IN VIET NAM

Peking, August 26 (HSINHUA)- People in all walks of life throughout Viet Nam are enthusiastically supporting the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, states a Viet Nam News Agency report.

A pamphlet explaining the importance of the Peace Conference has been distributed throughout the country by the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

Viet Nam's workers, in response to a call issued by the Viet Nam General Confederation of Workers, launched an intensive emulation drive from July 20, the sixth anniversary of the Viet Nam revolution. At a recent enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Viet Nam Peace Committee, Nguyen Duy Tinh, delegate of the Viet Nam General Confederation of Workers, re-affirmed the workers' support for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. "The lofty aim of this conference is also the aim of the Viet Nam people, and, in particular, of the Viet Nam working class", he declared.

On August 2, Nguyen Xuan Tram, member of the Viet Nam delegation to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, spoke to more than 100 delegates at the National Congress of Cadres of the Viet Nam Youth National Salvation Association, who gave their enthusiastic suppprt to the declaration of the Peking Preparatory Conference. At the Conference for Defense of Children held on July 29, all representatives signed the declaration. after hearing the report by Nguyen Xuan Tram on the aims and purposes of the Peace Conference.

In the 3rd and 4th military area, at a gathering of intellectuals on June 26 and a meeting of technicians and representatives of local people's organisations on July 10, the declaration of the Preparatory Conference held in Peking was signed by all those attending. People in the French-occupied area also held rallies to voice their support to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. The Viet Nam Peace Committee has received many resolutions from villagers living in the French-occupied areas giving support to the coming Peace Conference and exposing the barbarous crimes committed by the French invading troops. Local people's armymen and guerrillas also addressed letters to the Viet Nam Peace Committee hailing the Peace Conference.

All newspapers in Viet Nam have given prominent space to articles dealing with the importance of the Peace Conference and urging people to give it support.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

"FOR PEACE IN ASIA, THE PACIFIC REGIONS AND THE WORLD" - SOONG CHING-LING IN "PEOPLE'S CHINA"

Peking, August 28 (HSINHUA) - The following is an article entitled "For Peace in Asia, the Pacific Regions and the World" written by Soong Ching-ling (Madame Sung Yat-sen) for the coming issue of the English language magazine "People's China":

The Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions to be held in Peking this September is taking place at a most vital time. Peace is far from being an academic question anywhere in the world today. It is most assuredly an urgent, practical problem in this part of the globe. Several wars are actually being waged here. Japan, against the expressed will of its people, is being remilitarised by the United States and prepared once again as a base for aggression; crude, ruthless economic and political pressure is being exerted by the American government on certain Latin American and Asian countries in an effort to force them into the war camp; American generals continue to pour salt into a nasty wound of their own making further frustrating the Korean truce talks, stepping up their criminal bombing of the aged, the women and children in Korean cities already reduced to rubble, applying their so-called military pressure by bombing peacetime installations. This is in addition to their already mountain-high list of iniquities, topped by the most vicious - germ warfare.

The brutal, aggressive character of these policies in the Far East, plus the recklessness of recent acts of the Western Powers in Europe, especially in regard to Germany, have caused a serious deterioration in the international situation. This is a circumstance which gravely disturbes many people all over the world. Each successive blow has increased the alarm and anxiety, the indignation with which they view the spectacle. Each person visualises the mounting threat to himself: his home gutted or his lored ones lost. Each patriot visualises the threat to his country: the chance of harnessing nature and building a happy life for the people instantaneously disappearing in a burst of fire. As a result, for an increasing number of people in the East and West, a task has arisen: how to meet and stop this threat.

To give life, to build, to enhance - these are the main missions in man's life. For these, peace is the essential condition. But this peace which we need and so ardently desire, has to be won. This we know. The small band of the war-minded are hardheaded and irresponsible. They do not easily give up their plots for profit. As we have seen on many occasions, they think nothing of defying the wishes of the people and are ready to fabricate their pretext for war or its extension at any moment. This means that the forces of peace, the ordinary men and women in their hundreds of millions, must be alert, must firmly resist being led along the road to oblivion. We must make our voices heard; our demand to live peacefully side by side with all peoples and all nations must be transformed into loud and strong words. We must be active; as the ideas of peace and cooperation are sounded in the many tongues of the many nations, there must be mobilisation on all sides, in every country.

(contd.)

This is to say, that if we are not to be sidetracked, tricked or pushed around by the few who would destroy us, then the majority must organise itself further to preserve progress and civilisation.

The importance of the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions in this regard cannot be overstated. The 500 delegates, representing 1,600 million people, have a tremendous task to shoulder, but they also have an opportunity to create what will undoubtedly prove to be a central factor in preserving world peace. Supported by the World Peace Council, which is the greatest movement of its kind in the history of man, as well as by the already established and rapidly growing peace organisations of various countries the Conference is in a position to make an unparalleled move towards achieving unity for peace over the earth's most populous area.

There is a wide base upon which this unity can be constructed; that is, the great similarity of conditions in this part of the world which has had an important influence on how we view peace.

Peace is a concept with many aspects for the people of Asia and the Pacific. It means more than the absence of general war. Our long and bitter experience has been that even in timeswhen there was no general war this by no means applied to those countries suffering the oppression of imperialism. There may have been peace elsewhere, but in our countries imperialism was threatening our very existence. Most of our nations have a glorious past, great potentialities for a rich economy, a high level of cultural attainment. But imperialism attempted to grind our past into dust; it did reduce many of our economies into stifling monocultures o simply to suppliers of raw material and cheap labour;it vitiated our culture and tried to substitute its own. This has been the way of imperialism in a great many places in Asia and the Pacific. It brought us a vast misery and ignorance, a terrible toll in lives and a cruel retardation. It has incurred the wrath of all of us.

To Asian and Pacific peoples, therefore, peace and national independence are so closely linked as to be indistinguishable. Peace must be founded on equality of all peoples and mutually advantageous dealings between all nations. This is possible only when each people runs its country without outside intervention, according to its own wishes and to its greatest benefit. This, in turn, is closely linked with the question of a peace in which all nations cooperate to the greatest benefit of the whole world, no matter how differently they may govern themselves or operate their economies.

This concept of peace is accepted far and wide among the peoples of Asia and the Pacific. You will find important parts of this view or all of it in all ranks - among workers, farmers, intellectuals, officials, commercial and industrial circles. It has become our fundamental understanding of the way things stand in the world today. It can be said that this understanding, stimulated by previous examples, has been further and immeasurably heightened by the victories of the Chinese people.

(contd.)

China, at one time, in her recent history, was referred to as the "sick man of Asia." This was the feeling many had toward us, some in pity, others with jeers. There should be no question in anyone's mind that today such pity is inappropriate, and jeers testify only to fatal underestimation. For in three short years, the Chinese people have elevated their nation to its rightful place, as one of the leaders of the world. We have regained our national dignity. We have forged a new might. These earth-shaking accomplishments are due to our successful struggle for independence, to the fact that we have proclaimed and implemented a people's democracy. By these victories, by our giant strides in the reconstruction of our country, we have set a new standard for the peoples of Asia and the Pacific. We have given them a new outlook on their own problems.

The enhanced prestige that the Chinese people now enjoy has yet another cause - our unwavering stand for peace. Peace is part of our tradition as a nation and as a people. Throughout the thousands of years in which we Chinese have had relations with the peoples of Asia and the Pacific, we have never acted in a warlike manner. In this present period, peace is the basic tenet of the foreign policy of our People's Republic of China. We have demonstrated in every way that with us the seeking of peace is a serious pursuit. In carrying out the policies of our country, in the defence of our land, as organisations and individuals, it is always the quest for peace which guides and dominates our actions.

That the people of Asia and the Pacific regions recognise this fact is attested to by their sending representatives to our capital to take a new and historic step for peace. Peking is a city born of the unity of the Chinese people. Now it serves as the birthplace of the new unity of the Asian and Pacific peoples in their struggle for harmony among the nations.

Thus, the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions is the result of the general upsurge for peace throughout the world. The peoples represented will have a solid base for unity, since peace is what they demand and peace is part of the solution of their own national problems. And finally, the Conference is to take place in a country, in a city and among a people dedicated to the preservation and protection of world tranquility and cooperation. The results are bound to be grand and magnificent.

We can be sure that these results will be far different from those of another conference which has just taken place in this part of the world. I refer to the meetings which have been called by the United States Government to form the so-called "Pacific Council". In this meeting they also talked peace, but in fact planned further aggression. In this meeting they also talked cooperation, with "backward" nations, but in fact they set in motion more schemes to further enslave certain Asian and Pacific countries. In this meeting they also talked about equality of peoples, but in fact the terms of this "council" will be dictated by one power, the United States Government.

It must be pointed out that the politicians of the United States who will lead this council of war do not in any way represent the people of that country. The people of the United States, in fact, could not even get in at the door of that meeting. This is in sharp contrast to the way

(contd.)

the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions will provide a platform from which can be heard the true voice of the American people.

We sincerely hope that a large delegation can be present to represent the people of the United States. As members of a Pacific nation, Americans will have a definite interest in what we decide, and they will be able to make a definite contribution. The Conference will also give them an opportunity to learn what this part of the world is thinking. Many terrible things have been done in their name. They should learn the truth about these acts. They should also learn, and I am sure that we can impress them with the fact, that the peoples of Asia and the Pacific make a clear distinction between them and the real perpetrators of those acts.

We hope that representatives of the American people can come to see us in the flesh to gain firsthand knowledge of the new developments which are taking place. We want to assure them that there is no threat to them or their way of life from us or from any of the lands where the people rule. We think we can prove to them that the threat is in their own midst, that their enemy and ours is one and the same. We want the American people to know that there are many reasons why we should cooperate as peoples and as nations, but that there is not one single reason why we should be fighting each other.

Together with the American people we of Asia and the Pacific want to answer the question: "Who benefits by the fighting in Korea, Viet Nam and Malaya, by the unilateral treaties which keep other countries as colonies, by rearmament, by restriction of trade and cultural intercourse?" Together with them we want to work out the real correlation between the fact that U.S. corporations registered a profit of 44.8 billion dollars in 1951, eight times the peacetime figure before World War II, and the fact that one third of their national income is gobbled up by taxes, by the killing, maiming and destruction which their government has let loose in the Far East. We know the direct relationship between all these things, we think the representatives of the American people will agree with us.

In other words, we, and they, and all peace-loving people face a common enemy, the handful of wilful men who profit from war. In the struggle against this enemy, for our existence and for peace, the peoples of Asia and the Pacific look upon the people of the United States as an ally, as a crucial ally. We hope they will join us in all their strength. We hope they will join us in working out the peace, and then in making this world a place of fruitful labour and joy, a safe and sound place for their children and ours. We will grasp their hands in this greatest of crusades, to make our time one of the finest ages in the world's history.

Working together at the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions, the representatives of many nations will forge the unity of all races, colours, creeds and religions for peace! Together we will lay the groundwork for the participation of Asian and Pacific peoples in the Extraordinary Congress of the Peoples for Peace next December! Together we will make immense strides towards winning the world for the people!

"ON THE EVE OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS" — LIU NING-I IN "PEOPLE'S CHINA"

Peking, August 30 (HSINHUA)- "On the eve of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions" is the title of an article by Liu Ning-I, Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference, which will appeal in the next issue of the foreign language fortnightly People's China.

It follows in full:

Who among the millions of people of goodwill in the Asian and Pacific regions does not long for a peaceful, free, independent and happy life? We do not want to be interfered with, nor do we ever want to interfere in the lives of others. We do not tolerate aggression from others, nor do we want to invade other countries. It is our desire that all peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, irrespective of political system or religious belief should live peacefully together in equality and freedom, help one another, and have economic and cultural exchange with one another. We would like peoples of our regions to be united and friendly like one big family and live in amity with the rest of the world, to travel freely between one another's lands, and for all to exert their best efforts continuously for a prosperous and happy life.

Unfortunately, in the East as well as in the West, the aggressors headed by U.S. imperialism are stepping up their plots for an aggressive war against the wishes of all decent men and women in the world. In Western Europe, in complete violation of the Potsdam Agreements, they are striving for the revival of Nazi power in Western Germany, and have ordered the Bonn government to sign the so-called "General Treaty" and the "European Defence Community Pact." They are producing weapons of mass destruction - atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons. All this has aroused the opposition of people in all countries.

In the East, the U.S. imperialists are dragging out the Korean armistice talks, massacring prisoners of war, and openly waging bacteriological warfare on a large scale in Korea and on Chinese territory. In North Korea, they are wantonly bombing peaceful civilians. In Northeast China, they contiunously invade our territorial air, carrying out provocative strafing and bombing.

In order to accelerate the revival of Japanese militarism, they have concluded an illegal and unilateral "peace treaty" with Japan, a bilateral U.S.-Japanese "Security Pact" and a U.S.-Japanese "Administrative Agreement." They have invaded and are occupying the Chinese island of Taiwan. They are resorting to military force to intervene in the liberation movements for national independence in Viet Nam, Malaya and so on. They are forcibly building military bases around the world. The attempt to set up a "Middle East Command" is only one more instance of this.

This mad, aggressive drive on the part of the United States is seriously threatening the peace of the peoples in the Asian and Pacific countries; it has also created an extremely serious world situation. Men and women of goodwill must hesitate no longer if they want to save peace in Asia, the Pacific and the world. (contd.)

Precisely for these reasons, a Preparatory Conference for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions met successfully in Peking early in June of this year. Delegates from various countries represented unanimously decided to convene a peace conference in Peking in the last week of September, and to call on all people of goodwill in the Asian and Pacific Regions to unite to save peace, and to find appropriate means to solve the following problems:

1.To safeguard the independence,freedom and peace of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions; to oppose expansion of armaments and war preparations; to prohibit warmongering and propaganda encouraging racial hatred; to prohibit all suppression of propaganda for peace; to demand freedom for the peace movement;to prohibit the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons; to oppose bombing and massacring of non-combatants and civilians; to emphasise observance of international law.

1. To develop equal, mutually beneficial and normal international economic relations and cultural exchange; to oppose blockades and embargoes; to improve people's livelihood; to promot welfare of women and children.

3.To oppose the remilitarisation of Japan, and to oppose the use of Japan as a base for aggression, in order to eliminate the serious threat of peace in the Asian and Pacific regions.

4. To settle peacefully the Korean question on a fair and reasonable basis and to solve reasonably all questions relating to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions including Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya and other countries.

After the Preparatory Conference, a broad and warm response came from peoples in the Asian and Pacific regions. By mid-August, many cables had been received indicating acceptance of the invitation to participate. A broad and strong mass movement is under way among peoples of 32 countries in the Asian and Pacific regions where meetings and discussions have been held to elect representatives to attend the conference.

The All-India Peace Council and the Indian Preparatory Committee for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions have mobilised all political parties, mass organisations, cultural groups, and people from all walks of life and have held meetings for full discussion on the Conference. An "Asia Week" and an "Asia Day" were declared between August 3 and August 10, during which representatives were elected from all circles to attend the Conference in Peking.

The people of Japan have been mobilised through meetings and discussions about the Conference in factories, prefectures, counties and cities, to choose representatives on a democratic basis to participate in the Conference. An intensified mass movement has in this way also been formed in Japan.

People of Australia are working hard on the selection of a delegation that will be broadly representative in character. Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, the United States, Canada and countries of Latin America have been campaigning for the Conference. Many of them sent their delegates to Peking to participate in the preparatory work. In the Republics of the Asian part of the Soviet Union, meetings and discussions have been held, reports have been given in factories, rural areas and schools. People of Korea and Viet Nam are giving especially warm support to the Conference. Moving incidents of such support are too numerous to mention here.

All this indicates that after the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, people inhabiting those regions have expressed their wholehearted support for the Conference. A mighty movement has begun, demonstrating that the strength of the broad masses longing for peace is invincible, and that any attempt to halt or undermine this movement will be futile.

We people of China love peace. Today we need peace all the more for our work of national construction to make our independent, free and happy motherland stronger and more prosperous, and make the lives of the people happier. We feel indeed honoured that the Conference is to be held in our capital, Peking. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has stated: "We have friends everywhere in the world." People of China will be very happy to meet their friends from more than 30 countries; fighters for the peace and happiness of mankind will assemble in Peking for friendly and collective discussion of the great task before them - saving peace. People of China are now enthusiastically discussing the Conference; people of all social strata are speeding their preparatory work in order to be ready for this great historic event.

A large assembly hall is being built in Peking. People of all cities and villages in China are eagerly looking forward to the arrival from afar of our friends of peace.

This will be a conference for peace and unity, a conference to save peace of the Asian and Pacific regions, to ward off the disaster of war and to enable people to enjoy freedom and happiness. Peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions are of one heart in their desire for peace.

The determination of thousands of millions of people to build a great wall in defence of peace will make our peace camp as strong as steel.

ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL EXECUTIVE MEETING CONDEMNS U.S. GERM WAR

Peking, August 30 (HSINHUA) - The Bureau of the All-India Peace Council adopted a resolution during its executive meeting in June condemning the employment of germ warfare in Korea and Northeast China by American imperialism, according to a belated report from New Delhi.

The resolution said: "The members of the Bureau have studied with the greatest care the evidence of impartial observers from many countries, including our own, relating to the charge that germ warfare is being waged in China and Korea. Examination of these materials has convinced

(contd.)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

us beyond any doubt that this inhuman and shocking method of mass extermination by spreading pestilential germs has been employed in a widespread scale by the United States military forces."

"It is a matter of profound shame," it continued, "that such acts are being carried on in the name of the United Nations."

The resolution went on: "Considering that bacteriological warfare is a crime against human conscience and civilisation and a threat to all the great and difficult victories that man's industry and genius has been able to register in the battle of life against death, the Indian people with their ancient and peace-loving civilisation and traditions have an important rôle to play in putting a stop to such methods of warfare."

In conclusion, the resolution said: "We appeal to all Indians to inform themselves of the evidence and rally in their millions to protest against such germ warfare and to demand punishment of all those found guilty of such crimes."

CEYLON PEOPLE NOMINATE 10-MAN DELEGATION TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

New Delhi, August 30 (HSINHUA) - A 10-man delegation has been nominated by the Ceylon people to represent them in the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. It includes two Buddhist priests, four members of the Ceylon Parliament and one member of the Colombo Municipal Council. It will leave Ceylon for Peking by mid-September.

Mr. N. Sanmugathasan, member of the All-Ceylon Peace Committee and formerly Vice-President of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, said that an intensive campaign is going on in Ceylon to make preparations for participation in the forthcoming Peace Conference. The campaign started with a public rally on August 8 at the Colombo town hall, where representatives of all parties spoke in support of the aims of the Peace Conference, and pledged to send to it a well-chosen delegation. Reverend Udakendawala Saranankara who had attended the Preparatory Meeting in Peking, then gave a report on the works of the meeting and the recent Berlin session of the World Peace Council. Well over 2,000 people crowded the hall and a good many of them were Buddhist monks, Sanmugathasan said.

Similar meetings were subsequently held in provincial towns, he went on, in Kurnegala on August 17 and in Matara on August 23. In the next few weeks , meetings would take place in Kandy, Jaffna, Trincomalee, Galle and other places.

A local sponsoring committee, composed of leading figures in various fields of life, has been set up and has started popularising the Peace Conference. An appeal entitled "Asia needs peace" upholding the aims of the Peace Conference and calling upon the Ceylon people to give the Conference their full support was signed by 25 prominent citizens representing all shades of political opinion in the country as well as by Buddhist and Christian representatives.

Referring to the development of the peace movement in Ceylon, Sanmugathasan pointed out that the All-Ceylon Peace Committee had convened two very successful all-island peace congresses and had mobilised popular support for the campaign to ban the use of the atomic weapons and for the signing of a five-Power peace pact. Meantime, the Committee started the campaign demanding that no bases of the army, navy and air force in Ceylon be used for war of aggression against other countries.

An important aspect of the Ceylon peace movement was the participation of a large number of Buddhist monks. Practically all heads of the Buddhist seats of learning signed the ban-the-atom-bomb appeal. One of the secretaries of the Peace Committee and a prominent figure in the peace movement is Reverend Narawila Dhammaratane, leading Buddhist monk and a scholar of national repute.

Explaining the desire of the Ceylon people to establish trade relations with the Chinese People's Republic and how such relations would contribute towards peace, Samugathasan said, "The peace movement in Ceylon has adopted as one of its slogans the demand for immediate trade relations with China."

INDONESIAN PEOPLE ELECT DELEGATION TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 30 (NSINHUA) - Delegates to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference have been elected from among Indonesian trade unions, and commercial, religious, art and cultural circles, according to a report from Djakarta.

The Indonesian National Peace Committee has decided to hold a "Peace Week" in major cities during the last week of September with peace exhibitions and mass rallies and a series of artistic activities on the theme of world peace.

Public personalities of Indonesia have voiced warm support for the Peace Conference. "The Asian and Pacific Peace Conference will make possible the establishment of closer relations between the people of all countries on the basis of peace, security and mutual respect," said Tambunan, Vice-President of the Indonesian Parliament in an interview with Harian Rakjat (Djakarta People's Daily). Wiwoho, President of the Organisation of Masjumi (Moslem Party) of Djokja, has written to the National Peace Committee saying that any effort made for the Peace Conference should not only command sympathy but should win full support of all mankind.

9-30
Jan 1952

BULLETIN

Postal Address
9 TAI CHI CHANG
PEKING, CHINA

Cable Address
PEACECON

THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE for THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

NO. 10 September 5, 1952

INDIAN WORKING CLASS WARMLY SUPPORTS THE SEPTEMBER PEACE CONFERENCE

Under the leadership of the trade unions in various places, the Indian working class are enthusiastically giving their support to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and taking part in the preparatory work for sending an Indian delegation. The Trade Union Congress of East Punjab, Hyderabad and West Bengal have convened peace conferences of the unions. In these conferences, plans of sending presents to the coming Peace Conference in Peking were announced, and resolutions were adopted to telegraph greetings to the September Conference, pledging the union's determination to fight for world peace together with the working class of the world. A number of unions are actively collecting funds to meet the travelling expenses of their delegates.

AUSTRALIA INTENSIFIES PREPARATORY WORK

The Australian Preparatory Committee launched a nationwide discussion campaign on issues relating to the September Peace Conference. The working masses, the intellectuals, the churches, and the press have all expressed their support to the peace movement. The "Melbourne Herald" backs Australia's participation in the coming Conference.

According to the "Australian Tribune," sentiment to support the September Conference is spreading among the membership of the Australian Labour Party. Large meetings were held by the local organisations of the Labour Party in Banstown, Hurstville and Miranda and resolutions were passed in support of the Conference.

After his return from the Preparatory Conference in Peking, Dr. John W. Burton spoke at numerous meetings to rally support for the peace campaign and was fervently received everywhere.

The National Sponsoring Committee of Australia is scheduled to meet at the end of August in Sydney. There the final composition of the delegation to the September Conference may be decided.

CHILIAN MEMBER OF PREPARATORY COMMITTEE ELECTED

Preparations are underway in Chile. Forty peace-partisans of various circl have joined the sponsoring committee. Mrs. Olga Poblete, member of the World Peace Council and professor of Far Eastern problems, was appointed Chilian member of the Preparatory Committee for the September Peace Conference.

PREPARATORY CONFERENCE SUCCESSFULLY HELD IN THAILAND

As a result of the endeavour of the Thailand Peace Committee and the support of the broad masses of the peace-loving people, the Thailand Preparatory Conference was held in Bangkok on August 23, and successfully concluded. The Conference telegraphed us its pledge to support the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions through practical actions for peace.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

VIET-NAM WORKERS GREET THE SEPTEMBER PEACE CONFERENCE WITH LABOUR EMULATION DRIVE

Since the enlarged Conference held late in July, during which a Preparatory Committee was set up and a delegation to the September Peace Conference was elected, extensive preparations have been going on throughout Viet-Nam. While the delegates have been visiting various provinces, explaining to the people the significance of the Peace Conference and listing the demands of the people and collecting signatures of peace-supporters, many political parties and popular bodies have issued directives to their local organisations to do the same. This nationwide movement has been extended to various circles, strata and localities and has won warm response. Letters, telegrams and resolutions from various regions in support of the September Peace Conference have been received by the All-Viet-Nam Preparatory Committee. The Viet-Nam Federation of Labour has also launched a short period emulation drive and its accomplishment would be offered as a tribute to the September Peace Conference.

LAOS DELEGATION ELECTED

The National United Front of Laos has launched an extensive campaign to expound to the people of the whole country the spirit of the Declaration issued by the Peking Preparatory Conference, which has met with the people's ardent support. At a national congress of the people's representatives, a delegation was elected to attend the forthcoming Conference in Peking and Mr. Nouhak, member of the Central Committee of the Free National United Front, was appointed Laos member of the preparatory committee.

CAMBODIA BROADENS ITS PEACE CAMPAIGN AMONG THE PEOPLE

Preparatory work in Cambodia is in full swing. In spite of the difficult circumstances, the peace partisans have actively and extensively explained to the people the vital significance of the Declaration issued by the Peking Preparatory Conference. In many districts, meetings were held and signatures of the supporters of the forthcoming Conference were collected.

BULLETIN

Postal Address
9 TAI CHI CHANG
PEKING, CHINA

Cable Address
PEACECON

THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE
for
THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

NO. 11 September 8, 1952

ON THE EVE OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

Liu Ning I

Who among the millions of people of goodwill in the Asian and Pacific regions does not long for a peaceful, free, independent and happy life? We do not want to be interfered with, nor do we ever want to interfere in the lives of others. We do not tolerate aggression from others, nor do we want to invade other countries. It is our desire that all the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, irrespective of political system or religious belief should live peacefully together in equality and freedom, help one another, and have economic and cultural exchange with one another. We would like the peoples of our regions to be united and friendly like one big family and live in amity with the rest of the world, to travel freely between one another's land, and for all to exert their best efforts continuously for a prosperous and happy life.

Unfortunately, in the East as well as in the West, the aggressors headed by U.S. imperialism are stepping up their plots for aggressive war against the wishes of all decent men and women in the world. In Western Europe, in complete violation of the Potsdam Agreements, they are striving for the revival of Nazi power in Western Germany, and have ordered the Bonn government to sign the so-called "General Treaty" and the "European Defence Community Pact." They are producing weapons of mass destruction -- atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons. All this has aroused the opposition of people in all countries.

In the East, the U.S. imperialists are dragging out the Korean armistice talks, massacring prisoners of war, and openly waging bacteriological warfare on a large scale in Korea and on Chinese territory. In North Korea, they are wantonly bombing peaceful civilians. In Northeast China, they continuously invade our territorial air, carrying out provocative strafing and bombing.

In order to accelerate the revival of Japanese militarism, they have concluded an illegal and unilateral "peace treaty" with Japan, a bilateral U.S.-Japan "Security Pact" and a U.S.-Japan "Administrative Agreement." They have invaded and are occupying the Chinese island of Taiwan. They are resorting to military force to intervene in the liberation movements for national independence in Viet-Nam, Malaya and the Philippines. They are forcibly building military bases around the world. The attempt to set up a "Middle East Command" is only one more instance of this.

This mad, aggressive drive on the part of the United States is seriously threatening the peace of the peoples in the Asian and Pacific countries; it has also created an extremely serious world situation. Men and women of goodwill must hesitate no longer if they want to save the peace in Asia, the Pacific and the world.

Precisely for these reasons, a Preparatory Conference for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions met successfully in Peking early in June of this year. The delegates from the various countries represented unanimously decided to convene a peace conference in Peking in the last week of September, and to call on all people of goodwill in the Asian and Pacific regions to unite to save the peace, and to find appropriate means to solve the following problems:

1. To safeguard the independence, freedom and peace of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions; to oppose the expansion of armaments and war preparations; to prohibit warmongering and propaganda encouraging racial hatred; to prohibit all suppression of propaganda for peace; to demand freedom for the peace movement; to prohibit the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons; to oppose the bombing and massacre of non-combatants and civilians; to emphasise the observance of international law.

2. To develop equal, mutually beneficial and normal international economic relations and cultural exchange; to oppose blockades and embargoes; to improve the people's livelihood; to promote the welfare of women and children.

3. To oppose the remilitarisation of Japan, and to oppose the use of Japan as a base for aggression, in order to eliminate the serious threat to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions.

4. To settle peacefully the Korean question on a fair and reasonable basis and to solve reasonably all the questions relating to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions including Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya and other countries.

After the Preparatory Conference, a broad and warm response came from the peoples in the Asian and Pacific regions. By mid-August, many cables had been received indicating acceptance of the invitation to participate.

The All-India Peace Council and the Indian Preparatory Committee for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions have mobilised all political parties, mass organisations, cultural groups, and people from all walks of life and have held meetings for full discussion on the conference. An "Asia Week" and an "Asia Day" were declared between August 3 and August 10, during which representatives were elected from all circles to attend the conference in Peking.

The people of Japan have been mobilised through meetings and discussions about the conference in factories, prefectures, counties and cities, to choose representatives on a democratic basis to participate in the conference. An intensified mass movement has in this way also been formed in Japan.

The people of Australia are working hard on the selection of a delegation that will be broadly representative in character. Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, the United States, Canada and the countries of Latin America have been campaigning for the conference. Many of them sent their delegates to Peking to participate in the preparatory work. In the republics of the Asian part of the Soviet Union, meetings and discussions have been held, reports have been given in factories, rural areas and schools. The people of Korea and Viet-Nam are giving especially warm support to the conference. Moving incidents of such support are too numerous to mention here.

The wholehearted support shown by the people of all countries in Asia and the Pacific and the active preparations which they are making for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference are so intensive and broad that they are a vigorous demonstration of the fact that the calling of this conference expresses the common demand of the

people throughout Asia and the Pacific. Delegates representing the desire for peace of 1,600 million people will assemble at this conference. They will exchange views freely and try to find the appropriate means to meet the desire to defend peace in Asia and the Pacific and settle those questions which are of great concern to the people. We advocate saving peace, and oppose armament expansion and war preparations. We advocate peaceful negotiations and oppose violent means. We advocate the peaceful settlement of all international disputes and oppose intervention in any nation's internal affairs. Peace can be saved, but it must be saved jointly by peace lovers. For this reason, we call on lovers of peace in Asia and the Pacific, irrespective of political conviction, religious faith, race or nationality, to nominate their delegates to participate in this great Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

We can foresee that the enemies of peace, as such, will carry out all kinds of obstructive and sabotage activities against our great peace conference. It is possible that they will resort to any conceivable means of rumour-mongering, slander, the sowing of dissension, threats, the creation of obstacles and handicaps, or they may resort to other intrigues and schemes. However, all their means are bound to meet ignominious failure in the face of the great, courageous and united strength of the people of different countries. The desire for peace and the steeled determination of the broad masses of all countries in Asia and the Pacific to save peace constitute an invincible strength. Any attempt at obstruction and sabotage will ultimately prove futile.

We people of China love peace. Today we need peace all the more for our work of national construction to make our independent, free and happy motherland stronger and more prosperous, and make the lives of the people happier. We feel indeed honoured that the conference is to be held in our capital, Peking. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung has stated: "We have friends everywhere in the world." The people of China will be very happy to meet their friends from more than 30 countries; the fighters for the peace and happiness of mankind will assemble in Peking for friendly and collective discussion of the great task before them -- saving the peace. The people of China are now enthusiastically discussing the conference; people of all social strata are speeding their preparatory work in order to be ready for this great historic event.

This will be a conference for peace and unity, a conference to save the peace of the Asian and Pacific regions, to ward off the disaster of war and to enable the people to enjoy freedom and happiness. The peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions are of one heart in their desire for peace.

The determination of thousands of millions of people to build a Great Wall in defence of peace will make our peace camp as strong as steel.

A COLLECTION OF NEWS ABOUT PREPARATIONS
FOR
PEACE CONFERENCE OF ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

Based on Daily News Release of Hsinhua News Agency

In Chronological Order

JAPANESE PEACE COMMITTEE HOLDS PEACE MOVEMENT MONTH

Peking, July 24 /HSINHUA/:- A delayed report from Tokyo says that the Japan Peace Committee has decided to hold a peace movement month terminating on August 15 throughout Japan.

Peace meetings are to be held in various prefectures and districts leading up to a national peace conference in August which will be attended by representatives from all parts of the country. The peace movement is to expand from the trade unions to women's circles and rural villages.

The following directions for pushing the movement forward had been issued by the Japan Peace Committee:

First, concerning the campaign for opposing rearmament and conscription. Call on the people the country over not to join the "Police Reserve Corps," but to oppose conscription and unlawful revision of the constitution aimed at rearming. Express opposition to the requisition of land, houses and fishing grounds by signatures, resolutions, petitions and meetings. Strengthen the organisations and liaison work in relation to this campaign on a nation-wide scale.

Second, concerning the campaign for safeguarding peaceful industry and peaceful life. Oppose the war economy; organise discussions among different trades and in various districts, with a view to protecting national industry, and in particular middle and small industry and commerce; start a campaign to find a way out of the economic crisis. In respect of trade, demand an equal, free and mutually beneficial trade with all countries; and launch a campaign for implementation of the Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement. At the same time, unite more closely the struggle of the workers against low wages and overwork, that of the merchants against heavy taxes and that of the peasatns against requisition of land.

Third, concerning the campaign for the defence of freedom and democracy. Call on the people to smash the sinister bills like the "Anti-Subversive Activities Bill"; to fight for basic human rights and freedom of speech, assembly, organisation and study. Oppose suppression and help the victims of suppression.

Fourth, concerning the national campaign centred on the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions. Discuss this question respectively in various places, among various organisations and trades. Elect delegates to the Conference from national organisations, from noted personages and various districts.

Fifth, strengthen the campaign for demanding conclusion of a Five-Power Peace Pact.

INTERVIEW WITH ROMESH CHANDRA, SECRETARY OF ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

New Delhi, July 29 /HSINHUA/:- special correspondent - In a special interview, Romesh Chandra, Secretary of the All-India Peace Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee of the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions, has answered my questions as follows:

Question: What is your reaction to the resolutions of the extra-ordinary session of the World Peace Council recently held in Berlin?

Answer: I am deeply impressed by the new perspectives which these resolutions open up for the developments of the peace movement.

I am thoroughly convinced that the resolution on ending the war in Korea passed by the World Peace Council with its simple two-point demand "Immediate termination of hostilities by the signing of an armistice based on respect for international law and customs" and "Ratification and observance of the Geneva Protocol of 1925" will help the Indian peace movement to draw in its fold large sections of people who have thus far remained outside it.

Equally, the call of the Berlin session for a real peace treaty to replace the illegal San Francisco treaty with Japan will commend itself to all sections of the Indian people who sympathise with the courageous struggle of the Japanese people for their freedom and against the forces of war.

The address of the World Peace Council to the Governments of the Four Great Powers and to all the people in connection with the German problem will again meet with response among all sections of the Indian people.

The All-India Peace Council is especially gratified to note the emphasis given by the World Peace Council to the duty imposed on trade unions, political parties, people's organisations, religious bodies and youth to strengthen the cause of peace.

The Indian peace movement has itself recently addressed an appeal to the Indian people's organisations which have till now failed to place the struggle for peace at the forefront of their programmes. I am happy to be able to inform you that the appeal is meeting with considerable response.

The Central Council of the All-India Peasant Association, in a resolution passed last month, has drawn special attention to the failure on its part and has called for holding of peasant conferences for peace at all levels, for a special drive for signatures to the

/contd./

Pact of Peace, and for full support to the Indian peace movemc
This development is of the most profound significance, for the
peasant organisation is naturally one which can carry the mess
of the World Peace Council to the largest numbers of the India
people.

I am confident that the resolutions of the World Peace Coun
will help to broaden and deepen the Indian peace movement at t
important juncture in human history.

Question: When the Indian delegates returned from the Prepa
Conference for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, what did
report to the Indian people about the Conference?

Answer: Professor D.D. Kosambi, leader of the Indian delega
held a press conference immediately after his return to India.
the conference he emphasised the key importance of the Asian a
Pacific Peace Conference and also spoke of the evidence he had
of the use of germ warfare in Korea and China. Professor Kosam
later wrote an article on the Conference which was widely repr
in papers supporting the peace movement all over the country.

Another Indian delegate, Mr. Indulal Yagnik, has spoken at
public meetings in Bombay and Ahmadabad on the significance of
Conference. He, too, has agreed to write for publication a spe
appeal to the Indian peasants to support the Conference. Being
leader of the peasant movement, the appeal from him will undou
meet with great response.

A third delegate, Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh, has only just ret
from China. He has already addressed a public meeting on the
Conference in Delhi and is busy preparing two articles for the
He has also agreed to tour the country to popularise the aims
Conference in the month of August.

I may add that all the Indian delegates are also writing a
on what they saw in China and particularly the great love for
and the struggle against aggression and against inhuman forms
warfare being conducted so heroically by the Chinese people.

Question: What preparations are being made by the All-India
Council for the participation in the Asian and Pacific Peace C

Answer: On the initiative of the All-India Peace Council, t
All-India Preparatory Committee for the Conference is being s
with its headquarters in Delhi. All important people's organis
have been invited to join the Preparatory Committee. In addit
leading representative individuals of all viewpoints are being
approached to join the Committee. /contd./

We are receiving far more response to the call of the Conference than we ever anticipated. We already have indications that very large numbers of members of Parliament belonging to all parties join the Committee.

The initial task of popularisation of the aims of the Conference has been undertaken through wide-spread publicity. The declaration of the Preparatory Conference at Peking has been published in full by over 20 important papers all over the country. These papers are also carrying a weekly column written by me entitled "Forward to Peking," which gives information regarding the preparations for the Conference. The articles on various aspects of the Conference written by prominent Indians are also to be sent out for publication in the press. At the call of the Bureau of the All-India Peace Council, the forthnight from July 13 to 27 is being specially utilized to collect signatures from leading citizens to the appeal to the Indian Prime Minister to act in favour of peace in Korea and against the use of germ warfare.

This campaign is also being combined with the campaign calling for support for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

From August 3 to 10 the Indian Preparatory Committee is observing the "Asia Week" specifically to popularise the Conference. Reports have been received from various provinces which indicate the wide-spread preparations for the observance of the "Asia Week."

Towards the end of August, sponsoring conferences for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference will be held on a really wide basis in all the provinces leading to the All-India Sponsoring Conference in the beginning of September in the Indian capital.

We have asked the intending delegates to begin collection of funds for their passages from now and also to apply for passports. We are confident of sending a really representative delegation headed by the most important names in all fields of India's political, cultural, economic and social life.

Question: What has been the reaction of the Indian people to the use of germ warfare in Korea and China?

Answer: A feeling of revulsion and horror has swept the country since the first news came of the use of bacteriological weapon by the American forces. Opinions already expressed by the Indians, who have examined the facts for themselves in Peking and elsewhere, have succeeded in confirming the charges made by the Chinese and Korean Governments. /contd/

The Indian people do not find it difficult to believe that the American imperialists have employed this barbaric weapon against the Chinese and Korean peoples.

The All-India Peace Council and other organisations supporting the cause of peace have taken pains to place the facts before the people and counter the lies which the makers of war seek to spread.

The strong sentiments of the Indian people in favour of impartial investigation and punishment of those found guilty have found expression in the proposals by hundreds of thousands of persons in all parts of the country in public meetings and rallies.

That is why the Indian people will warmly welcome the sending of an impartial delegation by the World Peace Council so that the facts may be known and the complete prohibition of germ warfare be brought nearer.

The All-India Peace Council is very conscious of the fact that the campaign against germ warfare has not been as intense as it should be in this country. But we are confident that peace committees and mass organisations will redouble their efforts to make the truth known in the coming weeks.

Question: What is the Indian people's attitude regarding the bombing of the Yalu power plants and Northeast China?

Answer: The bombing of the Yalu power plants has met with universal condemnation among the Indian people.

The Indian Prime Minister has himself come out strongly and repeatedly in unqualified condemnation of the bombing. This in itself is a reflection of the strength of opinion on this question among all sections of the Indian people.

In Bombay, the Peace Council held a public meeting to condemn the Yalu bombings, The intensity of the feelings can be judged from the fact that the hall was packed to suffocation and that stormy cheers broke out when the veteran Indian Gandhiite and pacifist Dr. J.C. Kumarappa called for boycott of American goods as a gesture of protest against the Yalu crimes. The hall rang with slogans of "Boycott American goods" in a way they have never done till now.

The Yalu bombings have increased the sentiments against the American imperialist crimes in Korea very considerably. The Indian newspapers have been practically unanimous in their condemnation

Question: What are the views of the Indian peace movement and the Indian people with regard to the Japanese question? /contd./

Answer: The Indian peace movement has, from its very inception, strongly supported the Japanese people's struggle for peace, freedom and democracy, and has resolutely opposed all attempts to remilitarise Japan and keep it under the control of the American imperialists.

At the Second All-India Peace Congress in May last year, a special resolution was adopted on the Japanese question which condemned the efforts then being made to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan and to remilitarise Japan.

We believe that the campaign unleached by this resolution contributed considerable measure to the stand taken by the Indian government on the issue of the San Francisco conference and the treaty.

The Indian people have been inspired by the news of the courageous manner in which, during the last few months, the Japanese people have been struggling against the forces of war. Their hands have reached out towards them in solidarity and affection.

There is every reason to believe that the Indian people will respond fully to the call of the World Peace Council resolution "On the struggle against Japanese Remilitarisation, for a Democratic Japan," adopted at the special session in Berlin for a real peace treaty with Japan providing for the withdrawal of all occupation forces and the removal of foreign bases, and for full sovereignty and democratic and peaceful development of the Japanese people.

In conjunction with the preparations for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, a campaign of friendship and solidarity with the Japanese people and for a just solution of the Japanese question will be organised by the Indian peace movement.

INDIAN PEACE MOVEMENT ACTS ON RESOLUTIONS OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

New Delhi, July 31 (HSINHUA)- "The resolutions of the World Peace Council will help to broaden and deepen the Indian peace movement at this important juncture in human history," declared the All-India Peace Council in a statement recently.

Hailing the decisions of the extraordinary session of the World Peace Council in Berlin, the statement continues:

"The All-India Peace Council is thoroughly convinced that the resolution on the ending of the war in Korea passed by the World Peace Council with its simple two- point demand - immediate cessation of hostilities by means of signing an armistice based on respect for international law and customs and the ratification and observance of the Geneva Protocol of 1925 - will help the Indian peace movement to draw into its fold large sections of people who have thus far remained outside it.

"The call of Berlin for a real peace treaty to replace the unjust and illegal San Francisco Treaty with Japan will commend itself to all sections of the Indian people who sympathize with the courageous struggle of the Japanese people for their freedom and against the forces of war."

On the German question the statement says: "All Indians eagerly seek a peaceful solution on the basis of agreement between the four great Powers to respect the right of the German people to establish their unity and form a government of their own choice which will negotiate a genuine peace treaty, guaranteeing a sovereign, democratic and peaceful Germany."

In conclusion the statement says: "The All-India Peace Council appeals to all peace committees and all organisations pledged to the cause of peace to do all in their power to popularize and win the support for the historic decisions of the World Peace Council."

The Bengali language weekly "Matamat" in its editorial on July 19 referred to the forthcoming World Peoples Peace Congress at Vienna and the Peace Conference for Asia and the Pacific regions in Peking.

The Matamat writes: "On this occasion, against war and for peace, there must be widespread mass campaigns all over West Bengal. There must be campaigns among the peasants - every peasant must be aroused to oppose war - among the workers, the middle class people, and among every section in towns and villages."

The Matamat concludes: "Take the message of the World Peace Council to every house through this campaign and make it invincible with mass support."

The Urdu language daily "Naya Zamana" of Jullundur, East Punjab, writes under the caption of "Peace Shall Be Victorious":

"The heavy bombings of Korea, the use of napalm bombs, germ bombs, inhuman treatment of the prisoners of war, the bombing of the Yalu River and Chinese Cities, go to prove that American imperialism does not want a truce, and on the contrary wants to extend the war".

(cont.)

The Naya Zamana noted that the leaders of the world peace movement had discussed the dangers arising from the war in Korea and the re-militarisation of Japan.

The Naya Zamana concludes: "Thus all peace fighter should raise their voice that on the issue of the prisoners of war, America must give up her arrogant stand. The issue must be solved in accordance with international agreements. The truce agreement must be signed at once".

DELAYED PEACE DELEGATION FROM COSTA RICA ARRIVES IN PEKING

Peking, August 1 (HSINHUA)- A delegation of four members from Costa Rica to the Preparatory Meeting for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions arrived here on July 31. The delegation was welcomed at the airfield by leading members of the China Peace Committee and of the All-China Federation of Labour. The delegation was delayed en route.

The delegates are: Vital Murillo, Ovidio Salazar, and Sainz, school teachers and Cabazas, a trade unionist.

CEYLON PEACE DELEGATES LEAVE CHINA FOR HOME

Canton, August 1 (HSINHUA)- Rev. U. Saranankara, delegate of Ceylon to the Preparatory Meeting for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, left here for Ceylon today. He was seen off by representatives of the Canton branch of the China Peace Committee and the Preparatory Committee of the Federation of Labour of Kwangtung Province.

Rev. Saranankara, after attending the Preparatory Meeting in Peking went to Berlin to attend the extraordinary session of the World Peace Council which was held from July 1 to 6. He was travelling home by way of China.

KUO MO-JO GREETS "ASIA WEEK" IN INDIA

Peking, August 4 (HSINHUA)- Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for Defending World Peace, greeted "Asia Week" in India which began yesterday in a message sent on August 2 to Romesh Chandra, Secretary of the All-India Peace Council. Mr. Chandra is also Deputy Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee of the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions. The message reads as follows:

"We are happy to know that an 'Asia Week' is to take place from August 3 to 10 and an 'Asia Day' on the 10th for the purpose of developing a broad movement among the Indian people for the defence of peace and making known to them the significance of the convocation

(contd.)

of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. Since the return of your delegates from the preparatory conference, you immediately started to take effective steps to develop extensive preparatory work, mobilising national, provincial and local political parties, cultural and social groups and other mass organisations for broad discussion on the conference. Through the activities of 'Asia Week' and 'Asia Day', you are carrying the declaration of the preparatory conference deep into the hearts of the people. This contributes greatly to promoting the preparatory work of the conference and it deserves admiration. We are relating your plans and efforts to China and other countries, and they are being enthusiastically welcomed.

"The warmongers are madly remilitarising Japan, intending to break up the Korean armistice negotiations and stepping up preparations to extend the war. The demand of the peoples in Asia and the Pacific region to save peace becomes stronger daily, so is their confidence in the struggle. If we can only further mobilise the broad masses, unite them, assure the success of the Asian- Pacific Peace Conference and pave the way for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in December, then the cause of peace will be advanced and peace saved. On behalf of the Chinese people, I wish that you achieve great success in your movement and I send you my sincere fraternal greetings".

PROFESSOR KOSAMBI, VICE-PRESIDENT OF ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL DESCRIBES PREPARATORY PEACE CONFERENCE IN PEKING

Peking, August 6 (HSINHUA)- A lively, informative account of the Preparatory Meeting for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions - that was held in Peking in June - is contained in an article by Professor D.D.Kosambi, Vice-President of the All-India Peace Council that has received wide publicity in India. Professor Kosambi was leader of the Indian delegation to the preparatory meeting and his article was carried in many Indian papers and periodicals.

"The formal opening was most impressive," he writes. "The delegates observed the seriousness of their task from the very outset. In his speech opening the conference and welcoming the delegates, Kuo Mo-jo pointed to the serious position in Asia, the crucial position of Asia and the Pacific region in the world peace problem, the need for solidarity between peoples of the countries represented, the total populations being over 1,600 millions, more than half the world's population."

After outlining the proceedings at the conference, he describes how the manifesto was drawn up. It appears in print as a calm and innocuous document," he says, "but remember that it passed through many radical changes; it wasn't voted in by a majority; every person present finally agreed without reservation that it represented fairly the principles for which he or she stood. There may be some question of phrasing or literary effects; many would have liked to see a shorter

(contd.)

declaration, some only of principles, some with more fire; but a great achievement was that all agreed, in the end."

He enumerates some of the different views expressed in the conference and tells how all differences were smoothed out in discussion. "This is the great achievement of our conference," he points out. "They all really agreed ... When one sees the extraordinary divergence in the political and social backgrounds of the delegates, there is no doubt that this is unique even in the annals of the peace movement, though undoubtedly the world peace movement will soon surpass this achievement, having made gigantic strides in the three years of its life.

In the latter part of the article, Professor Kosambi writes of the deep impression made on him by the liberated New China where the peasants and workers have plenty to eat, landlords have disappeared with the Kuomintang, the land has been redivided and people take an active share in governing themselves.

"Most impressive of all," Professor Kosambi declares, "is the dancing. Not state or theatre ballets, but common people's dances in the evenings and on holidays in great public parks: 10,000 waiting outside because the park is filled with 50,000 people dancing. This is spontaneous folkdancing .... People don't dance that way unless they have plenty to eat and find life joyful."

Professor Kosambi writes in conclusion: "Knowing this, one also realises how deep is the desire of the Chinese for peace and friendship, one thing that they ask of their brothers in the rest of the world, and most particularly of India, the land that first gave them the religion of peace."

LIU NING-YI GREETS INDIAN "ASIA WEEK"

Peking, August 8(HSINHUA):- A message of greetings to the Indian peace movement on "Asia Week" which is now being held throughout India was sent by Liu Ning-yi, Vice President of the All-China Federation of Labour, His telegram to Romesh Chandra, Secretary of the All-India Peace Council and Deputy Secretary General of the Indian Preparatory Committee for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, reads:

"At a time when the American imperialists are intentionally dragging out the Korean armistice negotiations, actively rearming Japan and conspiring to extend the Korean war to other parts of Asia, the holding of 'Asia Week' from August 3 to 10 in India will bear great significance and contribute to promoting the peace movement in India and Asia. We hope the broad Indian labouring people will actively participate in "Asia Week' and turn their peaceful aspirations into a strong force to oppose the imperialist war intrigues and defend lasting peace in Asia and the world. I wish you success in your work."

INDIAN PEOPLE MAKING ACTIVE PREPARATIONS FOR COMING ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE.

New Delhi, August 7(HSINHUA):- Active preparations for the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference are being made by the Indian people.

A broadly representative delegation to the coming peace conference in Peking will be elected early in September at a national sponsoring conference under the auspices of the Preparatory Peace Conference Committee.

The preparatory committee reached this decision at its July 30 session in Delhi. Present were pepresentatives from all progressive organisations and many Parliament members from different political parties and groups.

The committee also decided to hold an "Asia Week" from August 3 to 10 and an "Asia Day" on August 10 widely publicising the significance of the coming peace conference.

Over 20 of India's major papers have carried in full the declaration of the Preparatory Meeting for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. Detailed reports and articles dealing with the preparatory meeting for the peace conference made by delegates to the meeting have drawn great interest and much attention from the Indian people. Prominent persons of various political parties and well-known people's representatives have expressed their intention to support the conference.

INDONESIAN PEOPLE'S PREPARATIONS FOR ASIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 8(HSINHUA):- Under the leadership of the Indonesian National Peace Committee, the Indonesians are actively preparing for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions to take place in Peking next month, states a report from Djakarta.

Representatives of the Indonesian National Peace Committee and other organisations held a meeting on July 27 to set up formally an Indonesian preparatory committee for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. The preparatory committee elected Sidik Kertapati of the Peasants United Front, member of Parliament, as chairman, Arbain Dungga, businessman, as vice chairman, Zain Nasution, Chairman of the Indonesian National Peace Committee, as general secretary and 19 other members. The preparatory committee has decided to hold peace exhibitions in Indonesia during the period of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

The Indonesian National Peace Committee also elected religious leader Uktolseja to participate in the preparatory work of the peace conference. He left Djakarta on July 5 and arrived in Peking on the 20th.

SOONG CHING-LING GREETS ROMESH CHANDRA ON INDIAN ASIA WEEK

Peking, August 9(HSINHUA):- Soong Ching-ling has sent the following message to Romesh Chandra, Secretary of the All-India Peace Council Secretariat, congratulating him on "Asia Week" now being held throughout India:

"Please accept the sincerest wishes of the Chinese people and myself personally for immense success in your Asia Week rally. We look upon it as a crucial event in the heightening strife for world peace. It is urgent that all peoples take such constructive steps this time when the threat to our well-being daily mounts. The Indian people, as the Chinese and all Asian peoples, have great experience in struggling against the perpetrators of such threats. If we can muster our full power at this time, if we can make the securing of peace the immediate task of our hundreds of millions, if we can demonstrate our demand for nothing less than the ceaseing of all aggression and negotiation among all nations no matter how they differ, we will have accomplished a major historic feat. We will have created an indestructible bastion for peace. Success to the Indian people's Asia Week! On to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions!"

A message of greetings has been sent to the Indian Preparatory Committee for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference by the All-China Democratic Women's Federation. "General mobilisation of all peace-loving Indians for participation in the movement to defend peace in Asia," the message says in part, "will advance the peace movement of the Asian people."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ACTIVE PREPARATIONS FOR ASIAN PEACE CONFERENCE IN VIET NAM

Peking, August 9(HSINHUA):- Active preparations for the forthcoming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference and the December Peace Congress of the Peoples are underway in Viet Nam, states a Viet Nam News Agency report.

At an enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the Viet Nam Peace Committee on July 24 and 25, it was decided to publicise widely the resolutions and decisions of the recent Berlin session of the World Peace Council and the Preparatory Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

A delegation composed of 12 combat and labor heroes, and representatives of people in other walks of life, will be sent to the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, the conference decided. Xuan Thuy, President of the Viet Nam Journalists Association was appointed Viet Nam's representative to the Preparatory Committee of the Peace Conference.

The enlarged meeting was attended by Dr. Le Dinh Tham, Chairman of the Viet Nam Peace Committee, Ton Duc Thang and Father Pham Ba Truc, President and Vice President of the Standing Committee of the Viet Nam National Assembly, representative of the Viet Nam Lao and Cambodia Liaison Committee, representatives of the Lien Viet Front, the Viet Nam Peace Committee, the Viet Nam People's Army, political parties, people's organisations and religious circles and public figures.

JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION TO SEND DELEGATES TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 9(HSINHUA):- The Japan-China Friendship Association has decided to send delegates to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference to be held here next month, states a message to the Chinese people just arrived from the Association.

Written on July 7, the 15th anniversary of Japan's aggressive war against China, the letter begins with the reassurance of the Association's resolve to push forward with the movement for friendship between the two nations. It continues:

"Your cordiality and sympathy with the Japanese people can be fully seen from the recent Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement.

"A clear expression of the Japanese people's support for this agreement and their desire for its implementation is shown in the enthusiastic welcome accorded our Association's Council members Messrs. Kei Hoashi and Kisuke Miyagoshi since their return on July 1, and in requests, made from Hokkaido in the north down to Kyushu in the south, to hear their reports. Our office has a stack of telegrams and letters from all parts of this country asking that meetings be called to hear their reports. This signifies not only the Japanese people's eager hopes for Sino-Japanese trade, but also their warm desire for friendship and peace between Japan and China. (contd.)

"But much stands ~~in the way~~ of this desire. For example, instead of establishing normal relations ~~as neighbours, with your People's~~ Government which represents the 470 million people, Japan concluded a 'Japanese-Chinese treaty' with the fugitive regime in Taiwan. The Japanese workers delegates, invited by your trade unions to attend the May Day celebrations, were denied passports and thrown into goal.

"These facts are closely connected with the attempt to revive militarism, which, though the blood of the 'July 7th' tragedy is fresh as yet, is creating new terror and disaster in Japan as well as in other parts of Asia. We, the Japanese people, will not permit a recurrence of the 'July 7th' tragedy. We must insist on peace and friendship between Japan and China, and must fight unswervingly against the drift towards war and ruination.

"We have learned the details of the Preparatory Conference for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. The conference's aim for peace, friendship and elimination of the threat of war, based on mutual respect and friendship and irrespective of differences in religious belief or political views, completely coincides with the aspirations of our Association.

"The Standing Council of the Association supports this peace conference and has decided to send delegates to it. These delegates will attend in the cause of peace and friendship, and will raise questions concerning Japan and China."

CEYLON PEACE PARTISANS DECLARATION IN SUPPORT OF ASIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 9(HSINHUA):- A broad sponsoring committee has been set up by the Ceylon peace fighters to prepare for the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking this September, states a report from Colombo.

Stressing the necessity for and significance of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, the sponsoring committee has issued a declaration calling on the people of Ceylon to give their active support to the conference.

The declaration was signed by:

Reverend D. Siri Pannasara Thero, Principal of Vidyalankara Privena (Centre of Buddhist Learning) and Chief High Priest (Buddhist) of Colombo and Chilaw;

Reverend Hedipannala Pannaloka Thero, Vice Principal of Vidyalankara Privena;

Reverend Narawila Dhammaratane; (contd.)

Reverend Kotahena Pannakithi;

Reverend Nattandiya Pannakara Thero;

Reverend A.A. Gogerly and Reverend H.H. Keuneman - Christian priests;

Pieter Keuneman, M.P., President of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation and member of the World Peace Council;

Dr. N.M. Perera, M.P. and President of the Ceylon Federation of Labour;

Leslie Goonewardene, General Secretary of the Lanka Samasamaja Party;

Dr. E.M.V. Naganathan;

Harold Peris;

Stanley de Zoysa;

T.B. Illangaratne;

S.D. Bandaranake, M.P. and President of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Youth League;

Mrs. Tej Gunawardene;

Tissa Wijeyaratne;

K. Vaikunthavasagam -editor of the People's Voice;

Karl Kasman; Dr. Kumaran - ex-Mayor of Colombo and N. Sanmugathasan, Vice President of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation.

Ceylon's peace fighters have decided to hold mass rallies in August to publicise the peace conference and win support for it. At these rallies, delegates representing wide sections of the people will be elected to participate in the conference.

PREPARATIONS IN AUSTRALIA AND PAKISTAN FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 10 (HSINHUA)- There is considerable activity in Australia and Pakistan in preparation for the coming Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions which will be held in Peking in September.

On his return home, Dr. J.W. Burton, who headed the Australian delegation to the preparatory meeting in June, immediately called for the setting up of a national committee to select delegates to represent all sections of the community in Australia. Great interest has been aroused on the question of the peace conference and widespread discussions have been going on around it. Enthusiasm and interest is higher than at any time since the plebiscite last year. According to a report in the Sydney Tribune, the Pacific Peace Committee of Australia resolved on June 29 to set up a national initiative committee for the selection of delegates to attend the forthcoming peace conference in Peking.

From Karachi comes a report that the executive of the Pakistan Peace Committee in Karachi, after hearing the report made by M.A. Shakoor, Pakistan delegate to the preparatory meeting for the coming Peace Conference, fully endorsed the declaration and proposals adopted at the prepararory meeting.

On August 3, the Pakistan Peace Committee met to discuss publicity work in relation to the participation in the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and the selection of delegates. A press conference was held by the peace committee on August 4 at which M.A. Shakoor reported on the preparatory meeting held in Peking in June.

JAPANESE CULTURAL WORKERS PLEDGE TO SEND DELEGATES TO ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 10 (HSINHUA)- "Whatever the obstruction, we will send our cultural delegates to Peking to attend the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions", pledges a letter agreed on at a forum on July 6, held by some 40 noted Japanese cultural figures to mark the 15th anniversary of the Lukouchiao (Marco Polo bridge) Incident on July 7 1937, "states a delyed Tokyo report.

Those present included Sachio Iwamura, leading member of the China Research Institute, Ozawa Masamoto of the Japan- China Friendship Association, Yoichi Fukushima, agronomist, Shigeru Matsuyama and Kazuo Nakao, secretaries of Tomi Kora and Kisuke Miyagoshi, Japanese delegates who signed the Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement in Peking. Kazuo Nakao reported on the Agreement at the forum.

The letter expresses the hope that peaceful cultural exchange will be developed between Japan and China and adds, "We are endeavouring to consolidate cooperation between the peoples of Japan and China."

(contd.)

Referring to the Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement, the letter continues: "We cannot but feel enraged towards the reactionary Japanese Government for repaying the great friendship of the Chinese people by concluding a "Peace Treaty" with the defunct regime now taking refuge in Taiwan. The letter also pledges every effort of Japanese cultural circles to prevent actions directed against China and her people.

ELECTION OF DELEGATES FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE THROUGHOUT JAPAN

Peking, August 12 (HSINHUA)- Opposition to the revival of Japanese militarism, abolition of the San Francisco "Peace Treaty" and the U.S.-Japan "Security Pact" and demand for an over-all peace are among the five proposals which the Japanese National Peace Committee will submit to the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking, says a Tokyo report.

The Committee has decided to direct the peace movement along these lines. Special emphasis will be laid on opposing rearmament and conscription, promoting trade with China and the Soviet Union and urging a successful settlement of the armistice talks in Korea.

A nationwide campaign is spreading for election of delegates to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. "Delegates are to be elected from national organisations, from among distinguidhed personages and from various districts following discussion of the Conference in all localities among various organisations and trades"; is one of the leads given by the National Peace Committee in connection with the all Japan "Peace Month" which ends on August 15.

Delegates have already been elected in many places. Kumao Terada, Chairman of the Okayama branch of the National Peace Committee, Kaneichi Yoshioka, agronomist, were elected at a peace meeting held on June 28, under the auspices of the Okayama Peace Conference Preparatory Committee, which was attended by Ikua Oyama, noted peace partisan. The Committee was set up on the intiative of Kumao Terada, and local priests, county councillors, businessmen and Trade Union leaders.

Nagai, Chairman of the Okayama Youth Congress, will attend the peace conference on behalf of the Japanese peasant youth.

Other delegates already elected include: Seji Tanaka of the Kanagawa Trade Union Council, Takahashi of the Ikegai iron factory, Kusunoki of the Kawasaki branch of the National Peace Committee and Suzuki of the Yokohama Minseidan.

At its June 30 session, the Executive Committee of the National Trade Union Federation of Government Employees decided to give support and send delegates to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. It also included among its present tasks opposition to the militarisation and colonialisation of government organisation and the demand for abolition of the San Francisco "Peace Treaty", the U.S.-Japan "Securiry Pact" and "Administrative Agreement."

INDONESIAN PEOPLE WANT PEACE AND ABHOR WAR - REV. OKTOLSEJA IN PEOPLE'S DAILY

Peking, August 13 (HSINHUA) - The Indonesian delegate to the Preparatory Committee of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking, Reverend Oktolseja, in an interview appearing in today's Peking People's Daily said, "The convocation of the peace conference will have great influence on the struggle for peace in Asia and the rest of the world."

"The broad masses of Indonesian people want peace and abhor war, because they have personally experienced the calamities created by the imperialist policy of armament expansion and war preparations. They strongly oppose acceptance of the U.S. 'military aid' and 'embargo' policy as well as the recent 'Mutual Security Act' which they know quite well to be nothing but steps in the U.S. imperialist war preparations," he continued.

The preparatory meeting held in June in Peking drew much public attention in Indonesia, and the people are greatly interested in the coming peace conference, Reverend Oktolseja stated. The report on the preparatory meeting made by Suwarti, delegate to the meeting, he declared, has been warmly received by the people. "The declaration made by the preparatory meeting is a succinct expression of the long-cherished demand and desire for peace of the Indonesian people," Reverend Oktolseja pointed out, "I as a Christian, would say that this desire for peace is also the will of God," he stated.

Asked about the preparatory work for the conference in Indonesia, he said, "The Indonesia National Peace Committee is giving wide publicity to the significance of the peace conference and actively preparing for election of delegates to it."

"The peace organisation has great influence among the people. There are peace committee branches even in many small villages. There, the people use banners of peace to decorate their wedding halls, The strength of peace is more powerful than that of its persecutors in Indonesia.

"But this does not mean that there are no difficulties. I myself met with strong opposition and obstruction from many Church leaders who discharged me from my post in the church of North Sumatra for my coming to Peking. But the people wanted me to come. 90 percent of the Christians of North Sumatra support me. For truth, and to fulfil the desire of the people, I have not given in, I have come at last, and I believe that our people will tide over all difficulties and obstacles to help their delegates attend the conference in Peking."

The delegate expressed full confidence in the coming conference, through which, he said, "the peace movement will be further developed and people of the Asian and Pacific countries will unite to save peace and triumph over the menace of war."

"Through this conference, I hope that the Korean war will be brought to an early end, the rearmament of Japan checked and conflicts in Viet Nam, Malaya and other places be reasonably settled, so that the people of these countries can live in peace," he concluded.

PREPARATIONS FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE UNDER WAY IN BURMA

Peking, August 13 (HSINHUA):- Preparations for the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference are under way in Burma, according to a report from Rangoon.

The Burma Peace Committee has elected U Tun Aung Gyaw, Vice-President of the Burma Peace Committee and President of the All-Burma Association of Civil Service Workers, as a delegate to help in preparatory work in Peking and a delegation made up of people drawn from all walks of life is to be formed this month to attend the conference.

Peace campaigning has also increased in intensify. Warm support is given by the people of Burma to the campaign for collection of signatures for the conclusion of the Five Power Peace Pact, against Japanese rearmament and the unilateral peace treaty with Japan and for the winning of peace, which the Burma Peace Committee launched in mid-July following the All-Burma Peace Congress. A peace appeal for Burma published by the peace committee in connection with the campaign urges that: "people throughout Burma should unite to build up the country, rid themselves of all enemies who attempt to convert Burma into a battlefield, and join hands with all other peace-loving people to stop the warmakers."

VIGOROUS PREPARATIONS IN NORTH KOREA FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Pyongyang, August 13 (HSINHUA) - Vigorous preparations are being made by the Korean people to take part in the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference scheduled to open in Peking next month.

The Korean National Peace Committee is convening a national peace conference late this month to elect the Korean delegation to the Peking conference.

Since last June, when it was decided to publicise the significance of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, peace committees in factories, villages, schools and other organisations have held discussions around the declaration of the Preparatory Meeting for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference and the report made by Pak Cheng Ai, who headed the Korean delegation to the meeting. Local newspapers have featured articles on the development of the peace movement in various countries of Asia and the Pacific area.

From the widespread interest aroused, it is clear the Korean people welcome the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. Their discussions stress their determination to carry on the struggle for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question on a fair and reasonable basis, and for peace in Asia and the whole world.

5,000 JAPANESE PEOPLE HELD RALLY IN TOKYO IN DEFENCE OF PEACE

Peking, August 14 (HSINHUA) - 5,000 Japanese people came together at an in-door mass meeting in the Tokyo skating rink on June 25, that day which had been dedicated as a day of active struggle in defence of peace according to a belated report from Tokyo. They adopted resolutions demanding the immediate cessation of the Korean war and banning of germ warfare in Korea. They decided to promote participation in the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference and to undertake a relief campaign for the Korean people suffering under war.

This rally was called in response to the appeal of the World Federation of Trade Unions. It was initiated by the WFTU Liaison Bureau in Japan and was sponsored by the Congress of Industrial Unions of Japan, the Japanese National Peace Committee, the Patriotic Over-all Peace Movement Council, the National Relief Association of Japan, the Japan-USSR Friendship Association, the Japanese Stage Artists Group, and the United Democratic Front of Korean Residents in Japan. It showed not only the staunch support of the organised Japanese working class for peace, but the backing among other sections of Japanese people.

Among other resolutions adopted at the meeting was one to develop the movement for implementation of the 60,000,000 pound sterling Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement.

Solidarity messages from the World Federation of Trade Unions, the All-China Federation of Labour, the Federation of Trade Unions of Korea and the Women's International Democratic Federation were read at the meeting and received with enthusiasm.

INDONESIAN AND COSTA RICAN PEACE DELEGATES VISIT SHANGHAI

Shanghai, August 15 (HSINHUA) - Indonesian and Costa Rican delegates to the Preparatory Meeting for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions arrived here from Peking for a visit. They are Oktolseja from Indonesia and Vital Murillo, Ovidio Salazar, Sainz and Cabazas from Costa Rica. The delegates were met at the station by the representatives from the East China and Shanghai branches of the China Peace Committee.

INTERVIEW WITH COSTA RICAN PEACE DELEGATES

Peking, August 15 (HSINHUA):- Special correspondent - The Costa Rican peace delegates now in Peking have expressed their full support to the declaration of the Preparatory Meeting for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and its proposals in an exclusive interview here.

The delegates are Ovidio Salazar, Sainz, Cabazas and Vital Murillo. They were unable to attend the preparatory meeting because of delay en route and arrived in Peking on July 31. They will attend the coming peace conference in Peking.

The following are their answers to questions by this correspondent.

Question: What are your views on the declaration of the Preparatory Meeting for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and the proposals for its preparations?

Answers:

Ovidio Salazar: The views expressed in the declaration and proposals are correct because they were worked out after repeated discussions by the preparatory conference. They are acceptable.

Murillo: The resolution points out the way to universal peace. This is the desire of all sensible persons throughout the world.

Sainz: The declaration demonstrates the ardent desire for peace of people of different countries. Eduardo Mora Valverde who arrived in Peking earlier than we did and added his name to the declaration, has signed it on behalf of the people of Costa Rica.

Cabazas: The declaration represents the will and interests of people of different countries. It will lead to the strengthening of peace. As a workers' delegate, I wholeheartedly endorse the signing by Eduardo Mora Valverde.

Question: What are the present developments of the peace movement in your country?

Answers:

Ovidio Salazar: The peace movement, which is illegal in Costa Rica, is advancing and being carried deep into the broad masses of the people through the efforts of the working youth. The police are supp suppressing publicity for peace, but slogans calling on the people to join the peace movement can be seen even on cars and walls. For five years there was no May Day demonstrations in Costa Rica, but on May Day this year people paraded, demanding peace and the restorating of the workers' day.

Sainz: The peace movement goes deeper among the working people in Costa Rica than among other sections of the people, the intellectuals are taking an active part in it too. Of the approximately one million people in the country, 50,000 have signed the peace appeal. Literature on the peace movement frequently appeared in publications of women, youth and university students organisations. In every peace organisation, women are active workers and volunteer to sell books and papers for peace.

(contd.)

Cabazas: The Costa Rican Peace Committee, trade unions, women's and revolutionary youth organisations are all working for peace. The militant peace movement is led by the Independent Federation of Workers which presents peace as the prime issue at all meetings or conferences. Workers participating in the peace movement are subject to constant persecution. Although the workers encounter difficulty for reading literature on the peace movement, they are bringing the movement into the heart of the peasantry. Many people took part in the May Day demonstration this year and their slogans are all for peace. The trade unions held many commemoration meetings on the second anniversary of the Korean war.

Vital Murillo: The intellectuals in Costa Rica live in poverty. Most of them are school teachers and many participated in the peace movement. Rafael Angel Lluvere, a noted teacher of mathematics, who was dismissed for his participation in the peace movement, still continues to promote the movement. Other distinguished intellectuals have also taken part in the peace movement. Catholics in Costa Rica are sympathetic with peace. I am a Catholic and I am for peace. Wherever peace can be secured, it should have the support of humanity.

Question: What do you expect from the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference this fall?

Answers:

Salazar: I hope that peace can be established throughout the world. No peace means no progress. On my way to China from Costa Rica I passed many places. Here in China, I have seen that peace is in the making. A peace conference which will be called in a peaceful atmosphere is helpful to the cause of world peace.

Murillo: A peace conference called by delegates chosen from the people of honour and conscience will have great influence.

Cabazas: I hope and believe that the peace conference will take place in an atmosphere of international friendship and that discussions will be conducted in a free and democratic manner by the delegates. Resolutions thus drawn up will be in the best interest of the struggle for peace.

Sainz: The peace conference will make people realise the danger of the Korean war and enable them to understand the gravity of the Japanese question. Ending the Korean war is a safeguard for world peace.

"ASIA WEEK" OBSERVED THROUGHOUT INDIA

New Delhi, August 15 /HSINHUA/:- "Asia Week" was observed throughout India from August 3 to 10 in response to a call issued by the All-India Peace Council in preparation for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

In Calcutta, thousands of citizens attended public meetings during the week. The West Bengal Committee of the Indian Communist Party appealed to the people to make "Asia Week" a success and led in house to house propaganda work, group meetings, public meetings and parades.

Mass organisations like the West Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, the West Bengal Provincial Peasants Union and Women's Self Defence League appealed to their members and others to give wholehearted support to "Asia Week" and to play an active part in it.

On August 4, the West Bengal Preparatory Committee organised a symposium on the issues of the Korean war, war preparations in Southeast Asia and bacteriological and chemical warfare. A public meeting on August 8, at which messages were received from Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, and other countries wishing "Asia Week" success, passed a resolution in favour of ending of wars in Asia and for discussing of ways and means to end these wars at the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in Peking.

Typical of local peace activities was the forming of a peace committee in Manicktola area of Calcutta on August 8 at which 50 prominent citizens of the locality participated. This committee took on the task of publicising the message of the Peking Peace Conference to every house in that area.

"Asia Week" was also observed in the industrial area of Budge, Batangar and other industrial centres of West Bengal and in various districts, towns and rural areas.

In Bombay, a public meeting was held on August 7 under the auspices of the Bombay Peace Committee. Some 500 citizens packed the hall. Recordings of the confessions of American prisoners of war on "evidence of germ warfare" were played over. Professor D. Kosambi, Vice-Chairman of the All-India Peace Council, who presided over the meeting said that the Chinese people were leading a very peaceful and prosperous life and that builders of New China had changed the very nature of man."The Chinese people want only one thing - to be left undisturbed to shape their own destiny," he stressed.

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Vice-Chairman of the All-India Peace Council said that the Pacific Pact was meant to tighten the chain of slavery around the neck of Asia. /contd./

Madame Kumudiini Mehta, a fighter of peace, announced that reports reaching the office of the All-India Peace Council showed the enthusiastic participation in "Asia Week" throughout the country.

In East Punjub state, "Asia Week" coincided with the preparation for the 3rd All-India Peace Congress to be held at Jullundur from September 12 to 14. In Jullundur, a meeting of leading intellectuals, held on August 7 in the local town hall, was attended by 250 persons. It was addressed by Sardar Gurbux Singh, Vice-Chairman of the All-India Peace Council, and Romesh Chandra, Deputy Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

It was followed by a mass meeting, attended by 2,500 Jullundur citizens, the same night at which Sardar Gurbux Singh explained the significance of the declaration of the Peking preparatory conference.

"Asia Week" was observed throughout the Amritsar district by meetings and rallies in rural areas and in Amritsar city itself. Sardar Gurbux Singh addressed three meetings in Amritsar city where he pointed out that "the people of China love and respect the Indian people."

"Asia Week" was also observed in many other urban centres such as Ludhiana, Phillaur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Moga, Ambala, and in many rural areas.

At a meeting of the Assam Peace Council held on August 3, the council appealed for collection of signatures on the Five Power Peace Pact and for forming of peace committees wherever possible. It was decided that the last week of August should be observed as "special peace efforts week" in Assam.

In Pepsu, a series of district peace conferences are being held throughout the state, in preparation for the Pepsu Provincial Peace Convention to be held on August 31. "Asia Week" activities were sponsored during these conferences.

In Bihar, a number of district peace conferences are now under way in preparation for the Bihar Provincial Peace Conference at Gaya on August 16 and 17. Several of these - in Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur Monghoyr and Patna district - were held during "Asia Week". Pandit Sundarlal, member of the All-India Peace Council, who is touring the province, presided over several of these conferences.

In Uttar Pradesh, during "Asia Week" intensive preparatory work was carried out for the Uttar Pradesh Provincial Peace Conference to be held at Lucknow on August 23 and 24 under the presidency of Dr. S.D. Kitchlow, President of the All-India Peace Council.

VIET NAM PEOPLE CALLED ON TO SUPPORT ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 16 /HSINHUA/:- A message calling on the Viet Nam people to support the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference to be held in Peking in September has been issued by Ton Buc Thang, President of the National Committee of Lien Viet National United Front and Le Dinh Than, Chairman of the Viet Nam Peace Committee.

It declares:"Peace in Asia and the Pacific is seriously menaced by the policy of aggressive war which the imperialist bloc, headed by the United States, is frenziedly stepping up. The holding of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference is very timely.

"The Asian and Pacific Peace Conference will make a tremendous contribution to the world peace movement and the struggle for national independence. The people of Viet Nam welcome this peace gathering with all their heart."

After giving an account of the preparations in Viet Nam for the coming peace conference, the message calls on all Viet Nam peace fighters and people's organisations within the Lien Viet National United Front to carry on extensive publicity work among the people on the significance of this peace gathering and asks people of all strata to support the conference.

In conclusion the message says:"We firmly believe that the peace forces in Asia and the Pacific, united with those in other parts of the world, will shatter the war schemes of the imperialist bloc and its lackeys. Due to the determination of the Viet Nam people, led by President Ho Chi Minh, to carry on the long-drawn resistance and to the cemented solidarity of the Viet Nam, Pathet Lao and Khmer peoples, we are certain to wipe out the French colonialists, defeat the American interventionists and win complete independence for the three peoples, thereby contributing to the cause of world peace."

THAILAND PEACE COMMITTEE PREPARES FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 18 /HSINHUA/:- The Thailand Peace Committee is actively preparing for the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, states a Bangkok report.

Dr. Charern Ferbsang, President of the Thailand Peace Committee, was elected the committee's delegate to the Thailand Preparatory Committee for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. Thao Thai, a Bangkok newspaper, reports that Charern Ferbsang has written to the press announcing that a meeting will be held in Bangkok by the Thailand Peace Committee in August to elect delegates to the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference and discuss proposals to be submitted to the conference. In order to have a wide exchange of views, people from all strata and different organisations will be invited to this meeting.

YERSHOVA, VICE CHAIRMAN OF SOVIET PEACE COMMITTEE ON VIEWS OF SOVIET PEOPLE TOWARDS ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Moscow, August 16(HSINHUA):- Special correspondent - "The Soviet people are vitally interested in the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference," declared T. Yershova, Vice Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, in an exclusive interview to this correspondent this week on the views of the Soviet people towards the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. She continued:

This conference is an important milestone in expanding and strengthening the international movement in defense of peace. Every action which is directed at strengthening the sacred cause of peace is warmly welcomed by the Soviet people.

The Soviet people love peace above all things. They want no war. They threaten no one and intend to attack no one. Our people put all their heart in peaceful construction and the consolidation of the strength of their homeland because they know that the stronger the Soviet Union, the more vigorous the cause of world peace.

Brought up in proletarian spirit of internationalism led by Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet people respect the right and sovereignty of other peoples, and at all times are desirous of being on peaceful and friendly terms with people of all other countries. It is for this reason that the Soviet people, as well as all peace and freedom loving people the world over, are bitterly opposed to the American imperialist aggressive policy of enslaving people, in particular, people of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, with the aim of dragging them into a new world war. That is why the Soviet people warmly support the just fight of the peoples in the Asian and Pacific regions against foreign occupation, against the use of these people and the wealth of their countries to start a new world war, and for national independence and sovereignty of their countries.

The Soviet people support the declaration of the Peking Preparatory Meeting for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. The forthcoming peace conference will discuss the question of Korea and that of Japan.

The Soviet people have profound sympathy for and pay high tribute to the Korean people's heroic fight for independence and the achievements of New China's glorious sons and daughters in rendering selfless, fraternal assistance to the Korean people in their just cause. The manner in which our people are responding to the fight of the Korean people can be judged from our press. Throughout the Soviet Union, meetings, big and small, have taken place in which the Soviet people have registered their great indignation and protest against the American aggressors' bloody terror in Korea, against their use of germ weapons in Korea and China, against the shocking torment and torture inflicted on prisoners of war on Koje Island and at Pusan. With their wanton bombing of non-military targets in Korea and China, with their bombing of Pyongyang and other North Korean cities to rubble, (contd.)

with their destruction of Korea's cultural treasures, the American aggressors have made it clear to the world that the war instigators want no international law of any kind, no international agreement or convention.

The Soviet Peace Committee daily receives hundreds of letters from workers, collective farmers, stuuents and housewives in the USSR. They are protesting against the American aggressors' bestial atrocities in Korea and demanding that the Korean question be settled in accordance with the resolution adopted at the extraordinary session of the World Peace Council in Berlin.

In a letter to the Soviet Peace Committee, the workers, both men and women, of a paper manufacturing plant in the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, have written: "We have assembled to join the appeal of the world's millions of progressive people to condemn the American militarists' new atrocities in POW camps in Korea. American warlords' bloodthirsty outrages have no limits. When we hear of the incidents on Koje Island, the indignation of everyone of us knows no bounds. American warlords are powerless to bring the heroic Korean people to their knees, and so, vent their anger on the defenceless POWs. The American aggressors have been caught redhanded. They cannot escape judgement by people. Peaceful people will stay the bloodstained hands of the criminals."

This is the voice of all Soviet people. They therefore support the raising of the question of a peaceful settlement of the Korean war in the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

The problem of Japan is of great importance to our people. Japan was an ally of Hitlerite Germany in the Second World War and brought tremendous losses to the Soviet Union and China. To make Japan a democratic and peace-loving country instead of a militaristic one is therefore of utmost concern to the Soviet people. They enthusiastically support the resolution of the World Peace Council opposing Japanese remilitarisation and urging a democratic Japan. They also support the struggle of the Japanese people against the treacherous, unjust and unilateral San Francisco "peace" treaty and the socalled Japan-U.S. Administrative Agreement, which have been forced on the Japanese people and which jeopardise their best interests and their desire to live in peace side by side with peoples of other countries. The fight for an overall just peace treaty signed by all nations concerned is mounting everywhere.

To enslave the peoples of other countries, the American imperialists are at present trying to set up a Pacific alliance, as an instrument for a new war. They have openly stated that the Pacific pact would help them suppress the national liberation movement in Asian and Pacific countries. But the peoples of these countries have different ideas. They are taking an active part in the struggle against the aggressive plans of the American interventionists, and their struggle for independence has the profound sympathy of the Soviet people. (contd.)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Among the subjects slated for discussion at the coming peace conference is the question of strengthening economic and cultural cooperation among the Asian and Pacific countries. The Soviet people always stand for the strengthening of economic and cultural ties with other nations, including Asian and Pacific nations, on the basis of mutual benefit and respect for each other's independence and sovereignty. Peoples of the world, like the people of this country, are indignant at the American policy of economic discrimination, embargo and blockade against China and other countries.

The Soviet people want economic cooperation and cultural intercourse among all peoples. This was borne out by the International Economic Conference recently held in Moscow.

All the items on the agenda of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference are being widely discussed in the press and broadcasts as well as at meetings. The Republics in the Central Asian portion of the Soviet Union take a particular interest in these questions. In his report to the Soviet Peace Committee, Hodjaev, Chairman of the Peace Committee of the Uzbek Republic said that in his Republic, meetings were held and reports made in many collective farms and factories on the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. As a participant in its preparatory meeting in Peking, he has reported on the work of the preparatory meeting at scores of meetings and has outlined the coming peace conference. An article by him on this question appeared in Trud not so long ago.

Biologist Ivan Glushenko, Corresponding Academician of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who took part in the preparatory meeting, has made broadcasts about the work of the preparatory meeting and the coming Asian and Pacific Peace Conference in September.

Many members of the Soviet Peace Committee have written commentaries in the press and made broadcasts.

The Soviet people are greatly interested in how other countries are preparing for the peace conference. Peace partisans in our country are very interested in "Asia Week", organised by the All-India Peace Council during which preparatory work was done for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. On behalf of the Soviet Peace Committee, Nikolai Tikhonov has sent greetings to the All-India Peace Council.

The great work done by different countries for this peace conference proves that peace defenders regard this conference as an important affair. It will help curb the frenzied war instigators and will prevent the carrying out of their criminal plans. The Soviet people, together with all peace-loving people in other parts of the world, will contribute their utmost to strengthen peace and prevent a new war.

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CALLS ON NATIONAL COMMITTEES TO STRIVE FOR SUCCESS OF ASIAN AND PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE

Peking, August 17 (HSINHUA) - The Secretariat of the World Peace Council has addressed a letter to the peace committees of various nations participating in the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

The letter points out that all peace-loving peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions, as well as those of the rest of the world are expressing their ardent support for the achievements made by the Peking Preparatory Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference.

Preparatory work in various countries has been further developed, based upon the reports about the preparatory meeting made by the delegates, the message declares.

To work for peace in Asia and the Pacific, it states , is an important part in the work for world peace. The success of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference will greatly help the preparatory work for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to be held in December. The message adds, "The World Peace Council earnestly hopes that you will exert maximum efforts to push forward and organise the convocation of the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. We are willing to cooperate with you and jointly strive for the success of the conference."

PUBLIC MEETING IN MADRAS ON CLOSING DAY OF ASIAN WEEK

New Delhi, August 18 (HSINHUA) - A public meeting was held in Madras Triplicane Beach on August 10, the concluding day of the Asia Week, under the auspices of the Madras Peace Committee.

K. Subramanyam, famous South Indian film director presiding over the meeting, said that the peace movement was a broad movement of the people, and all sections of people, irrespective of party or religion, must join it. Recalling his visit to the Soviet Union, he said that he was much impressed by the tremendous urge of the Soviet people to preserve peace in the world.

He called upon the Indian people to strengthen the peace movement and fight for peace in Asia and the world.

Speaking on the occasion, Ajoy Kumar Ghosh, General Secretary of the Indian Communist Party, said that war in any part of the world would mean suffering for people of the entire world. He said that it was due to the aggressive policy pursued by the vested interests of one nation, trying to dominate another nation and to exploit the people of another country. He said that it was the British imperialist interests which were fighting against the liberation movement of the Malayan people, the French vested interests against the people of Viet Nam, and the American monopoly interests which had unleashed the most brutal war in Korea.

Narayan Doraikannu, editor of a Tamil language journal, said that it was the imperialists who were responsible for the war in Korea and other places and it was the duty of the Indian people to play an important part in the preservation of peace.

(contd.)

He referred to the coming Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions and the 3rd All-Indian Peace Congress to be held in Jullundur, East Punjab, and said that the people of Madras should send their representatives to these peace gatherings and support the cause of world peace.

T. Jayadevan and Hanumantha Rao of the Students Federation also addressed the meeting. One of the two resolutions passed by the meeting stated: "This meeting of the citizens of Madras greets the forthcoming Asian and Pacific Regions Peace Conference."

PEACE CONFERENCE OF MADRAS CITY TO BE HELD ON AUGUST 31

New Delhi, August 19 (HSINHUA) - A conference of peace-loving citizens of Madras City will be held on August 31 by the Peace Committee of Madras, it was learned today.

The purpose of the conference, according to a statement issued by the Peace Committee, is to popularise the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions which will be convened in Peking in September. The statement declared that the conference in Peking will be an event of great international significance and marks a new and higher stage in the struggle of the 1,600 million people of the countries of Asia and the Pacific regions for peace and a happy life.

The statement added that the wars already raging in Asia and the imperialists' "preparations for war elsewhere - the remilitarisation of Japan and West Germany, the stockpiling of essential commodities, the gearing of production to war purposes - all these are intensifying our problems, most of all, the problem of food."

"We appeal to all citizens to support the Madras Peace Conference and make it a resounding success," the statement concluded.

PEACE COMMITTEES TO BE ESTABLISHED IN WEST PUNJAB, PAKISTAN

New Delhi, August 19 (HSINHUA) - Peace committees will be established in various districts of West Punjab, Pakistan. This was decided at a meeting of the executive committee of the Lahore Peace Committee on August 8.

It was also decided that President and General Secretary of the Lahore Peace Committee, Ghulam Mohammed Khan and Syed Muttalab Faridabadi, should tour the whole province in connection with the work.

The Lahore Peace Committee adopted a resolution supporting the decisions of the extraordinary session of the World Peace Council recently held in Berlin.

PREPARATIONS FOR ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE IN AUSTRALIA

Peking, August 19 (HSINHUA) - Prominent Australian religious personalities have made public expressions of warm support for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference. They include Dr. Booth, Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr. Crichton Barr of the Scots Church, Dr. Irving Benson of the Wesley Church, and Rev. Lyall Dixon of the Independent Congregational Church, according to a report from Sidney.

A special conference will be held between the South Coast Labour Council and the metal trades branches to elect delegates to the Peace Conference.

Sidney University has set up a "Student for Peking Committee" to elect one delegate to the conference.

Dr. J. Burton, Australian chief delegate to the Preparatory Meeting of the Peace Conference, and other peace partisans have been widely publicising the importance of the peace conference. Two thousand Melbourne people packed the Assembly Hall on July 18 to hear them speak. Many who were unable to get in the hall crowded in the street.

Leonard Lamburne, publicity officer of the Peace in the Pacific Committee, has also been speaking at many gatherings of workers calling upon them to defend peace in the Pacific.

KUO MO-JO GREETS PREPARATORY PEACE CONFERENCE IN BANGKOK

Peking, August 21 (HSINHUA) - Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, Tuesday, sent a message of greetings to Charoen Suebaseng, President of the Thailand Peace Committee on the convocation of the Preparatory Peace Conference in Bangkok. The conference scheduled to be held at the end of August is to support the forthcoming Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions in Peking. The message reads in part as follows:

Because of your efforts and the support of Thailand peace-loving people the success of your conference is assured. The convocation of the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions directly concerns the prosperity and security of millions of peoples in Asia, the Americas and Australia. Let us strive together for the success of this conference of historic significance.

Liu Ning-I, Secretary General of the Preparatory Committee for the Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions, also sent a message which reads in part:

Since peace in Asia is seriously threatened, the defence of peace has become an imperative task for millions of Asian peoples. The firm solidarity of all Asian people is our unconquerable peace fortress. Let us join hands together to strive for the success of the coming Peace Conference for the Asian and Pacific Regions.

NATIONWIDE CAMPAIGN FOR DELEGATES TO ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE LAUNCHED IN CANADA

Peking, August 21 (HSINHUA) - "Canadian delegates will attend the Peace Conference of Asian and Pacific Regions," Mary Jennison, Secretary of the Canadian Peace Congress, told a press conference early this month. She brought back from China recordings of the statements made by captured U.S. airmen Quinn and Enoch telling of their participation in germ warfare in Korea which she played for the pressmen.

Emphasising the broad, representative character of the Peking Preparatory Meeting for the coming Peace Conference, Miss Jennison, declared that it was clear that the overwhelming majority of the world's people "do not feel war is inevitable and do believe that differences can be negotiated."

A nationwide campaign for delegates to the peace conference has already been launched by the Canadian Sponsoring Committee for the conference. The announcement of the campaign was made in a joint statement by Finlay Mackenzie, Secretary of the Sponsoring Committee, and Miss Jennison. Declaring that "the topics to be discussed at the conference affect many areas of Canadian life," the statement asks the Canadians to add their support to sending a delegation and to give them a mandate by signing a ballot form which is now being circulated.

PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR ASIAN-PACIFIC PEACE CONFERENCE FORMED IN NEPAL

New Delhi, August 21 (HSINHUA) - The All-Nepal Peace Council has formed a Preparatory Committee for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, and a delegation will soon be elected to attend the conference in Peking, declares Krishna Chandra, General Secretary of the Council. Decisions of the Council are being favourably received by the people throughout Nepal.

CANADIAN PEACE LEADER DENOUNCES U.S. THREAT TO BOMB KOREAN CITIES

Peking, August 22 (HSINHUA) - "The threatened bombing of North Korean towns at a time when the armistice discussions are going on does not open the way to the peaceful settlement of the problems of the Far East," said Finlay Mackenzie, Secretary of the Canadian Sponsoring Committee for the Asian and Pacific Peace Conference, in a press statement on August 12, according to a report from Toronto.

The statement noted that the Canadian people can give practical help towards ending the Korean war by supporting the sending of a Canadian delegation to the Asian and Pacific Conference, on the agenda of which discussions of the war in Korea will have an important place.

A ballot form is being widely circulated by the Canadian Sponsoring Committee asking the Canadian people to support the sending of a delegation to the conference.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE, 1951 12/11

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

Prague, 18th July, 1951.

Dear Friends,

You should have received our letter of June 7th, concerning the preparation of the General Economic Conference called for the 1st October, 1951 in Moscow, in application of the decisions adopted by the World Council at its Berlin session.

We hope that our letter will have provided you with useful ideas for preparing the participation of a delegation from your country to this important international meeting.

We would be pleased to know as soon as possible, the development of these preliminary works and the results you have obtained. This information, as well as information on the difficulties which you may encounter, are of greatest interest to us. Indeed, the date of the conference is rapidly approaching, and it is necessary to do the utmost to advertise it as widely as possible, during the period of preparations, while the conference is in session, and after it has ended.

To help you in your work of preparation, we think it useful to send you the draft agenda, and to give you some advice or suggestions drawn from the experience of some countries which are very much in advance in the preparation of their delegations.

We would specify, that the questions which figure in this draft agenda are given only as proposals: they reflect the general line on which the preparatory commission believe the discussion should be based and on this point it is up to you to make any proposals you think necessary.

.../...

1. Possibilities of improving the 20th Century Standard of living on condition that peace be preserved.

a) study the different standards of living of peoples under the influence of world wars (socialist country, new democracies, capitalist countries - strong and weak - colonial and dependent countries).

b) war economy and its influence on the standard of living of the populations.
- war budgets - inflation - rising prices - lowering of sectors on peaceful economy - unemployment - conditions of life.
- consequences of the policy of war economy on the situation of people from different walks of life.
- influence of the policy of war economy on colonial and dependent countries.

c) lowering of the standard of living and reduction in peaceful trading relations.

d) results of a peaceful policy.
- economic developments, widening of markets, raising of the standard of living.

2. Possibilities of improving economic relations between all countries.

a) present situation of international relations.

b) survey of the work of the Economic and Social Council of U.N.O. and its specialized commissions.

c) the effects of the policy of discrimination.

d) raw materials (repercussion of the policy of war economy on rising prices and stocks).

e) possibilities of improving international exchange, widening of economic and commercial relations between the different countries and their repercussions on the people's standard of living.

f) peaceful coexistence of different systems.

This text is but a rough draft and can only be considered as final when it has been approved by the International Preparatory Committee composed of eminent personalities, who will send out the invitations.

.../...

Although the questions concerning the actual working of the conference have not yet been decided in detail, it has been suggested that , apart from the probable opening address, a report should be presented on the first point on the agenda, and a second report on the second point.

We invite you to prepare, on the basis of this draft agenda, information concerning your country which will help in the preparation of each of these large reports. The text of this information should, as far as possible, be written in French, English or Spanish and be sent to the secretariat (economic commission) by August 15th at the latest, so that it can be communicated in good time to each of the two persons who will make the reports.

2. We hope that the draft agenda will help you to successfully carry out your preparation and in particular to undertake as soon as possible, a wide campaign of explanation on the subject of the character, the role, and the aims of this conference, by adequate explanation and without going into detail about the content of the conference, it is necessary to arouse the interest of the population in general, and trade union, agriculture, economic and financial spheres in particular, bringing to their attention the subjects which will be discussed at the conference.

3. The divers points of which the draft agenda is composed are not limited. Already some countries, in the course of their campaign of explanation have posed questions which interest them more particularly.

The essential point to explain in your campaign is that this conference will show that by ensuring peace in the world, peaceful solutions will be found to all the economic problems which concern the people so gravely affected by the transformation of a peaceful economy into an economy of war. We think that, following the example of some countries this campaign of explanations can facilitate not only the finding of personalities who would be willing to participate in this conference, but also the setting up of committees to support the delegation from your country. It is advisable, not to stick to the nomination of a certain number of delegates but to set up a committee for the purpose of supporting your delegation.

In some countries, for example in France, a working commission was set up by the National Committee, with the special task of taking charge and accelerating the preparatory work. This commission then broadened out, leading to

the creation, with personalities who agreed to participate in the conference, of a widely sponsored national committee. This committee is greatly facilitating all the preparatory work, helps to make widely known the holding of the conference, and will afterwards be able to propagate its resolutions and decisions.

4. Taking into account new elements which have risen, and contrary to what has been announced, the delegations will pay their own expenses for the journey to Prague. The organizers of the conference will be in charge of the journey of the delegates from Prague to Moscow and the Soviet Peace Committee will be in charge of the expenses of all the delegations on Soviet territory.

Obviously the application of this system poses sharp problems for very distant countries. But we think that good preparation for the conference mainly dealing with broad explanations among people who are likely to be interested, and the setting up of broad supporting committees, can help in the solving of all problems of this kind. Needless to say, each particular case should be studied independently and be settled in relation to its importance for the delegation.

We would impress upon you our urgent need for information on the state of your preparatory work.

Very sincerely yours,

For the World Council of Peace.

E. Laffitte
General Secretary

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
ВСЕМИРНЫЙ СОВЕТ МИРА
CONSIGLIO MONDIALE DELLA PACE
CONSEJO MUNDIAL DE LA PAZ
世界和平理事會

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL
PALAIS S. I. A.
JANSKA 100
PRAHA (TCHÉCOSLOVAQUIE)
TÉLÉPHONE: PRAHA 615-90
ADRESSE TÉLÉGRAPHIQUE:
PAIXMONDE PRAGUE

N'. 10.

Prague, July 18th, 1951.

Dear Friend,

You will find as attached, the text of the new letter which has been sent to all the National Committees on the subject of the preparations for the General Economic Conference.

You will also shortly receive a Bulletin specially devoted to this question and which will contain, among other things, information on the state of preparations in a certain number of countries.

We hope that all these documents will help you to accelerate, to the extent of your possibilities, the work undertaken in your country for its participation in this important meeting . We would especially welcome your advice on this subject.

Very sincerely yours,

For the World Council of Peace.

J. Laffitte
General Secretary

Received and thanks. We are working hard on this. All the best to you Paul Robeson.

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES

53 West 125 Street
New York 27, NY

Dea r John:

Your letter to Paul dealing with the projected international economic conference has been received during his absence on a trip to California. He will return here May 15 and I will immediately bring it to his attention.

He constantly expfesses great concern for developments with regard to the World Peace Council and I know it is his intention to increase his activity in bringing the program and projects of the Council before the American people and winning their active support for the world peace movement. He will, I am sure, look forward to being kept in closest touch with preparations for the economic conference as they proceed.

By the way we have recently discussed having Paul prepare on record a series of messages and songs which may be sent to peace meetings in the various countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa as they occur in the coming weeks and months. Some of them, of course, may be sent directly to the peace orgamizations involved in the given country. In other instances it might be advisable to have the master records sent to your office, to be copied and then shipped to meetings, conferences and other occasions which may not come to our attention. I should appreciate knowing whether you think this could be readily handled by your office.

It would facilitate early receipt of Paul's mail if it is sent to the address above. The Council on African Affairs has moved here a nd this is also the headquarters for Paul's monthly paper, FREEDOM.

Keep up the good work, of which we are all so proud. Accept all good regards.

Sincerely,

Lou

P.R.

Dear friends:

As you know, the World Council of Peace is holding an international economic conference in Moscow at the end of August this summer. It is naturally to be hoped that there will be American participation in this conference and in the preparations for the conference.

This conference has already excited a lot of interest in Europe and a broad participation is expected from the WesternEuropean countries. Thus the Quakers in England have expressed a great interest and we are hoping that our talks with them this week-end will lead to concrete results in this regard. I shall let you know as soon as possibleas to the results of these talks and as to what can be made public about them.

Also in England, the economist Kaldor, professor at Cambridge, is in principle in agreement to help preparations for this conference. We are now taking steps to assure not only his help but also that of Mrs. Robbinson, also professor at Cambridge.

The participation of the following persons is certain at the Moscow conference: Monsieur Dupier (journalist, former editor of "La France Industrielle")
M. Bettelem, professor of political economy at the University of Paris
M. Rouques la Garigue, professor of political economy at Bordeaux
M. Sauvy, France's greatest specialist in demography
M. Labeyrie, honorary governor-general of the Bank of France

Among those who have agreed in principle to be sponsors of this conference (although thequestion has not finally been settled who shall issue the invitations for this conference although the World Council is the initiator - the Bureau in Copenhagen will decide this):
M. Metral, President of "Les Industries Mecanique de France"
M. Poudroux, who plays an important role among French employers
M. Tron, President of the French National Bank for Commerce and Industry
M. Levard, Assistant Secretary-General of the French Federation of Christian Workers (who is 3/4ths committed at this point).

Similar breadth of interest is being shown in Italy, Belgium, etc, and therefore this conference will play a tremendous role in advancing the cause of peace. For the time being, no publicity can be given to these developments, but I shall let you know as soon as things are definite. We hope to hear at Copenhagen about how things are going in this regard in the U.S.

Dear Paul:

Ihave typed the first part of this letter in duplicate in order to send copies to Upshaw, Fletcher and De Maio.

Besides my warmest greetings, I have a few more words to add for you: I hope you have arranged to receive the peace prize. You should also know that Stover has wired that he cannot come to Copenhagen.

This is all for now. My best to everyone.

as ever,

John

FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ
FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA
世界民主青年協會

21, RUE DE CHATEAUDUN, PARIS - TÉL. : TRU. 16-94 à 96 - ADR. TÉLÉGR. : JEUNESMONDE - PARIS
NOUVELLE ADRESSE: BUDAPEST, VI., BENCZUR-U. 34. HONGRIE
TELEPHONE: 425-551 — ADR.TELEGR.: DIVSz — BUDAPEST

No:1794/a
Ref:PU/jd

4 October 1954

Dear **Friend**,

Every two years the WFDY organises the World Festival of Youth and Students, a gathering of young people from all corners of the earth for Peace and the strengthing of friendship and mutual understanding between all peoples.

At the last Festival in Bucharest, the fourth one held, 30,000 young people from 111 countries took part together with a half-million Rumanian youth. There were 537 cultural programmes performed before 2,450,000 people, 157 films from 33 countries and a number of art exhibitions. Also the International Friendly Sports Meets took place at the same time, with 4,366 sportsmen from 54 countries participating.

The recent Council Meeting of our organisation in Peking /August 1954/, decided to hold the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students in Warsaw, Poland /July-August 1955/. This Festival will again bring together thousands of young people from various international, national and local organisations, leading workers in the fields of culture and sports, having different opinions and beliefs. At this we also decided to set up an International Preparatory Committee for this great Festival.

This Vth Festival will be greater, larger and more rich than ever before. We feel that it will be very good to have you as a member of the International Preparatory Committee because of your interest in youth or in some of the events which will take place during the Festival which will help make this great event a huge success.

Therefore we are inviting you to become a member of the International Preparatory Committee for the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL INTERNATIONAL YOUTH CONFERENCE 1954 12/12

JEUNES·UNISSEZ·VOUS!EN·AVANT·POUR·UNE·PAIX·DURABLE·
FEDERATION·MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE·DEMOCRATIQUE

Jeunesse du Monde

ORGANE DE LA FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE

WORLD youth, Juventud del Mundo, WELTJUGEND,
МОЛОДЕЖЬ мира, VILÁG IFJÚSÁGA, Młodzież ŚWIATA
TINERETUL LUMII, 世界青年, شباب العالم

RÉDACTION CENTRALE ET ADMINISTRATION:
BUDAPEST. VI., BENCZUR-UTCA 34., HONGRIE — TÉLÉPHONE: 425-551
ADR. TÉLÉGR. DIVSZ-BUDAPEST

No.:
Ref.: 151-WY

Budapest, 30 th September 1954.

Paul Robeson
53, West 125 th Street,
New York,
N.Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

In answer to your latest letter regarding our request for an article by you on the music and songs of the world, we would like to ask that you send a copy through our British Committee /British WFDY Cttee, 9, Camden High Street, London N.W.1./ This is to assure a quicker reception for the English edition of our magazine.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness, and with warm greetings, we are,

sincerely yours,

Chief Editor of
World Youth

P.S. This letter is
being sent in two copies.

543174 Pátria, Budapest

Jeunesse du Monde

ORGANE DE LA FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE

JEUNES-UNISSEZ-VOUS! EN AVANT POUR UNE PAIX DURABLE

FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE

WORLD youth, Juventud del Mundo, WELTJUGEND, МОЛОДЕЖЬ мира, VILÁG IFJÚSÁGA, Młodzież ŚWIATA TINERETUL LUMII, 世界青年, شباب العالم

RÉDACTION CENTRALE ET ADMINISTRATION:
BUDAPEST, VI., BENCZUR-UTCA 34., HONGRIE — TÉLÉPHONE: 425-551
ADR. TÉLÉGR.: DIVSZ-BUDAPEST

No. 2146/a
Ref. CC/rc

29 December 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 West 125th Street
New York N.Y.
U.S.A.

Dear friend,

Some time ago we received from your Secretary a letter informing us that by the end of August you would be sending an article which we had requested on Peoples Music. As it has not arrived to date we are convinced that something has gone amiss, and that perhaps it has found its way into other offices than ours.

However we are writing again through Mr. Stan Levinson of 9 Camden High Street London. We hope that you still have a copy of the article and will be able to send it to him at that address.

With all best wishes for 1955

C Craft
for
Chief Editor of World Youth

FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE

543174 Pátria, Budapest

FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ
FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA
世界民主青年協會

JEUNES UNISSEZ-VOUS! EN AVANT POUR UNE PAIX DURABLE
FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DÉMOCRATIQUE

21bis, RUE DE CHATEAUDUN, PARIS - TÉL. : TRU. 16-94 à 96 - ADR. TÉLÉGR. : JEUNESMONDE - PARIS

NOUVELLE ADRESSE: BUDAPEST, VI., BENCZUR-U. 34. HONGRIE
TELEPHONE: 425-551 — ADR. TELEGR.: DIVSz — BUDAPEST

No. 2887.
Ref. PU/rc

3 January 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
53 West 125th Street
New York. N.Y.

USA.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Your heartening telegramme sent on the occasion of the International Preparatory Committee Meeting for the 5th World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship held in Vienna, was warmly received by the youth representing more than 60 countries who were present there.

We regret your inability to take part at the initial meeting of this Committee. Youth the world over know your name, your voice, and the songs you sing, and look to you as one of the leaders of the Peace movement in your country and the world. We are certain that the campaign to restore your passport will be successful, and that once again you will be able to take your place among us and other democratic people abroad.

We are happy to have the honour of adding your name to the list of many who support this coming Festival. These Festivals help unite millions of youth the world over for National Independence, a better life and for a better understanding. They enable young people to display their talents and capacities, the cultural triumphs of their work and their will to work for the lessening of international tension and peaceful co-existence.

We thank you for your wonderful message which will certainly assist in the preparations of the Festival.

Enclosed you will find the Appeal of the International Preparatory Committee to the youth of the world and we shall keep you informed of developments and activities.

With warm wishes for a Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

Bruno BERNARD
President.

Encl.

FEDERATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ
FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA
世界民主青年協會

JEUNES UNISSEZ-VOUS! EN AVANT POUR UNE PAIX DURABLE
FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DÉMOCRATIQUE

21ter, RUE DE CHATEAUDUN, PARIS - TÉL. : TRU. 16-94 à 96 - ADR. TÉLÉGR. : JEUNESMONDE - PARIS
NOUVELLE ADRESSE: BUDAPEST, VI., BENCZUR-U. 34. HONGRIE
TELEPHONE: 425-551 — ADR. TELEGR.: DIVSz — BUDAPEST

No 2029/a
Ref PU/jd

15 November 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
Council on African Affairs
139 W. 125 Street

New York
New York, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

As our previous letters have informed you, the International Preparatory Committee for the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship will hold its first meeting in Vienna this December 17th.

Already many prominent people in the fields of sports, culture, science, etc. as well as leaders of youth and student organisations have expressed their readiness to take part in this meeting. Numerous others, unable to attend, have sent messages of greetings and support and have, despite their absence, in this way, added their voices to the many that will appeal to all youth to participate in and prepare for the Festival. Such messages are an important contribution to the success of the Festival as we recognize that actual attendance is often impossible because of problems in relation to travel, time and the importance of your work.

Naturally, we would be honoured to have your presence at the International Preparatory Committee meeting. However, by means of your support and honourary membership, you can still be a part of this noble cause which united millions of youth and students throughout the world in the interests of Peace and Friendship.

Hoping to hear from you soon, we send our best wishes.

Sincerely,

For the Secretariat

Dr. Bruno Bernini

Bruno BERNINI,
President.

Yours
Artur London

To World Federation
of Democratic Youth —
— Vienna, Austria

Greetings to you all
as you prepare for your
World Festival.

Am certain that Youth
of whole world want
Peace and Friendship
And an abundant World —
For such they will
struggle — will join
forces to see that
Peace conquers War.

Despite difficulties the Youth here in our land courageously and tireless work for Peace and there are increasing signs of mounting alarm among the great masses of our People. ~~[illegible]~~ Organizations representing millions are speaking out for negotiations and for finding a way to live in Peace.

To Participate in your historic Festival.

All my best to you. Hoping that one day soon I shall be able to join with you.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE
ПРЕСС КОММЮНИКЕ
COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE
COMUNICADO DE PRENSA

FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DÉMOCRATIQUE
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH
FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA

March 22, 1954.

APRIL 14, 1954 .....

AGAINST THE FRANCO-DICTATORSHIP, WITH THE SPANISH YOUTH FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM!

The desire, and the determination of the peoples and the youth to ensure the triumph of peace through negotiations was greatly encouraged by the results of the Conference of the Four Ministers of Foreign Affairs in Berlin. The Conference proved that the pressure of the friends of peace was strong enough to impose their will for further discussions even on those who proclaimed in advance their determination to break off the talks at the first opportunity.

The Conference has also shown that those who gamble on war are desperately trying to rush through the plan for the "European Defence Community", and present this as an accomplished fact, from which there can be no turning back.

Everyone can see more clearly today that there does exist a small group, whose interests, power and ability to rule are based on preparations for war, and who have a panic fear of peace, because for them it is a greater menace than war.

Among the most odious of these followers of catastrophe, is Franco and his regime of "blood and gold", the blood of democrats, the gold of the profiteers.

The celebration on the 14th of April, of the traditional "International Day of Solidarity with Anti-Franco Spanish Youth" (anniversary of the foundation of the Spanish Republic) on the initiative of the WFDY and the IUS will rightly be held under the slogan, for defence of peace in Europe and the world. Against the infamous regime which has oppressed Spain for 15 years, and which relies on the support of the war-mongers, as it formerly relied on the help of German and Italian fascism for its establishment. The youth of the world who demand freedom and life for their heroic Spanish brothers and sisters, recognises that they too are defenders of peace, and fighters for the freedom of all people.

The recent signature of a military pact with the USA, with installations of atomic depots and bacteriological weapons; the construction of gigantic aero-naval bases, and the provision of vast quantities of weapons and war credits, leads to the open transformation of Spain into a military base.

ADRESSE: BENCZUR-UTCA 34. BUDAPEST — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: DIVSZ BUDAPEST

Supplement of WORLD YOUTH No. 1/1955

Documents of the International Gathering of Rural Youth

Vienna, December 9th—15th, 1954

Meeting hall of the International Gathering of Rural Youth

Appeal of the Participants of the International Gathering of Rural Youth

Vienna, December 9th—15th, 1954

Young Men and Women of the Countryside

We, the representatives of the rural youth of 69 countries, assembled for the first time in an International Gathering of Rural Youth, come together to discuss the situation of young people of the countryside and to point out the means of common action to obtain a better life, we address you!

The life of most of us is made difficult and joyless by the insufficiency and lack of land and work, by natural catastrophes and by the backward state of the countryside.

The facilities for culture, education, leisure and sports are very limited for the young people of a great number of countries; in many cases we are deprived of democratic liberties and of our most elementary democratic rights.

Particularly tragic is the situation of the rural youth of the colonial and dependent countries.

The war-preparations, the armaments-race and increasing military expenditure, the artificial obstacles to the development of international trade and exchange, aggrevate even more the situation and seriously affect the agriculture and the whole economy of a great number of countries.

Young people of the villages, whatever our opinions and beliefs, whatever the organisations to which we belong, all of us want a dignified and joyful life.

We are convinced that it is possible to improve our living conditions. Success attained during the preparations for the International Gathering has further strengthened our confidence and has stimulated our just struggle for the achievement of our most cherished aspirations.

The preparations for the Gathering and the Gathering itself have shown that we have become stronger, that our voice, the voice of millions of rural youth thirsting for progress and happiness, can no longer be stifled.

Young Men and Women of the Countryside

We appeal to you to act for the realisation of the World Charter of the demands of rural youth adopted by our International Gathering. Supplement it, adapt it to the specific conditions in your country, your village, and your section! Through your united action obtain work and access to land, just wages for your work and tax reductions. Demand the satisfaction of your legitimate rights to education, culture, sports, and leisure, oppose the creation of aggressive military blocks and win increased agricultural credits at the expense of military budgets!

Together with the youth of the towns and the entire people of our countries, let us fight for a better life, for national independence and for peace! Peace and the national independence of our countries will facilitate the realisation of our demands, will guarantee our countries against destruction and servitude.

Young People of the Towns, Men and Women of the whole World!

The action of rural youth forms a part of the common struggle of the youth of all nations for a better life of liberty and prosperity.

We appeal to you to strengthen your invaluable solidarity and to support with even greater force our actions for the satisfaction of our just demands.

On behalf of the millions of rural youth of all countries, we appeal to the various youth, peasant, trade union, student, political, religious, cultural, sport and other organisations to assume their responsibility in furthering our fight for a better life!

Young Men and Women of all Countries!

Let us strengthen our solidarity and our friendship now and in the future!

Let us redouble our efforts and our enthusiasm for the victory of our demands!

Let us unite for a better life for the happiness of the young generation!

Our strength lies in our unity, in unity there is the guarantee of the success of our just struggle for a happy future, for peace among nations!

Danish delegates and a Japanese friend met for a friendly chat together

WORLD CHARTER

The Fundamental Demands of Rural Youth

In December 1953 the youth of the province of San Alberto di Ravenna (Italy) addressed the rural youth of the world with an appeal to hold the International Gathering of Rural Youth.

This initiative met with a great response in all countries. At the meeting of the International Preparatory Committee, established to prepare the Gathering (April, 1954, Denmark), a draft of the World Charter of the Fundamental Demands of Rural Youth was worked out.

During the preparation for the Gathering this draft was discussed by thousands of young boys and girls of all countries in numerous meetings and conferences. After elaborating their own charters of demands they completed the draft by making proposals and amendments.

The present Charter, adopted by us, the participants in the International Gathering of Rural Youth, contains the basic and vital demands of rural youth of the world. It is the result of large-scale discussions during the preparations and the course of the Gathering.

Each group of young rural people has its' specific demands for the realization of which they are fighting. But there are also demands which concern the majority of rural youth.

This Charter expresses the interests and hopes of millions of young boys and girls of the countryside, on whose behalf we state:

The Young Men and Women of the Countryside Demand:

— Work and higher wages for their work, prohibition of all involuntary or non-paid services.

— Granting of land at the expense of the state or uncultivated land or of land which is now in the hands of foreign companies etc. to young boys and girls of the countryside who have been robbed of their land or have only insufficient means to establish their own homes.

— Liquidation of all feudal survivals, granting of all civic rights and democratic liberties to the young men and girls: freedom of speech and press, real opportunities for founding their own organisations, freedom of assembly, the right to vote and opportunities for participating in the social and political life of the country.

— The reduction of taxes and the granting of long-term state loans at minimum interest, state assistance for buying agricultural implements, seeds and fertilisers at reasonable and moderate prices.

— National assistance for young people to set up their own homes.

Delegates to the Gathering arrived from all corners of the world. Henri Martin (on the right) in a friendly talk with delegates from British-Soudan, Viet-Nam and Lebanon

— Encouragement from the state for social activities, mutual help, co-operation in work and exchange of experiences in every field of rural life.

— Construction of irrigation systems and other improvements to make work easier and to increase the yield of the land, measures to prevent natural disasters, assistance for victims of such disasters, modernisation of the villages.

— Improvement of hygienic conditions, social security in the event of accidents or sickness, an increase in the number of hospitals and medical centres in the countryside etc.

— Real and genuine opportunities for school education in the native language, stamping out of illiteracy, opportunity for rest, sport, cultural activities and entertainment.

The Young Tenants, Sharecroppers and Smallholders Demand:

— Guaranteed work for the whole year, the same wages as adults for equal work; adequate insurance for all young unemployed workers.

— Establishment of a guaranteed minimum wage; establishment of a maximum working day of eight hours; voluntary overtime and an increase in overtime rates; one day off each, week and annual paid holidays.

— Conclusion of collective agreements with employers and observance of these agreements by the employers.

— Guarantee of adequate and decent accommodation.

Young Women and Girls Demand:

— Equal pay for equal work.

— State aid to expectant mothers and paid maternity leave for agricultural workers; establishment of maternity homes, creches and kindergardens.

— Family allowances; prohibition of forced marriages; legislation in defence of children, and absolute prohibition of the sale of children.

Rural Youth of the Colonial and Dependent Countries Associate themselves with the Demands of all Young People in the Countryside and Demand:

— Genuine national independence and abolition of feudal exploitation. Equal wages and working conditions irrespective of race or nationality, and payment for work in money.

— Complete abolition of all kinds of racial and national discrimination, and absolute ban on forced labour and corporal punishment.

— More pay for work under particularly difficult conditions, in the rice-fields, on the cotton, rubber, sugar and other plantations.

★

The programme of the Gathering also included dances performed by the delegates themselves. Our photo shows an Indian dancer

Taking into consideration that the improvement of the living standards and working conditions are only possible in a state of peace, national independence and peaceful co-operation between the peoples, all young country people take a stand for the lessening of international tension, against all forms of foreign aggression, against all measures for preparation of a new war, against the use of peasants' land for military bases. They are in favour of banning weapons of mass destruction and for general reduction of armaments, for the settlement of all outstanding differences between the nations by peaceful means, for increased budget expenditure on agriculture through reduction of military expenditure, for the extension of international trade which is to the advantage of all trading countries and which contributes to the development of agriculture.

Young country people demand this for a better life and a brighter future. We are convinced that this Charter will obtain the full support of all young country people. It will help to strengthen the unity of young boys and girls from the country-side in their fight for their just and legitimate demands.

The Participants of the International Gathering of Rural Youth, Vienna, December 9th—15th, 1954.

Address of the International Gathering of Rural Youth

Vienna, 9th—15th December, 1954

To all International Organisations

For seven days in Vienna in December 1954, we, the 356 participants from 69 countries, representing the mandates of millions of rural youth of all categories who sent us to the International Gathering of Rural Youth, have intensively, freely and profoundly discussed our conditions of work, life, education and leisure and have thrashed out a common programme of work, aims and aspirations, which will serve us as a basis for future actions all over the world to assure a better, happier life for all young people living in the countryside.

We want to have the support of all sections of the community and of all organisations to ensure that our just demands are granted and our urgent needs fulfilled. We believe that it is the responsibility of all international organisations and especially youth organisations, to help us in every way possible to win the aims we have set out in the World Charter of Rural Youth.

We will welcome every effort to join with us in winning the aims set out in the Charter and the decisions of our International Gathering of Rural Youth, and we call upon all international organisations, to work with us and to co-operate in assuring that we, the youth of the countryside of all lands, will win a happier life in a world of peace.

The Gathering charges the Presidium to assure that this address and all the requisite documents of the Gathering are presented to all international organisations.

APPEL DU COMITE INTERNATIONAL PREPARATOIRE DU Vme FESTIVAL MONDIAL DE LA JEUNESSE ET DES ETUDIANTS POUR LA PAIX ET L'AMITIE

Vienne 17-18 decembre 1954

Jeunes gens et jeunes filles du monde entier!
Du 31 juillet au 14 aout 1955 aura lieu a Varsovie la fete traditionelle de la jeune generation, le Veme Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants pour la Paix et l'Amitié.

Les préparatifs du Festival se déroulent dans les circonstances qui rendent indispensable pour la jeunesse de tous les pays, de s'unir encore davantage evc tous les peuples épris de paix afin d'élargir la coopération internationale, réaliser une meilleure compréhe sion réciproque, pour l'indépendance nationale et la paix.

Chers Amis! Le Festival est votre fete, est la fete de l'amitié de la jeunesse, de tous les jeunes gens et toutes les jeunes filles, sans distinction de leurs opinions politiques ou croyances réligieuses, de race, de nationalité.

Le programme du Festival répond á tous les interets de la jeunesse. Il vous donne la possibilité d'exprimer toutes vos aspirations, de montrer la richesse de votre patrimoine national, vos aspiration, dans lesdomaines de la culture, de l'art et des sports. Dans le programme sont prévus de grandes manifestations d'amitié, des rencontres professionnelles d'ouvriers, de paysans, d'étudiants, des représentations artistiques, des concours littéraires, de musique et autres; différentes compétitions sportives, de multiples rencontres entre délégations, des festivals de film, des expositions et d'autres évenements variés. Le Festival vous donnera également la possibilité de faire connaisance avec les jeunes de différents pays du monde et avec la jeunesse polonaise qui nous a donné si amicalement la possibilité de tenir notre fete dans la capitale reconstruite de sa patrie

Jeunes gens et jeunes filles!
Nous, les représentants d'organisations internationales, nationales, locales de la jeunesse et des étudiants, syndicales, rurales, féminines, réligieuses, culturelles et sportives, nous, les représentants de la culture, artistes, sportifs de différentes convinctions réligieuses et politiques, qui sommes réunis á la premiere réunion

du Comité International Préparatoire du Veme Festival, nous vous appelons: Préparez-vous pour le Veme Fetival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des étudints. Popularisez le Festival et ses nobles buts par tous les moyens possibles. Elargissez les comités préparatoires et de patronage du Festival existants et formez des comités nationaux, régionaux et locaux; Formez-les dans les usines et les fabriques, dans les entreprises, les buraux, les universités et les écoles, les campagnes et les villages, dans vos localités, interessant toutes les organisations et personnalités.
Organisez des fetes de masse, des festivals, des rencontres, réunions de la jeunesse, concours, concerts, soirées artistiques, organisez des relais, des compétitions sportives. Elisez vos délégués au Festival.
Participez au collecte de fonds pour l'envoi de vos délégués á Varsovie, contribuez au Fonds de Solidarité pour aider les jeunes des pays coloniaux, dépendants et sous-développés á participer au Veme Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants.

Au nom du renforcement de l'amitié et de l'unité entre la jeunesse, nous nous adressons á toutes les organisations internationales, nationales, régionales et locales de la jeunesse et des étudiants en les appelant á participer activement aux préparatifs et au déroulement du Veme Festival de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants pour la Paix et l'Amitié!
Ecrivains, savants, artistes, champions sportifs! Vous jouissez d'une grande autorité et estime de la part des jeunes; ils attendent votre aide et votre soutien. Apportez vos connaisances, vos expériences et vos capacités aux préparatifs et au déroulement de cette fete mondiale de la jeunesse!

Le Comité International Préparatoire exprime sa convinction que toute la jeunesse entendra cet appel et qu'elle fera du Veme Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants une grandiose manifestation de la jeunesse de tous les pays du monde aspirant á une vie meilleure, au bonheur, á l'amitié et á la paix entre tous les peuples.
C'est de vous, de votre participation, du travail préparatoire que dépend le succes du Veme Festival.

En avant vers le Veme Festival Mondial de la Jeunesse et des Etudiants pour la Paix et l'Amitié!

.-.-.

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

Vienna session, November 23 - 28, 1953.

DECLARATION OF THE WFDY SECRETARIAT 1

RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL 1

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES WHO DESIRE A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION 3

RESOLUTION OF THE CULTURAL COMMISSION 4

CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION BY JACQUES DENIS, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH 4

DECLARATION OF THE WFDY SECRETARIAT

After the meeting of the World Peace Council, which met in Vienna from the 23rd to the 28th of November, the Secretariat of the World Federation of Democratic Youth approves without reservation the important decisions of this session and calls on the youth to join with all their strength carrying them out.

The principal task of the hour fixed by the World Peace Council is to work for the lessening of international situation. Young people understand and will understand more and more that this is the way for the solution of problems which weigh heavily upon their life in different countries, as it has already been pointed out by the IIIrd World Youth Congress.

The Secretariat of the WFDY approves of the World Peace Council action in warning the peoples against the schemes of those who are opposed to the lessening of internationall tension , and in making concrete proposals which can strengthen the effectiveness of the struggle for peace. It welcomes the idea of a world gathering which would allow the exchange of all points of views and the examination of possible solutions for all the problems which endanger peace, as a new and great contribution to the cause of peace.

The paramount task of each young person, of each youth organisation is to take part, bringing their own ideals and definite actions according to the situation in each country, in the great action of the peoples for the lessening of international tension , the success of negotiations, the triumph of peaceful solutions. The considerable successes already obtained in this way, from the armistice in Korea to the progress achieved by the idea of a meeting of the Great Powers, will stimulate us in this action which will be victorious.

December 2nd, 1953.

The W.F.D.Y. Secretariat

RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

The Budapest Appeal for negotiation, launched by the World Council of Peace, has had profound repercussions and has won the widest support. As a result of this campaign, the idea of settling international differences by agreements acceptable to all is daily winning ground and bearing fruit.

The end of hostilities in Korea was a victory for the cause of peace.

The latest exchange of Notes between the Great Powers proves that the holding in the near future of a Four Power Conference on the German question is possible.

The idea of ending hostilities and reaching a peaceful solution in Indochina is making progress both in France and in Vietnam.

But forces opposed to the easing of international tension are using the word "negotiation" to veil plans for prolonging the Cold War. Negotiations cannot be realised if one party is conforted by the other with accomplished facts: the desire for negotia tion cannot be present if conditions are created to make it fail.

In Asia and in Europe, there are situations and conflicts which are especially endangering World Peace.

In Korea, negotiations are in danger. The intention to exclude neutral nations, especially India, from a Political Conference dealing with specifically Asian interests could cause the failure of negotiations. The peoples will not allow hostilities in Korea to be resumed.

The interests of European security demand the quickest possible settlement of the German problem. This settlement is only possible by agreement between the Four Powers - the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France. The main obstacle which stands in the way of this agreement is the intention of one side to rebuild German militarism and to bring Germany into the war coalition directed against the other.

The World Council of Peace calls upon the peoples of Europe to prevent the ratification of the Treaties concerning the European Army and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form. This would open the way to agreement on the German problem between the Four Powers, thereby offering the German people the prospect of a peaceful future and giving to all the peoples of Europe a guarantee against the revival of aggressive forces in Germany.

For the last seven years there has been war between France and Viet Nam which can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

The World Council of Peace welcomes the proposal made in this direction by the delegation of the Vietnam Democratic Republic supported by the Chinese delegation. This proposal, to which the French delegation made a favourable reply, could serve as a basis for settlement.

The World Council of Peace has always affirmed that foreign interference, occupation by foreign troops and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, constitutes a threat both to the peoples independence and to peace.

Such a policy is also being developed in the Near and Middle East, Latin America and Africa. It shows itself in Europe, particularly by the plan for the European Defence Community and the installation of atomic bases in Spain, in Asia by the foreign occupation and the intensification of the rearmament of Japan, and in Pakistan where the United States is trying to set up military bases. This latest effort threatens to bring about a war psyhosis amongst hundreds of millions of people in yet another part of the world.

The armaments race and the manufacture of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction, impose an intolerable burden on the world, and constitute a frightful menace.

The World Council of Peace, has drawn the attention of the world to this problem by its Stockholm Appeal campaign and its Warsaw resolutions. It regrets that the United Nations Organisation has not yet reached agreement on these matters, and hopes that steps will be taken to bring about the absolute prohibition of atomic and biological weapons and a substantial reducation of all armaments under effective control.

The World Council of Peace finally emphasises that, whilst negotiation is necessary on each particular problem, it considers, as it always has, that a Five Power Conference is still the best method for achieving a relaxation of international tension.

This Conference would be able, on the initiative of each of the Powers, to take up any problem felt to be a cause of international tension, and could seek general agreements acceptable to all.

The persistent refusal to grant the Chinese Peoples' Republic her rightful place in the Councils of the World is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference. This refusal is contrary to the interests of all states and is judged more and more severely by world opinion.

The Charter of the United Nations gives the peoples an instrument able to bring about lasting peace. The peoples should strive to ensure respect for the Charter. The infringements of the Charter have plunged the world into great difficulties. A return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter would help the peoples to ensure their security and independence. It would allow real co-operation between the nations to develop their economic resources, their well-being and their culture.

The anxiety and fear, the misery and the difficulties of everyday life imposed upon the peoples by the Cold War and the armaments race, can and must be eliminated by the action of the peoples.

In the last resort, Peace depends upon the people.

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES WHO DESIRE A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION.

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. Negotiations which were opened, however, have come up against renewed obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions vitally important for the peace of the world.

Nevertheless, the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. Economic barriers and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We velieve it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent scientific, religious and political authorities are condemning the use of weapons of mass entermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All people of good sense realise that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee fulfilment of any agreement made without the participation of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most West European countries have made a public stand against the rebirth of German militarism in any form.

In these conditions, we think an opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities, who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. The resolution, passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on 28th November, 1953, is an expression of our point of view on this matter.

The join preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the examination of possible solutions is now necessary.

An International Meeting of this nature, held as soon as possible would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

Vienna, November 28th,1953.

RESOLUTION OF THE CULTURAL COMMISSION.

The last session of the World Council of Peace correctly demonstrated the need and the possibility of widely developing cultural exchanges, a valuable factor in achieving and consolidating a relaxation of international tension.

We are happy to see that in spite of the still too numerous obstacles, appreciable results have been obtained since then.

At the same time, we repeat that many greater successes could be achieved at present, Vast prospects will open up if every organisation and every human being interested in the culture of their own country, as well as world culture, decide to enter into contact and work for fruitful international relations on the bases of reciprocity.

The full support of the Peace Movement is assured for the various activities already achieved or planned, such as: visits; exchanges of delegations, works of art, literary and scientific publications; international exhibitions, congresses and the meetings and interchange of scientists, intellectuals, artists and sportsmen.

We call on every organisation and person interested in the development of cultural relations between the peoples. We appeal to them to increase such activities and to secure co-operation on a still wider basis so that this work will be even more effective.

A MEETING OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PARTICIPANTS INTERESTED IN THE PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

On the initiative of the WFDY delegation, a friendly meeting brought together the members of youth movements or people interested in the problems of youth, during the session. Jacques Denis, General Secretary of the WFDY presented information on the tasks of the youth in the struggle for peace and the programme of work of the WFDY.

The social took place in a cordial atmosphere and ended with the songs of different countries of the world.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION BY JACQUES DENIS, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH.

Dear Friends,

On behalf of the WFDY, I would like right away to express our full agreement with the proposals presented by President Joliot-Curie with the aim of strengthening action to promote the lessening of international tension.

To try and point out how such proposals respond to the deep feelings of all the youth, I would like to recall an event that happened precisely four months ago. 1,500 young people were gathered in the IIIrd World Youth Congress. At this Congress which was the gathering of very different young people, many of whom met for the first time, one morning the signature of the armistice in Korea was announced. And suddenly young White, Yellow, Black people, we threw ourselves into each others arms, we embraced, we sang, we laughed, we cried. This was an indescribable hour.

Indeed, we understood - and this was emphasized - that this was only a beginning and many efforts would still need to be made in order that peace be won. But we were conscious of living in a great time, a time in which for the first time the peoples were powerful enough to impose the end of a war by bringing the

whole weight of their vigilance to bear on the negotiations. The time when the proof was found that that which neither the worst atrocities, nor the most outrageous war could advance even one step forward, could be achieved by negotiations. The Congress proclaimed that the youth have the task to "support actively the efforts of the peoples directed towards international relaxation. An end can be put to the bloodshed, the cold war can be ended.

For the youth the demanding of the easing of international tension is vital. A situation in which the insecurity, anxiety for the tomorrow and the consequent misery of overwhelming military burdens reign, where the youth find a barrier before each of their most simple hopes and dreams, such a situation cannot be allowed to last. Much has been spoken and written about youth morality in a certain number of countries where the repercussions of international tension, of the "cold war" are particularly apparent. But the influence of war and terror propaganda has been too little discussed. Even school children learn that the bursting flash of the "Bomb" or the paralysing poisons or the microbes can kill in a moment or destroy all that is so much in need of love, all that untiring sacrifices of parents, so much education, and labour have been needed to make live and grow.

That what is remarkable is not that only a small fraction of the youth in these countries abandoned themselves to a poisoned, crude and despairing conception of life, what is remarkable is that the essential part of the youth are of a moral health which reveals their daily fight and at the very least their refusal of war and death.

These things are not useless to recall here for if we can appreciate this, we will do more in order that this refusal becomes unceasingly more active and brings to the forces of peace a strengthening which is at present not sufficient in certain cases.

The strengthening of the activities of the youth for peace is especially shown in the preparation and the holding of international youth events last summer. I have already spoken of the World Youth Congress. The IVth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship which followed it, allowed the task of fighting more actively for the easing of international tension which gives life to the ideals of peace and friendship, to be placed before millions of young people.

The 30.000 delegates coming from 111 countries - numbers never before reached in an international meeting- represented millions of young people and also peace defenders of all ages who demonstrated their support in a thousand ways. From France came 3.500 delegates, from Finland 2.400, from ~~Great Britain~~ 1.100, from Algeria 190, from Egypt 140, from India 150, all the countries of North and South America were represented, with the exeption of the American Colony Puerto Rico. The Chilean delegation alone numbered young people of 44 different organizations. Hundreds of meetings among the delegations permitted these young people to know each other better, and to make common agreements, such as in the meetings of young americans and Koreans, French and Vietnamese, British and Chinese. For example the text drawn up by French and German delegates was widely published and presented for the approval of young French people during action against the Bonn and Paris treaties.

The breadth of the cultural and sports events of these days is not less important. The festival constituted the broadest cultural and sports exchange and was of an extremely high standard. The cultural programme grouped the groups and soloists from 65 countries performing 531 concerts and programmes. 3.111 participants signed up for the cultural competitions in 11 different classes. 214 received the envied title of Festival Laureat.

As for sports, the International Friendly Youth Sports Competitions took place for the first time. 4.366 sportsmen from 54 countries participated in them. They included sports which did not figure in the Olympic Games. Five world records, 93 national records were broken. To indicate for example the quality of the organisation in a field where our work until now was not very wide spread, let us point out that an international sports organisation, the olley-ball Federation, recently decided to participate henceforth in the organisation of a specialised tour, every two years, in the framework of the Festival competitions, on the basis of the positive experiences of this year. These are results of great importance, at a time when a campaign has been carried out to affirm that the idea of peace and friendship was, one may wonder why, incompatible with sport. We, for our part, are sure that such competitions, like the Olympic Games, serve and will serve in their way, the easing of the international situation and the friendship of the peoples for peace.

I shall not insist here on what such cultural and sports demonstrations bring about precisely from the point of view of education of youth in a positive and optimist sense, as this had been already dealt with by us in previous sessions of the World Peace Council. What I would like to stress is, the service these experiences of the Congress and the Festival, as well as that of the IIIrd World Students Congress, held at the beginning of September and which was also concerned with the defence of peace, have rendered.

The delegates have returned to their countries, convinced that the whole of the youth must be gathered together for this vital struggle, convinced of the necessity of great and broad activities, making possible this gathering together in ways appropriate to the needs and the feelings of youth. Thousand of report back meetings were held, cultural groups presented their talents uniting the treasures of the national culture of their people and those of other countries - the common treasure of mankind. Local and regional festivals were organised. Young people are participating more actively in the activity of the peace movement. From now on they understand better that the ideas of peace and friendship are not purely sentimental ideas, but have a content deeply linked to that what is the essential preoccupation of each people in every national situation. These are ideas inseparable from continual, hard and definite action.

Much time would be needed only to reckon the many fold activities already agreed on, or about to be decided. I would like to say simply that they are being worked out in dozens of countries, practically in all the countries of Europe and America, as well as in a great number of others. These are initiatives inspired by the Festival, national or regional festivals, gatherings of all natures, international camps, exchanges of delegations and others.

Particularly important will be the festivals to be organised on one hand in Latin America, in Chile, on the other hand in Central America, in Guatemala, as well as the international camp of the Northern countries, planned in Norway. Among the sports initiatives, that of the Friendly Winter Sports should be particularly quoted.

The exchange of delegations will be on a wide scale. The French students delegation which recently visited the USSR has invited a Soviet delegation for Spring. A delegation grouping the whole of youth organisations of France is now being organised on a reciprocal basis.

Our WFDY has decided to organise, to encourage all the initiatives taken on an international scale for cultural and sports exchanges, a big campaign gathering all these actions under the title: "Through acquaintance to Friendship". We mean this to serve the cause of bringing together the peoples, of which the Budapest session of the World Peace Council justly said

that it will hasten the negotiation of Governments.

It is in the same spirit that young people of the six countries menaced by the "European Army" prepare a common action,expressing a real community, their community of struggle against the common danger of war and servitude. It is planned that afterwards an other such action be organised broader, extending to all young people of the countries who are anxious about the rebirth of militarisation in Western Germany be organised, concluding by a series of rallies at the different borders of Germany. The young Frenchmen, Belgians,Dutch and Germans,the Danes and Germans,Polish,Czech and Germans, Austrian and Germans will meet at these borders where so many times hostile lines have been built and battles taken place and there joining their hands they will build friendly bridges between the peoples who fight for peace. This will be a worthy reply to this lying "European" propaganda which is intended to make young people of one part of this continent fight against those of another under the army helmets of generals Günther and Guderian. The real friendship between the European peoples and youth is shown in such actions and will be more and more vigorously demonstrated.

Considering therefore, through their own experience the scope and the necessity of a great action,aining to hasten the action for negotiations and the easing of the international situation, the young generation will lend their full support, make their utmost contribution through their own actions and by their participation in those actions,decided on in each country,for the success of the meeting proposed here by President Joliot Curie.

AFTER THE VIENNA SESSION OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
(November 23 - 28, 1953.)

Declaration of the WFDY Secretariat

After the meeting of the World Peace Council, which met in Vienna from the 23rd to the 28th of November, the Secretariat of the World Federation of Democratic Youth approves without reservation the important decisions of this session and calls on the youth to join with all their strength carrying them out.

The principal task of the hour, fixed by the World Peace Council is to work for the lessening of international tension. Young people understand and will understand more and more that this is the way for the solution of problems which weigh heavily upon their life in different countries, as it has already been pointed out by the IIIrd World Youth Congress.

The Secretariat of the WFDY approves of the World Peace Council action in warning the peoples against the schemes of those who are opposed to the lessening of international relaxation, and in making concrete proposals which can strengthen the effectiveness of the struggle for peace. It welcome the idea of a world gathering which would allow the exchange of all points of views and the examination of possible solutions for all the problems which endanger peace, as a new and great contribution to the cause of peace.

The paramount task of each young person, of each youth organisation is to take part, bringing their own ideas and definite actions according to the situation in each country, in the great actions of the peoples for the lessening of international relaxation, the success of negotiations, the triumph of peaceful solutions. The considerable successes of negotiations, the triumph of peaceful solutions. The considerable successes already obtained in this way, from the armistice in Korea to the progress achieved by the idea of a meeting of the Great Powers, will stimulate us in this action which will be victorious.

On the initiative of the WFDY delegation, a friendly meeting brought together the members of youth movements or people interested in the problems of youth, during the session. Jacques Denis, General Secretary of the WFDY presented information on the tasks of the youth in the struggle for peace and the programme of work of the WFDY. The social took place in a cordial atmosphere and ended with the songs of different countries of the world.

DECEMBER 19, INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND THE STURGGLE FOR AN END TO THE COLONIAL WARFARE IN VIETNAM.

This day will be celebrated this year on a wide scale thanks to the initiative of the IIIrd World Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. In a declaration delivered to the press, the WFDY Secretariat recently "renewed the expression of its full support to this initiative; and calls on all the youth, all the youth organisations to ensure its success".

After having recalled how for the last seven years a colonial war has been carried out in Viet-Nam, the declaration of the WFDY Secretariat concludes:

"YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD!

Unite and with the French youth, affirm on this day of December 19 and during its preparation in actions, your solidarity with the brave Vietnamese youth who are fighting for the national independence and peaceful future of the fatherland. Organise assemblies, demonstrations, denounce the criminal action of French and Americaan colonialists and draw in new millions of brothers and sisters into the noble and just struggle for peace in Viet-Nam and in the world.

YOUNG PEOPLE OF FRANCE!

Go in unity to each deputy, to your government, take part in demonstrations and popular meetings, demand with all your people Peace in Vietnam.

YOUNG PEOPLE OF VIETNAM!

As you have learnt in a moving way during the Congress and the World Youth Festival, the youth of the world are at your side! Together we fight for the beautiful and unconquerable cause of your freedom and of peace!

Glory to the heroes of Vietnam!

Honour to the courageous Vietnamese youth and their great people!

PEACE IN VIETNAM AND IN THE WHOLE WORLD!"

The National Bureau of the Union of Republican Youth of France to the National Bureau of the Socialist Youth.

The National Bureau of the Union of Republican Youth of France has proposed to the National Bureau of the Socialist Youth common action in order to put an end to the war in Vietnam."After the conclusion of the armistice in Korea", declares the UJRF, "there is no reason why negotiations should not be undertaken with the President HO CHI MINH. The youth who are essentially interested in the end of this war,can play an impotant role in this action" says the Union of Republican Youth of France in a letter calling for joint discussions.

MESSAGE FROM THE KOREAN YOUTH TO THE WFDY ON THE OCCASION OF ITS EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY

The Democratic Federation of Korean Youth addressed a letter to the WFDY in which they declare the following :

"On the occasion of the anniversary of the WFDY, the Central Leadership of the Korean Democratic Youth,on behalf of all the Korean youth, conveys their warm greetings to the WFDY, and through it, to all peaceloving youth of the world.

The Korean youth are deeply convinced that the struggle of young people together with the people of the whole world, played a great role in obtaining victory and the signing of the armistice in Korea.

We wish the WFDY new and brilliant successes in its work for peace and a better future for the young generation of the whole world."

THE POPULARISATION OF THE IIIRD CONGRESS AND THE IVTH FESTIVAL CONTINUES

Young Spaniards in Argentina Popularise the Congress and the Festival.

Over 200 young Spaniards living in Argentina joined in a meeting organised in Buenos Aires to popularise the results of the IIIrd Congress and the IVth Festival. The young Spanish immigrant to Argentina who took part in the Spanish delegation in Bucharest, presented a report back and answered the many questions which were put to him by young people. At the end of the meeting,a resolution was adopted who pledged to support and apply the Congress and Festival decision and protest energetically against the signature of the USA-Franco military treaty. The newspaper "Young Spaniards" published in Argentina has also devoted a special issue to the Congress and the Festival.

Reports on the Festival and the Congress in India.

Mr. Shri Prd SINGH, vice-president of the Indian delegation at Bucharest and outstanding member of the CONGRESS,govermental party in India,held on November 3 in Patna an press Conference devoted to his impressions on the Festival and the World Youth Congress.

After having called on the youth of India to unite to carry out the decisions and the recommendations of the Festival and the Congress,he gave his impressions on the journey he made returning from Bucharest through the USSR and China.

High level Activities of the Italian Socialist Youth Since the Festival.

During the last months,the Italian Socialist Youth have been active, popularising the IIIrd Congress and the IVth World Youth Festival. 15 provincial newspapers of the Italian Socialist Party published long and interesting articles on these events and two dailies in Rome, AVANTI and LAVORO NUOVO gave regular reports on the Bucharest events. The last two issues of the magazine "SOCIALIST YOUTH" were devoted to the Congress and the Festival and numerous conferences and debates took place in the whole of Italy with Congress and Festival delegates present. In 18 provinces Festivals of Socialist Youth took place on the theme of International Friendship. Photo and handwork exhibitions attracted many young people who learned about the Festival and the life of Rumanian youth.

Popularisation of the Festival in Australia

In a letter recently received,the EUREKA YOUTH LEAGUE told us:

"You will be pleased to know that the Australian delegation to the Congress and Festival arrived back in Australia this week. They have already addressed numerous factory and public meetings and gained enthusiastic support. A welcome home function held in Sydney last monday night (November 9) was attended by 250 young people and adults. The delegation sang many songs they learnt at the Festival,and presented some of the dances learnt overseas.These were received very warmly. The delegation leader TOM MC DONALD spoke on the impressive unity for peace shown in the Congress and Festival and on the great importance of cultural and sporting exchanges amongst the youth of various countries."

NEWS AROUND THE WORLD

A Declaration of the Antifascist Committee of the Soviet Youth.

The Antifascist Committee of Soviet Youth recently published a declaration warmly approving the initiative of the World Peace Council in favour of an international campaign for the peaceful settlements of international differences through negotiations. The Antifascist Committee invites the Soviet youth to continue and to intensify the struggle for the peaceful settlement of international disputes,for the strengthening of friendship with the youth of all countries of the world.

A Conference of Young Miners in Great Britain.

Recently, for the first time in the history of the Trade Union, the young miners of South Wales held an official conference. This event, followed the recent constitution of the Advisory Youth Committee of the National Union of Miners in South Wales.

This Conference was also attended by fraternal delegates of the Scottish Miners Youth Committee and the British Youth Festival Committee.

The resolutions voted at this conference demanded:

1 - The adult wage workers at the age 18 for all young miners working underground.

2 - Sports and cultural facilities in mining regions.

3 - The reduction of the length of military service

4 - Fraternal international relations with the youth of all the countries.

The National Union of Great Britain's Students Decides Not to Break Off Relations with the International Union of Students.

The Council of the National Union of Students of Great Britain recently held a meeting in Bristol. During this meeting a resolution was discussed demanding that the National Students Union break off relations with the International Union of Students. This resolution was rejected by 573 votes against 558 and 81 abstentions.

The National Students Union with 85.000 members will now ask to be accepted as associate member of the IUS.

Solidarity with Cuban Youth!

The WFDY Secretariat recently protested against the brutal repression of democratic forces in Cuba, and namely the democratic youth organisations. In a press release the Secretariat of the WFDY declares:

"The Democratic forces of Cuba are the object of numerous persecutions and a more and more brutal repression.

... According to this the democratic youth and students organisations are banned, their leaders put in prison or pursued. The Havana University was searched by the police and several leaders of the University Students Federation have been arrested, among them their president Mr. Joaquin PELEAZ.

... The house of the youth leader, Flavio BRAVO, vice-president of the WFDY was invaded by the police and his personal library was destroyed.

... The WFDY energetically protests against these attacks on the democratic liberties and the life of the Cuban youth organisations. The WFDY demands an end to the persecutions to which the leaders and the press of Cuban youth

are submitted. The WFDY asks all its member organisations and all youth organisations of all countries to express their solidarity with the youth and the people of Cuba".

Indian Students Defend Their Academical Rights.

During the last months, the students of India have carried out great struggles to safeguarding their academic rights, particularly for the recognizing of Students Unions by the authorities.

In Lucknow, the students received the support of the whole population, public organisations, the Lawyers Association and of the former governor of the province SHRI MAHARAJ SINGH. After a struggle marked by strikes and demonstrations during which a student was killed, several wounded and dozens arrested by the police, the demands of the students were satisfied.

In three colleges of the TRAVANCORE COCHIN state, the students demanded the right to organise Students Unions and better studying conditions. In answer, the authorities imprisoned the student leaders and the police occupied school buildings. The students went on strike and organised demonstrations of protest. 70 have been arrested.

The students of other colleges and high schools demonstrated their solidarity with the Travancore Cochin students, organising strikes in their turn. Members of Parliament, the Municipal Council of Allepey, leaders of different political parties, announced their support for the struggle of the students. On November 27, at the call of the All India Students Federation, a National Day of Solidarity with the Students of Travancore Cochin was celebrated.

Columbia

At the conferences held in the different universities of Columbia on the question of negotiations, it was pointed out that with the sum spent by the government of Columbia to maintain the armed forces sent to Korea, five schools could be constructed daily for a period of two years. This could solve the problem of 700.000 Columbian children who have no opportunity to go to school. Petitions were addressed to the President, asking for the immediate withdrawal of Columbian military forces from Korea.

NEWS OF THE LAST MINUTE

An Appeal of the Rural Youth to the Youth of the World for an International Meeting of the Rural Youth.

At the moment that this Information Bulletin was about to be printed, we learned that on Sunday, December 6th, in the village of SAN ALBERTO, Italy, Emilia province, in the Po Delta, a local meeting of the rural youth, took place in the course of which the participants, of different political and social origin, launched an appeal to the rural youth of the whole world with the aim of holding an International Meeting of Rural Youth.

In this appeal which is of great importance, and about which we shall speak in the next bulletin, these young Italians, agricultural workers, metayers, sons of small landowners, students of agricultural technical schools, declare:

"We, who are linked to the land which our ancestors tilled, we want in the countryside more human living conditions and that a minimum of work and the possibility to learn a trade be assured us, to work with the technical means science puts on our disposal, to enjoy ourselves, to practice sports, to attain a certain degree of culture, in short to have employment and a happy future assured!"

.... and furthermore, after saying that this is the common will of the rural youth of all the countries, they continue:

"We therefore address an appeal to all the farming and rural youth of all the countries of the world, to their youth organisations, trade unions, national and international, to all men and women in the world working in the realm of science and culture, to technicians and educators in order that they may join in promoting an International Meeting of Rural and Farming Youth which will allow us to get know each other, to exchange our experiences, to discuss our problems, to determine our common demands, the guide to our action to create a new life and bringing civilisation and progress to the countryside of our countries."

It is evident that such an appeal, launched by the catholic youth, by socialists, republicans, independents, communists, will raise a powerful echo in Italy and also in the whole world.

RESOLUTIONS

of the

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

of the

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

(Stockholm, January 25-28, 1954)

The Executive Committee of the WFDY met from the 25th to the 28th of January, 1954, in Stockholm, Sweden.

The IIIrd World Youth Congress which met in July 1953 in Bucharest, where the delegates from 93 countries elected unanimously the Executive Committee, which met for the first time in the capital of Sweden, to discuss the important tasks entrusted to them by the youth of the whole world in the struggle for peace, for friendship among the peoples, for mutual understanding and international co-operation and for a better future for the young generation.

Two important questions made up the agenda of the Executive Committee meeting:

1) - The defence of the rights of rural youth and the participation of the WFDY in the preparations for the International Gathering of Rural Youth.

2) - The activities of the WFDY for the development of sports and cultural exchanges among the youth of different countries.

More than 60 members, guests and observers from the following countries attended: Italy, Great Britain, France, Germany, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Denmark, Hungary, Iran, Poland, USSR, USA, Holland, Indonesia, Lebanon, Norway, Chile, Korea, Czechoslovakia, Viet-Nam, Cuba, Spain, Finland, Austria, Canada, Rumania, South Africa, India, Sweden.

Observers attended from the Women's International Democratic Federation, the International Union of Students, from the Young Women's Christian Association, from the International Civil Service, from the Norwegian UNO Youth, from the Norwegian Youth League of the Good Templers.

Messages and written contributions were sent to the Executive Committee by youth groups and organisations interested in the agenda, especially from Japan, Guatemala and Mexico.

More than 30 guests and observers discussed with lively interest the first point of the agenda, where all the serious conditions of youth of the countryside of many countries were stressed. The discussion proved that the initiative of the youth from Ravenna, Italy, had found a favourable echo among the youth of the countryside. Various proposals show that the idea of such gathering has spread rapidly and has been received in all countries with enthusiasm. That is why, already a great number of the most different youth organisations are discussing the formation of local or national committees, which would work from the very beginning on the basis of the Ravenna Appeal.

Concerning the second point of the agenda, the representatives of the countries present accepted the measures proposed by the Secretariat of the WFDY to develop cultural and sports exchanges among the youth of all countries, the organisation of friendly cultural and sports meetings, parties, assemblies, regional, national and local festivals. They strssed that the efforts made until now by the WFDY to achieve the co-operation of the most different organisations in order to develop cultural and sports activities, have brought happy results and prove the necessity of multiplying these efforts.

After fruitful conversations, the Executive Committee unanimously adopted the resolutions which we publish here.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

RESOLUTION ON THE DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE RURAL YOUTH AND THE PARTICIPATION OF THE WFDY IN THE INTERNATIONAL GATHERING OF RURAL YOUTH

The Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth has, during its meeting, 25th - 28th January in Stockholm, examined the problem of the defence of the rights of the rural youth and at the same time the proposal of the Italian youth on the organisation of an International Gathering of Rural Youth.

In recent years the life of the rural youth of many countries has become more and more difficult, the number of young farmers who have been deprived of their land is steadily increasing, the wages of young agricultural workers have been lowered, unemployment is increasing, taxes are risingm and land rents and the prices for equipment have been raised.

The rural youth of most countries are meeting with great difficulties in their desire for education, they do not receive the necessary medical aid, and they have no opportunities for vacations or for participating in sports.

In many countries the political rights of young people in the countryside are being limited more and more, and in a number of countries rural youth have no opportunities of forming their own organisations, to state their elementary demands at meetings and assemblies, in the press and on the radio. Considerable sections of the rural youth, especially girls and women are deprived of their right to vote.

Youth of colonial and under-developed countries live under particularly hard and difficult conditions.

The direct cause of this intolerable situation of rural youth in many countries is to be found in the preparation for a new war, the policy of rearmament, the militarisation of the economy and the policy of the so-called cold war, which destroys normal economic relations between the countries.

The agricultural youth will not tolerate these hard conditions of life, they seek an alternative. Growing sections of rural youth demand land and work, increased wages, lowered taxes and land rents, stabilisation of agricultural prices relative to industrial costs, and the use of war budgets for agricultural needs. The opportunity to found a home and family, real access to education and professional training, to recreation, sports, and necessary medical aid. The rural youth demand the granting of complete political rights. The young people of the countryside, together with all young people are declaring themselves in favour of a relaxation of international tension, ending of the existing wars and armaments drive, for the independence of their countries and normal economic relations between the different countries.

The WFDY supports all these just demands and struggles of rural youth.

The Executive Committee considers that the future task of the WFDY and its member organisations is to carry out still more active work among the rural youth, to draw all the rural youth into the struggle for peace and for a better life. It is necessary to draw the ever increasing sections of rural youth, small-holders, agricultural workers, the tenant and tied farmers, and professional people in the countryside into the struggle for the winning of their just demands. By every method - organising gatherings and meetings, cultural, sports and other activities, through the press and on the radio, magazines and revues, organising solidarity between young workers and students in the towns and rural youth.

The Italian youth have initiated the call for an International Gathering of Rural Youth in the autumn of 1954. In this proposal of the Italian youth the Executive Committee of the WFDY sees the possibility of uniting and stimulating the fight of the rural youth of all countries for their elementary rights and supports by all possible means this initiative.

The Executive Committee of the WFDY appeals to all international and national youth organisations of all countries, who are concerned about the situation of rural youth, to make known the appeal of the Italian youth, and to develop the widest and most active preparations for the Gathering. The International Gathering must become a really representative coming together of all sections of rural youth, young agricultural workers, sons of small-holders and tenant farmers and tied farmers, young technicians, medical and agricultural students, irrespective of their political and religious opinions, of race, nationality or of social status.

The Executive Committee also supports the proposal of the Italian youth for the creation of a Preparatory Committee of the International Gathering of Rural Youth and instructs the Secretariat of the WFDY to take part in the work of the International Preparatory Committee. The Executive Committee requests its member organisations to do their best, in co-operation with the most varied youth organisations, and representatives of rural youth, to ensure the most broadly based composition of the International Preparatory Committee.

The Executive Committee taking into account the different circumstances in the countries and the varied sections of youth, recommends to the youth organisations of the different countries that they organise gatherings, conferences, campaigns, meetings, assemblies, inquiries and petitions, to discuss the questions of the life of the rural youth, to develop ideas, charters of rights and legislation for the International Gathering; drawing up mandates for delegates, organise cultural and sports events and the collection of funds to send delegates to the Gathering.

The Executive Committee of the WFDY requests all youth organisations and above all, the rural youth organisations to form national and local committees for the preparation of the International Gathering, drawing representatives from trade-union, religious and other organisations, leaders of farmers' movements, well-known public figures, men of science and culture, into participation in the work of the committees, to stimulate the broadest based activities among rural youth.

The Executive Committee proposes that the Secretariat of the WFDY organises this work by a profound study of the life of the rural youth, by helping youth to draw up their demands, by exposing the conditions of life of rural youth, by the spreading through all means of the experiences in the struggles of the rural youth for political and economic rights, for peace and for a better life.

The Executive Committee charges the Secretariat of the WFDY to render all possible aid to the youth organisations, to the national and local preparatory committees and in the first place to those of the colonial and under-developed countries in their preparations for the International Gathering of Rural Youth.

RESOLUTION ON THE ACTIVITIES OF THE WFDY IN DEVELOPING CULTURAL AND SPORTS EXCHANGES BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

The Executive Committee of the WFDY notes with satisfaction that recently there has been a remarkable strengthening of friendly international relations, that there have been more wide-spread sports and cultural exchanges and a great increase in cultural and sports activities among youth organisations.

The preparations, the holding and the results of the IVth World Festival of Youth and Students in which 30,000 young people took part have been a great contribution towards this present situation. The Festival was a great get together of friendship and was a wonderful display of cultural and sports activities and of the talents of the young generation.

These events have awakened a live interest in the young people of the world who give their active support to regional and national Festivals, to art competitions, frontier meetings, youth caravans, fêtes and sports competitions. Exchange of cultural and sports delegations has a favourable influence on the building of friendship and reciprocal understanding among young people of different countries.

To help strengthen further the unity among young people in the fight for their rights for peace and international security, the Executive Committee of the WFDY calls for still more wide-spread international cultural and sports contacts.

The WFDY will give all its help to national organisations in order to assure still greater expansion in the field of exchanges. The Executive Committee records its support for an international campaign "Friendship through Knowledge and Understanding" from World Youth Week (21 - 27 March 1954) up to World Youth Day (10th of November 1954). This campaign should help towards better knowledge of the life, customs, culture, art and sports of many people.

The Executive Committee of the WFDY approves the organisation in 1954 of the following events:

- International youth competition for Piano and Violin -(September 1954)
- International Youth Singing Competition (Prague, May 1954)
- International Cycle Road Race - (Britain, September 1954)
- International Friendly Winter Sports (December 1954)
- Table Tennis Competition (Italy)
- Cultural Competition, sponsored by "World Youth", on the life of rural youth.

The Executive Committee instructs the Secretariat of the WFDY to work out with other interested organisations the programme and rules of these events and to send them to different countries within one month.

Also in 1954 various youth organisations have planned a large number of regional, national and local festivals, friendship galas, competitions, international camps, and varied sports events. The Executive Committee notably welcomes and supports the Youth Friendship Festival of Central America and the Carribean (in Guatemala), the Spring Festival of Youth of South America (in Chile), the Friendship Camp of Scandinavian Youth (in Norway), the British Youth Assembly, the National Rally of French Youth, the 2nd National Rally of German Youth, the 4th Olympiades of Italian youth, the national youth Festivals in Japan, Holland, Belgium, Pakistan, Israel, Ceylon, New Zealand, Switzerland, provincial festivals in Canada, and South Africa, the Spring Rally of Italian girls as well as other events.

The Executive Committee of the WFDY instructs the Secretariat to give all possible practical help to national and local youth organisations as well as to preparatory committees so as to ensure the fullest success of these events. It is necessary to popularise through all possible mediums this rich programme. The Secretariat of the WFDY must help youth organisations, cultural and sports groups and preparatory committees to invite youth of other countries, well-known people and sportsmen, to festivals, friendship camps and other events. The WFDY Secretariat must help youth organisations to exchange exhibitions, films, books, papers, correspondence, songs and other publications, as well as the sending of cultural and sports equipments.

The Executive Committee of the WFDY considers as opportune the establishment of WFDY prizes for winners of cultural and sports competitions thus strengthening exchanges in these fields and the friendship of youth of countries throughout the world. It will be useful to make available to different countries the mass sports badge of the WFDY.

The Executive Committee of the WFDY proposes that the Secretariat popularises in all ways these various forms of strengthening friendly relations between the youth of different countries such as the frontier meetings, relay races, sports by correspondence, visits of youth groups, groups of young artists, sports teams and sportsmen.

The Executive Committee appeals to international and national youth organisations, to the various organisations interested in the development of cultural and sports exchanges, proposing co-operation with them in the preparation and running of this vast activity. It instructs the Secretariat to discuss with these organisations the practical conditions of such co-operation.

In the same spirit it instructs the Secretariat, and recommends to member organisations, to support actively all other events serving the unity of youth and friendship between the nations.

Thus the Executive Committee calls on the organisations to give their support to the exchange programme of the IUS in particular to the forthcoming 12th World Student Summer Games in Budapest. The Executive Committee also welcomes the organisation of the International NANSEN Camp in NORWAY.

Finally the Executive Committee deems it necessary that the Secretariat, with the agreement of member organisations, popularises by all means, through "World Youth", Information Bulletins, leaflets, radio, etc. the experiences of youth organisations acquired in the course of their activities contributing to mutual understanding to friendship and to the unity of the youth of the world in its work for peace, happiness and a better future.

NEW AFFILIATIONS

The Secretariat of the WFDY submitted for approval to the Executive Committee the following affiliation demands (which will be - according to the Constitution - definitely effective after ratification by the Council and the next Congress) .

1 - Union of Marrocan Students in France
(founded in France in 1950)

2 - Pioneers of Norway, (Norway), organisation of children from Norway under the direction of the Norwegian branch of the WFDY, (founded in 1950)

3 - Alliance of the Democratic Youth of Honduras (Honduras)
Organisation of union with special influence among students.

Union of the Youth of Guadeloupe
Founded in 1947, for the defence of the rights of the youth of this island and for peace.

5 - Democratid Youth League of Karachi (Pakistan)
Founded in May 1953.

6 - Glasgow University Socialist Club (Great Britain)

7 - Trinidad and Tobago Youth Council (Trinidad, West Indies)
Organisation of the youth from this island who recently held their Congress.

8 - World Youth Friendship League (Canada)
In activity over a number of years, on the basis of the WFDY programme.

9 - South Africa Indian Youth Congress.

We observe that the demands for affiliation presented by Trinidad, Honduras and Guadeloupe, countries in which the WFDY had not had any affiliated bodies, increased the number of affiliated countries of the WFDY to 93.

(These proposals were unanimously accepted by the Executive Committee).

FEDERATION MONDIAL DE LA JEUNESSE DEMOCRATIQUE
WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH
FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA
21 bis Rue de Chateaudun, Paris. Tel. TRU 16-94 à 96
Adr.télégr. JEUNESMONDE - PARIS
Nouvelle Adresse: Budapest, VI. Benczur-u.34. Hongrie
Téléphone: 425-551 - Adr.Télégr: DIVSZ- BUDAPEST.

No.: 212
Ref.:OF/sg
Subj.:Solidarity

February 4th,1954

Dear Friends,

The Secretariat of the WFDY addresses you today on a problemwhich needs your support and requires your utmost efforts.As you may know,recently in Western Germany the number of attacks against the political rights of the citizens and first of all against the democratic youth has considerably increased.

We still remember the participation of the German delagation at the III World Congress and first of all the information from the delegates from the German Federal Republic about the persecution of young patriots.

During the time which has passed since the Congress, these measures have been intensified.Many examples have been published in various newspapers.

At the same time the strength of solidarity has been proved by the liberation of Wolfgang Schoor,young composer who took part in the IIIrd Youth Congress and the IVth Festival as observer.

We also demand the liberation for all the youth -about 150- who are today in prison;let us mention some of their names:

Manfred von Brauchitsch ,member of the International Festival Committee,who is known in Germany as one of the "Fighters for Peace and Liberty in German Sport". Besides he is well known beyond the German frontiers as a racing motorist.During the preparations for the Festival Brauchitsch was imprisoned, but his release was achieved thanks to the solidarity movement.

Jupp Angenforth, representative of Western German Youth, member of the Rhine-North-Westphalian Parliament. Besides this he is the leader of the central Bureau of the FDJ in Western Germany.Under this title he will represent the FDJ in the course of the trial. Inspite of the immunity which he enjoys as an M.P. he was arrested in the open street and taken to prison.

Hanni Dunsche, young sports woman,who fights together with her husband -like Brauchitsch- for peace and liberty in German sport.

In November of 1952,Walther Zauner,a youth from Regensburg, was condemned by the american military court to 4 years of prison, for havin blocked up the holes intended to be used for dynamiting the Maria-Orter bridge in his home town. Shortly before Christmas

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

COMITE DE REDACTION DU JOURNAL
"LA VOIX DE LA JEUNESSE"
A.Toptani 31
TIRANA

Tirana, le 30 Novembre 1954

Cher Monsieur ,

A l'occasion de la Semaine Mondiale de la Jeunesse notre journal "La Voix de la Jeunesse", organe du Comité Central de l'Union de la Jeunesse du Travail d'Albanie, publiera un numéro spécial. Nous vous serions très reconnaissants si vous nous enverriez vos salutations adressées à notre jeunesse pour les publier à cette occasion.

En vous remerciant d'avance de votre précieuse collaboration nous vous prions de croire à notre profonde considération.

P/ COMITE DE REDACTION DU JOURNAL
"LA VOIX DE LA JEUNESSE"

QAMIL BUXHELI
REDACTEUR EN CHEF

WORLD FEDERATION OF
DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

INTERNATIONAL UNION
OF STUDENTS

No. 1836/a
Ref.: JD/sg

October 12th, 1954

Dear Friend,

As you probably know, the WFDY and IUS Councils, which were both held in August, decided to convoke the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship in July - August, 1955.

In accordance with the friendly invitation of the Polish youth, the Vth Festival will be held in Warsaw.

Continuing a tradition which has already been illustrated by the brilliant successes of the preceding Festivals, this gathering, which is open to tens of thousands of youth all over the world, will, during its preparation and the festival itself, afford the opportunity to know and understand one another better, thus contributing to mutual friendship and understanding among peoples. In this way, too, they have the possibility of trying their strength in note-worthy cultural and sports competitions.

The whole programme of the Vth Festival will be dedicated to the most noble aspirations of all sections of the youth: for peace and a better life.

The WFDY and the IUS, in order to promote the most efficient co-operation between all those who are interested in the success of this great activity, has decided to create the International Preparatory Committee of the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship.

The Committee will hold its constitutive meeting in Vienna /Austria/ on the 17th of December 1954 with the following agenda:

"Preparation of the Vth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship".

We are convinced that your participation will be of infinite value for the successful work of this Preparatory Committee. Knowing your interest in all that concerns the

youth,we sincerely believe that you will be kind enough to accept our invitation.

We hope you will answer favourably. In case you are not able to be present at this meeting, we would greatly appreciate your message and your suggestions for the Festival and its preparations.

Hoping to hear from you and to meet you soon, we send our warm greetings

For the WFDY : Bruno Bernini

Bruno BERNINI,
Benczur utca 34
Budapest,Hongrie

For the IUS:

p. Jiri PELIKAN
Vocelová 3
PRAGUE XII
CSR

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL SUBJECT FILE 1951 12/13

Ernest Socolov

"they shall beat their swords into plowshares
and their spears into pruning hooks;
nation shall not lift up sword against nation
neither shall they learn war any more

ISAIAH 4:2

THEATRE CONCERT OF JEWISH CULTURE

featuring **HOWARD DA SILVA**
SARAH CUNNINGHAM
GILBERT GREEN
OSSIE DAVIS
JEWISH YOUNG
FOLK SINGERS *conducted by*
BOB DeCORMIER
LUCILLE BLACKTON
LOUISE DeCORMIER
THE AMIR DANCE GROUP

SUNDAY MAY 15 8:00 PM
PALM GARDENS • 306 West 52nd Street

Tickets **$2.30 – $1.50** *(tax incl.)* *No Collection:*
Available: N. Y. Council, Arts, Sciences & Professions
35 West 64th Street SUsquehanna 7-4677 264

Latin American FACTS

PUBLISHED MONTHLY by LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH BUREAU
799 Broadway. New York 3, N. Y. Room 636 10c a copy $1.00 a year

Dear Friend:

At last we have a publication which is creating understanding and cooperation between the peoples of the United States and Latin America. This publication is LATIN AMERICAN FACTS, of which the latest issue is enclosed.

LATIN AMERICAN FACTS

This is a new publication which is attempting to bring to the American people factual economic, cultural, social and political data about Latin America and about United States-Latin American relations. This is an urgent need in order to create understanding and cooperation between the peoples of these two areas.

Within the short period of its existence LATIN AMERICAN FACTS has already extended its subscription lists to people all over the United States - as well as to Argentina, Cuba, Mexico and Puerto Rico.

THE LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH BUREAU

Our research bureau itself has become a valuable source of information for many people. The Bureau hopes to be able to initiate other publications in addition to LATIN AMERICAN FACTS, as well as to provide information for articles, books and lectures.

WHAT WE NEED

We believe that you feel as we do - that it is necessary for LATIN AMERICAN FACTS and our Bureau to continue and enlarge its work.

We are therefore asking you if you will be one of 200 people to give $10 for this cause - the cause of furthering understanding and cooperation between the peoples of Latin American and the United States. - Two thousand dollars will insure continuance of our work for a full year.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Greenspan

Richard Greenspan
Executive Secretary
Latin American Research Bureau

ew/dpowa 65/104

Latin American FACTS

PUBLISHED MONTHLY by LATIN AMERICAN RESEARCH BUREAU
799 Broadway. New York 3, N. Y. Room 636 10c a copy $1.00 a year

Vol. 1, No. 3 January, 1951

ON THE MID-FEBRUARY WESTERN HEMISPHERE CONFERENCE:

U.S. TO GET TOUGHER WITH LATIN AMERICA:

See Page 2 -

. Latin American Support Worries U.S. - Page 2.

. Mexicans, and Brazilian Officers Opposed to Korean War. - P. 2.

. U.S. Wants Fighting Men, Raw Materials and Under-Paid Labor.-P. 3.

. Anti-American Sentiment Greatest Since Marine Interventions. - P. 4

* * * * *

15 "FREEDOM LOVING" DICTATORSHIPS TO ATTEND

-Page 4-

ALSO

THE GROWTH OF U.S. INVESTMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA - P. 6

LIVING CONDITIONS DECLINE FURTHER IN LATIN AMERICA - P. 8

NEW BOOK CONTAINS VALUABLE FOREIGN INVESTMENT DATA - P. 9

U.S. TO GET TOUGHER WITH LATIN AMERICA

On December 16 President Truman proclaimed a national emergency. The same day the U.S. State Department immediately took action to swing the Latin American nations into line behind U.S. full mobilization by proposing an emergency meeting of the foreign ministers of the 21-nation Council of the Organization of American States. A few days later the proposal was accepted, with the meeting scheduled to be in Washington in mid-February.

The New York Times, a newspaper close to the State Department, indicated the U.S. was going to put on the heat. Its editorial (Dec. 19, 1950) greeting the conference began:

"In times of danger it is prudent to count one's friends and 'grapple them to thy soul with hoops of steel'." It added: "This is no time for rhetorical courtesies of the flowery language of diplomacy." - Especially, we might add, with countries we've shown such dominance over in the United Nations.

Importance of Conference Site: An indication that the U.S. is going to put on more pressure for Latin American support is the meeting place - Washington, D.C. This will be the first time a meeting of the foreign ministers of the 21 nations will be held in the U.S. since such meetings were first proposed in 1936.

Latin American Support Worries U.S.: Said the Times in the same editorial (12/19): ". . . ,one must point out that so far as practical help in the campaign (i.e. Korean) was concerned, we received little from Latin America. Brazil and Mexico gave troops in the Second World War, but this time only moral support."

A few days before, the Times (Dec. 13, 1950) had quoted Joseph P. Kennedy, former U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain:

"We need defense (i.e. military preparations) in this hemisphere, in Canada, in the Caribbean and in Latin America," said Kennedy. "We have no reason to believe that cooperation on their part will not be forthcoming." And then, to show that he did have doubts it would be forthcoming, stated: ". . .and we can, and should, insist upon it."

Puzzled: A few months before, Stanford University's Hispanic American Report, (Oct., 1950) declared: ". . .we are puzzled by the declaration of President Aleman that Mexico is in no position to send troops to Korea. In a revolution a soldier springs up behind every rock."

A glance at their July, 1950, issue gives part of the reason: "The general impression remains that the majority of Mexicans are opposed to sending military aid of any sort" for the war in Korea, said the Report, which supports the war.

Brazilian Officers Oppose Korean War: The left-wing Cuban press service, Prensa Continental (Dec. 20) reported that an editorial "criticizing UN (United Nations) policy in their support of North American aggression toward the Korean people" appeared in the publication of the Club Militar, and "is shaking the high brass of the Armed Forces" of Brazil. (Almost all Brazilian officers belong to this Club) As a result, Club Militar's leaders have been under attack by Brazilian ruling circles who are committed to U.S. foreign policy, Prensa Continental informs us. It also reports that "the center of the campaign against the Club Militar and its publication is the American Embassy."

-more-

Other U.S. Embassy Attacks: The Oct., 1950, issue of the Hispanic American Report disclosed that the U.S. Ambassador to Mexico had incurred the wrath of the Mexican press by calling the reporters in to express U.S. disapproval of the Stockholm Peace Petition (which calls for world condemnation of the first user of the atom bomb.) The Mexican press resented this attempt of the U.S. Ambassador to influence what they wrote, and said so openly.

Ten million signatures on the petition have been reported collected in Latin America thus far.

U.S. Has Good Cause to be Worried: Since the end of World War II the U.S. has betrayed its pledges of economic assistance to Latin America (see p.5); bolstered and encouraged Fascist-like regimes which today oppress more than 110 million people (see p. 4); followed the traditional imperialist policy of encouraging greater private investments and high profits beneath a smoke-screen of talk about "assistance" (see p. 6); played a great part in lowering the standards of living of Latin Americans (see p. 8) 70% of whom were reported as constantly hungry, as reported in Latin American Facts, Nov., 1950.

None of these policies are to be changed at the coming western hemisphere conference.

To Be Discussed: Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Edward G. Miller Jr. explained the U.S. wanted the conference for "a discussion 'of the urgent problems. . .in the political, economic, military and related fields.'" (N.Y. Times, Dec. 17, 1950)

Miller said it was the hope of the U.S. Government that the discussion be limited to those matters "related to the current world situation."

Not To Be Discussed: Miller thus ruled out any talks on previous U.S. promises of economic assistance to Latin America (postponed 7 times) or of any proposals for increased political freedom in Latin America.

U.S. Wants Vital Raw Materials and Under-paid Labor: Washington correspondent, Robert S. Allen revealed more than three months ago (N.Y. Post, Sept. 14, 1950) that a decision had been reached on a policy level in Washington that: "Unlike the last war when Latin American troops were not used in combat they will be very necessary for this purpose in the next conflict."

Allen also added: "The plan most favored by the Pentagon is to organize various units made up of men from different Latin American countries." It would be simpler to train such units, was one reason given. Fear was another: ". . .the danger would be much less of their becoming involved in 'local' politics" and thus bring them under direct U.S. control.

Under-paid Labor: Getting under-paid labor imported to the U.S. has also been in the cards for months. "The State Department was disclosed. . .to be negotiating with Central and South American Governments looking to the importation of possibly several thousand workers," disclosed the N.Y. Times, Dec. 16, 1950. It also indicated that many of these workers will be used in labor battalions attached to U.S. forces throughout the world.

Critical Raw Materials: To mobilize fully the U.S. needs certain vital raw materials, many only obtainable in sufficient quantities from Latin America. Some of these were outlined in The Atlantic Monthly (Sept., 1950): "Brazilian and Cuban

manganese; Bolivian tin, tungsten, and antimony; Peruvian copper and vanadium; Brazilian mica, quartz crystals, industrial diamonds, vegetable oils, raw rubber, and bauxite, sesal and abaca cordage fibers and kapok from the Caribbean republics, and medical substances and chemical supplies from all countries." Other raw materials and foods will also be required.

People Can't Be Delivered: Chances are that the U.S. will be able to whip most of the countries into line as far as vital raw materials are concerned, provided of course the U.S. pays for them. The government representatives might even be badgered to agree to some fighting men and under-paid labor.

But these representatives will not be able to carry out their pledges of full cooperation of the people of their countries. As one writer who has some kind words for the Truman administration said of Latin America recently - "except for the more reactionary and feudal circles, anti-American sentiment is today greater than at any time since our marine interventions." (Carlton Beals in the Progressive, 12/50)

- -

15 "FREEDOM LOVING" DICTATORSHIPS TO ATTEND

Fascist-like regimes rule 15 of the 20 Latin American nations that are to attend the mid-February Western Hemisphere conference, a survey by this publication reveals. These 15 countries encompass more than 110,000,000 people. Included among them are the leading countries, namely, Brazil, Argentina and Chile. The others are: Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Venezuela, as well as Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, and El Salvador.

Comments from conservative, moderate and liberal sources on the 15 (see blow) fascist-like regimes, disclose some of the undemocratic activities they have pursued.

The anti-democratic nature of three-fourths of these Latin American regimes thus refute any idea that the coming conference will be a gathering of "the free nations of the world" or that the question of "freedom" will seriously be considered.

The Excuse: Under the familiar Hitler cry of "fighting Communism," these fascist-like regimes have been encouraged and excused by the U.S. State Department. However the Communists have been only a small part of the 110 million whose political liberties have been taken away. This contention is supported by the statement of Samuel Guy Inman, often a U.S. Government representative at Inter-American conferences, in the British publication, World Affairs (Jan., 1950).

Inman points out that in Peru and Venezuela what happened was that reform governments were expelled by reactionary forces, which "began to fill the prisons with labor leaders and other freedom-loving citizens."

The Anti-Democratic Activities: In all the 15 countries activities of labor organizations have been severely restricted or abolished; bona-fide labor leaders and even the mildest of political opponents are murdered, tortured, jailed or exiled; and freedom of speech and press is virtually non existant.

Connection Between U.S. and Fascist Regimes: There has been a direct connection between the increase of fascism in Latin America and profits, as is indicated by Gerard Masur in The Virginia Quarterly Review (July, 1950) when he says: "We will

-more-

have to give up our contradictory attitude of condemning dictatorships on general principles and then compromising with caudillos (dictators) because they offer better returns with greater safety for capitalist investors."

At Last Inter-American Conference U.S. Encouraged Fascism: Fascism was encouraged by the U.S. at the last big inter-American conference at Bogota in April, 1948, at the same time that the U.S. betrayed its promises of economic aid to Latin America made at the Mexico City conference in March, 1945.

Inman disclosed this in his article mentioned above. He said that at the 1945 Mexico City conference: "The United States promised it would aid Latin America in readjusting itself to a peace economy," and ". . .raising the standard of living of Latin America."

Three years later, at the Bogota Conference, Inman describes what happened:

". . .the delegates who failed to take an effective step to raise the living standards of the poverty-ridden people, met and passed resolutions against the evils of Communism. A few months afterwards military coups d'etats, appealing to the Bogota resolutions against Communism, with the support of reactionary clerical and Fascist interests, expelled recently elected reform governments in Peru and Venezuela . . ." The resolution was spurred by the U.S. delegates at Bogota.

On the 15: A glance at comments on the 15 fascist-like regimes reveal the following:

Peru, Colombia, Paraguay, Venezuela, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Panama "have either set up new dictatorial regimes or have consolidated the existing ones," reported Gerard Masur in the moderate Virginia Quarterly Review, July, 1950.

Argentina: ". . .freedom of speech does not actually exist in Argentina," said the Jan., 1950 issue of Stanford University's Hispanic American Report. Since then repression has grown worse, and the U.S. has lent Argentina large sums of money.

Brazil: The National Security Act "establishes the terms of imprisonment for those 'who make verbal attacks on government agents, or spread false or alarming news in order to provoke disorder,'" states the British magazine World Today (July, 1950). The National Labor Union of Brazil is controlled by the government. Elected Communist representatives in the Brazilian Congress were kicked out after the party was outlawed in 1947.

Chile: As a result of a series of strikes in railway, coal and other industries the Hispanic American Report (Jan., 1950) disclosed that the Chilean government "with the purpose of preventing 'inflammatory activities' has exiled to remote regions of the Republic a former member of the Chamber of Deputies, Juan Vargas Puebla; the leader of the Bakers' Union, Miguel Vargas, a former cabinet minister, Miguel Concha Quezada; and a former councilman" -- all charged with being Communists. This understates the case: thousands of Chileans have been jailed, and Pablo Nehruda, the famous Chilean poet and other intellectuals and labor leaders have been forced to flee into exile.

Honduras: The Hispanic American Report, Sept., 1950, discloses that in Honduras the "chief complaint" of the Liberal opposition to the government of President Manuel Galves "are that opposition newspapers are not allowed to circulate freely in some parts of the country and that opposition parties are impeded from meeting."

-more-

Bolivia: This country was compared to Argentina by a prominent South American interviewed by J. Alvarez del Vayo in the liberal Nation magazine March 11, 1950.

Costa Rica and El Salvador: In Costa Rica, once known as "the cradle of democracy" in Latin America, stated New York Times writer Will Lissner (June 24, 1950) "One of the achievements of the 1949 revolution. . . was to drive labor out of politics by suppressing the Communist-dominated unions." Also: "These unions, except the railway workers, were also suppressed by the revolutionary junta in El Salvador." Lissner's article began significantly enough: "United States business interests are enjoying a honeymoon today everywhere in Central America except Guatemala."

Haiti: Fenelon Alphonse, chief opposition candidate to Colonel Paul Magloire in the October presidential election in Haiti charged that the election was "hokum" and "did not vote." (N.Y. Times, Oct. 10, 1950) Mr. Alphonse knew what he was talking about. The next day the Times reported that 99% of the vote was obtained by Magloire, a member of the military junta which had ousted former President Dumarsais Estime.

Anti-Democratic Attacks in Others: In Cuba, Mexico, Ecuador and Uruguay - four of the five remaining countries - increased attacks on civil liberties are to be noted. Guatemala thus far has shown the greatest respect for civil liberties, and interestingly enough has been under greatest attack by the U.S. government and leading U.S. newspapers.

- -

THE GROWTH OF U.S. INVESTMENTS

Beneath a smoke-screen of talk about "assistance" the United States government has actually followed the traditional attitude of encouraging more economic domination of Latin America by U.S. investors, it would appear from the facts below.

They show that in 1948 of the $11.3 billion of private direct investments (foreign enterprises controlled in this country) $4.1 billion was invested in Latin America. (Not included in these figures are private loans to foreign governments.)

This $4.1 billion represented 36.3% of total U.S. private direct investments abroad.

Total United States Private Direct Investments Abroad*

	1919	1929	1940	1948
Latin America	2.0	3.6	2.6	4.1
Canada	.8	2.0	2.1	3.3
Europe	.7	1.4	1.9	2.3
Other (incl. undistributed)	.4	.7	.7	1.6
Totals	3.9	7.7	7.3	11.3

*Source: P. 58, Point Four, U.S. Department of State, Publication 3719. Released January, 1950.

Note that there was an increase of $1.5 billion in Latin American investments from 1940 to 1948. This was an increase greater in size than in any other area of the world U.S. capital has been spreading.

-more-

Also to be noted is that from 1919 to 1940 there was a decline in the percentage Latin American direct investments occupied compared to similar investments in other areas of the world. By 1948 however, a slight increase percentage-wise was to be noted compared to 1940.

Latin America Accounted for 66% in 1945-47:

Of the $906.2 million of U.S. foreign direct investment capital (new) for 1945 through 1947 $603.8 million, or 66.6% of the total, was in Latin America.

In 1948, of the $699 million of this type of investments, $318 million was invested in Latin America showing that this area remains a prime source of investment.

Profits Increase:

Profits of direct private foreign investments have been increasing in both size and percentage, the Department of State booklet shows.

"The estimated income from these direct investments has been increasing steadily since the war," they say. "From 1938 through 1945 it amounted to about $400 million a year. After that time it increased consecutively to $622 million, $834 million, and $997 million (preliminary) in 1948." (p. 59)

These figures do not include reinvested profits which "rose from $221 million in 1945 to a preliminary estimate of about $570 million in 1948" the publication discloses.

Rate of Profit:

A comparison of the rate of profit in the United States and abroad for 1945-48 is shown in the following table:

Rate of Profit of U.S. Direct Investments
At Home and Abroad

	United States*	Abroad**
	(after taxes)	
1945	6.4%	9.2%
1946	8.3	12.2
1947	9.5	15.2
1948	11.0	17.1

*Source for 1945 and 1946 Trends in American Capitalism, p. 32. For 1947 and 1948 the Annual Reports of the Council of Economic Advisors, Jan., 1949 and Jan., 1950, data on corporation profits.

**Source: Page 58, Point Four, U.S. Department of State, Publication 3719. Released January, 1950.

Thus, even according to Government figures which can usually be counted upon to understate the case, foreign investments bring in a higher rate of profit than domestic investments.

- -

Subscribe to LATIN AMERICAN FACTS. Send $1 with your name and address to:

Latin American Research Bureau
Room 636, 799 Broadway
New York 3, N.Y.

LIVING CONDITIONS DECLINE FURTHER

Despite U.S. verbal offerings of aid to Latin America (see p. 5), the fact remains that the living conditions of the people of Latin America are constantly on the decline.

Brazil: A Classic Example:

Brazil, containing one-third (50,000,000) of the inhabitants of Latin America, is a classic example. "It is not hard to understand why there are Communists in Brazil or in any other Latin American country where a low-wage, high-profit economy is practiced," wrote correspondent W.H. Lawrence in the N.Y. Times, Jan. 2, 1950.

He then pointed out that since 1937 the cost of living had gone up nearly four times "and wages have not kept pace."

A year later (Jan. 3, 1951), a Times dispatch was headlined "Living Costs Soar Further in Brazil" and disclosed that: "Wages did not keep up with living costs. . "

Honduras:

For many years a dictatorship, Honduras is a case in point: "Wages in Honduras over the past ten-year period have remained relatively constant, while prices of commodities included in the average family's consumption pattern have skyrocketed" reported the Foreign Commerce Weekly (Dec. 18, 1950) a U.S. government publication. They added:

". . .the San Pedro Sula Chamber of Commerce has estimated that wages have increased 20-25 percent since 1940. A cost-of-living index prepared by Banco Central de Honduras increased 195.4 percent since 1940."

These cold figures in no way reveal the full extent of the hunger, disease, death, and every thinkable sort of misery Latin Americans suffer. Aspects of this were revealed in our November issue ("100,000,000 Latin Americans Go Hungry")

Trend Continues in 1950:

This sharp increase in living costs as compared to wage increases has been taking place in Latin America over the last decade. The figures below, taken from the United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, Dec., 1950, show cost of living increases in the major cities of seven countries in Latin America.

The figures indicate the trend for the population of all seven countries which encompass over 100,000,000 people.

	Cost-of-Living Index				% of increase between 1949 and latest 1950 month
	1940	1945	1949	1950	
Bolivia (La Paz)	214	473	725	843 (June)	16.3
Brazil (Sao Paulo)	105	232	359	382 (Aug.)	6.4
Chile (Santiago)	119	244	529	595 (June)	12.5
Colombia (Bogota)	114	189	304	386 (Aug.)	27.0
Mexico (Mexico City)*	117	247	389	416 (Aug.)	6.9
Paraguay (Asuncion)	113	214	558	868 (July)	55.6
El Salvador (San Salvador)	77	174	176	226 (Aug.)	28.4
U.S.	98	125	165	168 (Aug.)	1.8

*Food and clothing

Living Costs Sharper than in U.S.:

In almost all countries of Latin America price increases have been sharp between 1940 and 1949, and have been greater than in the United States. The seven Latin American countries above are good examples in this respect.

For the first number of months in 1950 exceptionally sharp increases have occurred in a number of countries, U.N. figures show. The 7 countries are indicative of this. In some can already be seen the effect of U.S. cost increases since the Korean war.

Since Latin America today depends on obtaining a greater proportion of its imports from the U.S. than ever before in a peace-time period, even sharper increases in living costs can be expected.

Cost of Living has "Serious Political Possibilities:"

"Distribution of the national income was even more unsatisfactory in 1948 than it was in 1940," declared the professorial Inter-American Economic Affairs in their Autumn, 1949 issue.

"From 1939 to 1948 the cost of living in Latin America rose on the average more than 125%." They termed this a dangerous increase" which is running ahead of the advance in wages." "The cost of living situation is an ugly one with serious political possibilities," they warned.

Spelling It Out:

What these "serious political possibilities" imply was spelled out by "a distinguished South American" interviewed by the Nation magazine (Mar. 11, 1950). He said: "The awakening of the Asian masses has been the outstanding development of the first half of the twentieth century. The awakening of Latin America may be the historic event of the second half."

- -

NEW BOOK CONTAINS VALUABLE FOREIGN INVESTMENT DATA

Monopoly Today (International Publishers, Dec., 1950), the new 128-page fact-studded compact work by Labor Research Association, contains an excellent section on "Foreign Investments and the Monopolies." Well-documented and indexed, it discloses that monopoly capital of the U.S. has been reaching out increasingly for super-profits abroad. This is partly due, say the authors, to a desire to take over the position of capitalist competitor nations weakened as a result of World War II.

In addition to giving comprehensive figures on total U.S. investments, private and public, the book also points out that even in foreign investments there is a monopoly. Thus 75% of the net out-flow of U.S. direct-investment capital in 1947 was accounted for by 10 out of the approximately 2,500 U.S. companies with foreign branches and subsidiaries.

The other sections of the book contain latest information on: the workings of U.S. monopolies, the increased strength of the eight leading financial groups, and the role of big business in mass communication.

The book costs $1.00 (paper cover), $1.50 (cloth-cover) including postage. It can be obtained from Labor Research Assn., 80 East 11th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

ENLIGHTEN MENT-AND-THE-WORLD-CRISIS

Paper read by George Cosson
former Attorney General of Iowa before
the Prairie Club at Des Moines.

He is not a pacifist.

He took leadership in Iowa in urging entrance of U.S. in World War I.

He took leadership in urging our entrance in World War II.

He was Iowa Chairman of Defense of British Homes and Iowa Chairman of Fight for Freedom.

E N L I G H T E N M E N T - A N D - T H E - W O R L D - C R I S I S

Address by:

GEORGE COSSON - Former Atty. General of Iowa

543 - 53rd. St., Des Moines, Ia.

In the beginning there was fear, and fear was in the heart of man; and fear controlled man. At every turn it whelmed over him, and with the crashing of thunder and the wild sighing of the wind it swept through him, leaving him no moment of ease.

All the days of man were gray with fear because all his universe was charged with danger. Earth and sea and sky were set against him; with inexplicable hate they were bent on his destruction. So it seemed to primitive man without knowledge, without education, without culture and without enlightenment. In the course of time, the idea of the spirit crept into his head. He had dreams, good and bad, pleasant and horrible.

Men and beasts that he had seen and had not seen visited him, but some of the men who visited him in his sleep had died. Some of the men and animals were friendly while others sought to kill him. No longer was he free from fear even in his sleep because enemies alive and the spirit of his dead enemies made him nightly visits to do him harm and sometimes to kill him. It was natural for him to conclude that the evil which he encountered in the daytime from the elements and earth and sea and sky were controlled by these evil spirits. Hence, the evil spirits must be placated, appeased or destroyed and the good spirits rewarded and worshipped.

Lewis Browne, from whom I have not hesitated to borrow, sets forth this thought in striking phrase in This Believing World and he closes each chapter on the early Celts, Babylon, Egypt and India with these words: "And they were afraid, afraid, afraid."

If some historian should write the history of the so-called free world, and particularly the history of the United States, he might well close each chapter with the identical words of Lewis Browne concerning the history of primitive civilization: "And they were afraid, afraid, afraid." Like the early primitive man, all our days, yes and our nights, are gray with fear until we have become a nation hysterical and psychopathic, not to say paranoiac. This is true because, with all our education, scientific knowledge and culture, we have but little enlightenment.

> "When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things."

So said St. Paul, I Corinthians, 13:11. Isn't it about time that we grow up and become men and put away adolescent speaking and understanding and thinking? Are we, as individuals and as a nation, to be forever controlled by the same instincts which dominated primitive man?

It has been said that "civilization is but another name for man's increasing victory over fear." This is no doubt true in so far as primitive man is concerned, but with the coming of civilization another element makes its appearance - - hate. We then have the twin evils of fear and hate. Again I borrow from Lewis Browne in his devastating portrayal of hate as exemplified in the ancient city of Jerusalem. I quote:

"These hundreds of creatures swarming in this ancient town feel as enemies to each other. The Arab in his robe looks with loathing on the Armenian in his sack suit and both look with disdain on the Jew. The Carmelite monk looks with anger at the Anglican missionary and both look with contempt on the Greek priest. Hatred seems to be all around one; almost a noxious vapor that one can see, a veritable reek that one can smell. These creatures seem to be unable to bear the

very sight of each other. They actually seem ready to kill! They have killed in this ancient town, killed until every alley was flooded with blood. Not a wall in all this maze of walls but was rung with the groans of the dying.

"Skulls beyond counting have been cracked on these flags; throats unnumbered have been slit in these doorways. They've murdered and pillaged and raped in this old holy town 'till now it is all but one Golgotha, one bloody hill of skulls. And if you would know why, you need only look into the eyes of those hurrying phantoms. Readily they will tell you; men have slaughtered and ravished in Jerusalem because they had religion. Men have gouged eyes and ripped bellies because they believed! Believed in what? In God? Hardly -- No, they have believed only in mere vocables -- Yahweh, Christ or Allah. Yes, they have all had religion. They have all believed. They have all had a certain degree of education and culture. But with religion, education and culture they were dominated by fear and hate because they had no enlightenment."

Without enlightenment, religion, education and culture will never bring "peace on earth, good willto men." In fact, it was in this city of Jerusalem that the Prince of Peace was condemned. He was condemned because, with the Jews, there could be but one religion -- Judaism. The penalty of teaching a different religion was death by stoning. The chief priests and Pharisees did not wish to stone Jesus because of his popularity with the people, so he was brought before Pontius Pilate, and there accused and finally condemned to be crucified.

This man who went about doing good, who taught us the pure religion, the worship of good in spirit and in truth and the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man and prayed that we might bring about the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth, is killed and dies the ignominious and cruel death of crucifixion. Herein we witness another great evil in addition to fear and hate -- the evil of self-righteousness. Self-righteousness always breeds fear, hate, prejudice and intolerance.

To the self-righteous there is but one good -- his good; one religion -- his religion; one way of life -- his way of life. All else is evil and evil should be destroyed. Even stoning, crucifixion and banishment are justifiable if necessary to destroy the evil. So runs the argument at every level of civilization, by every form of religion and by every form of government if the people have not enlightenment, and fear, hate and self-righteousness dominate their thinking.

This brings us to the next great evil, the lust of power and domination and this, in turn, breeds fear, hate and self-righteousness. The punic wars between Rome and Carthage are peculiarly apt and instructive in the present crisis. Rome and Carthage, as the result of a common enemy, were allies for a period of eleven years. The danger over, jealousies arose. The Carthaginian oligarchy had ambitions of splendor to be furthered by private schemes. Rome cast covetous eyes across the Straits of Messina upon the Carthaginian possessions in Sicily. Carthage was a great sea power. The super patriots of Rome argued that so long as Carthage was a great sea power, Rome was in danger.

It was easy to inflame the Roman public until the demand could no longer be resisted for a so-called "preventive war." The pirates of Messina appealed to Rome for help. This furnished the occasion and excuse for Rome to make war on Carthage. "So began the most wasteful and disastrous series of wars that had ever darkened the history of mankind." So said H. G. Wells in his Outline of History.

After a war which lasted nearly a quarter of a century, Carthage in 240 B C sued for peace. Both sides were exhausted by war and needed time and peace for reconstruction. "A little more wisdom and a little magnanimity on the part of Rome and there need never have been a renewal of the struggle," but the evil side of life was vocal and dominant. The repeated cry of Marcus Porcius Cato was that Carthage must be destroyed; so the second and third punic wars were fought; 219-201 and 149-146 B C.

Wells is certainly correct when he says the history of the second and third punic wars is not the history of perfectly sane peoples.

He rejects the idea that these wars were necessary to protect the people of Rome and their legitimate interests. Said Wells: "Other instincts were loose. The evil eye of the ancestral ape had come back into the world. Reasonable men were howled down or murdered. The western world was indeed black with homicidal monomania. Two great peoples, both very necessary to the world's development, fell foul of one another and at last Rome succeeded in murdering Carthage."

May we express the hope that some future historian a thousand or two thousand years hence will not be able to say, in speaking of the present conflict between the United States and Russia, "A little more wisdom, a little magnanimity, a little enlightenment with a willingness to negotiate as equals and the great war between the United States and Russia need never to have taken place. Two great peoples, both very necessary to the world's development, fellfoul of one another and at last both succeeded in murdering each other and destroying western civilization." This is no fantasy. Every element which existed at the time of the punic wars between Rome and Carthage exists today between the United States and Russia. The difference is that instead of one Marcus Porcius Cato who closed every address with the statement "Carthage must be destroyed", we have a hundred or a thousand here in the United States saying as openly and boldly, "Russia and communism must be destroyed."

Colliers in its special edition of October 27, 1951, with the printing and sale of 500,000 extra copies has done that very thing -- has fought the third world war and destroyed Russia and communism. According to the article in Colliers, the U.S.S.R. lost 32,000,000 killed during the war, of which about 8,000,000 were women and children. By the atom bomb we destroyed 20 square miles in the center of Moscow.

New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago and London were destroyed. The war started in May, 1952, and we occupied Russia as liberators in 1960. As liberators, we brought our blessings to the Russian people, especially the womenfolk who were still alive. High-heeled shoes sold on the black market after stockings, butter, coffee and sugar could be had. A factory which put out a brand of lipstick (Love Forever) had to run 24 hours a day to supply the demand.

In this gory, warmongering article of Colliers, tinged with sentimental simplicity, not to say idiocy, something worse than the red eye of the ancestral ape has come back into the world.

The tragedy of it is that any reputable magazine would dare publish such an article in America, and the greater tragedy of it is that the article received quasi official approval in advance. Says Colliers in its forward: "An over-all conception of this issue was confirmed in study and consultation with top political, military and economic thinkers -- including high-level Washington officials and foreign affairs experts both here and abroad." The Colliers article is but one of many articles to the same effect in leading magazines and statements of men in high places which include the statement of Francis Mathews, then Secretary of the Navy, who told an audience in Boston in August, 1950, that the United States should be willing to pay "even the price of instituting a war to compel co-operation for peace."

The editors of the American Magazine evidently believed their readers would not be content with the advocacy of destruction of every city in Russia by the use of the atomic bomb. They published an article in February, 1951 by Ellsworth Raymond under the title "Why Doesn't Somebody Kill Stalin." Raymond opens his article by saying: "Wouldn't it be a wonderful thing if someone killed Stalin." Sterling Noel fulfills Raymond's wish in his novel of August, 1951, called "I Killed Stalin" and has his hero track down and assasinate Stalin.

Two brief statements willsuffice to show the effect all this conduct of ours is having on Europe and Asia. John Cowles, writing in Look, October, 1951, said: "Many highly intelligent Europeans and Asians, who loathe Russian totalitarianism and believe completely in the democratic ideal, fear that through ineptness the United States is going to blunder into war or that we will become so provoked with

Russia that we will, ourselves, precipitate war." Frank Owen, editor of the conservative London Daily Mail, recently said that American war hysteria was "not only terrific but terrifying."

We are thus brought face to face with a strange anomaly puzzling to all the nations of the non-communist world. The richest and strongest military nation of the world with the least danger of either internal or external aggression is the nation with the greatest fear and, as said by the editor of the London Daily Mail, America's war hysteria is not only terrific but terrifying. The question 'why' calls for an answer.

To understand why this is so, we must draw another lesson from history. The evils of fear and hate, self-righteousness and the lust for power not only become greatly intensified but, in their very nature, become impossible of solution when they take the form of a holy crusade dominated by the idea that "it is God's will." The holy, ideological crusades of today are the natural successors of the holy religious crusades of yesterday and the Middle Ages. Each has the same characteristics, the same intolerance, the same bigotry, the same self-righteousness and the same love for power and domination.

There is simply no room in the world for a strong, rival power. They cannot co-exist peacefully. It is God's will. This identical thought, though not the identical language, has been expressed a number of times by General MacArthur, General Ridgeway and by a score of others here in the United States. Bishop Oxnam a year or so ago repeatedly warned against a holy war.

"It is God's will", said the mighty throng with one voice when Urban II finished his powerful and moving address at Clermont, France in 1095. The seed bed of fear and hate and intolerance had long been in preparation. Peter the Hermit, riding through France and Germany on his ass and haranguing the people must be given due credit, but it was Urban II who put into the minds of men that it was God's will and started the ball rolling, or more accurately speaking, the mob moving east, and thus began the first of the crusades which were to last nearly two hundred years -- the longest, the bloodiest and the most destructive of all the religious wars of history.

We read that the slaughter was terrible. The blood of the conquered ran down the streets until men splashed in blood as they rode. At nightfall, sobbing for excess of joy, the crusaders raised their bloody hands to God in prayer. Jerusalem was finally captured July 15, 1097 and the First Crusade came to an end. The Last Crusade ended when Acre, the last city held by the Christians, was captured by the Mohammedans in 1291. The church was back where it started.

The crusades had failed after millions in life and millions in money had been lost. So, at the end of the slaughter, the Mohammedans held the East and the crusaders the West whether it was God's will or no and it was demonstrated that both could and must co-exist in the same world even if possessed of fear, hate and hysteria.

Man at long last has almost succeeded in his conquest over nature and somewhere education and culture have continued to advance but so much of the world's effort and so many of man's moral and religious crusades have failed of their purpose because of a lack of enlightenment. The measure and advance of enlightenment must need be determined by our passion for truth no matter where it leads and by the extent and degree we overcome and conquer the evils of fear and hate, intolerance and self-righteousness.

Of all the curses that have afflicted mankind and stood as a stone wall and as a bar to progress and cooperative effort, the worst is the belief that God has granted a monopoly on truth and his goodness to some individual and/or organization and has conferred upon that individual or organization an exclusive agency and representation here upon this earth.

This is true because it is based upon the belief that God's purpose can best be fulfilled here on earth by unity through identity, whereas, under the eternal and immutable law, all advance and progress come

through unity, through variation and natural selection and the survival of the fittest. That is the law of the universe. Jesus stated the law of diversity and live and let live when he said to John: "Forbid him not. He that is not against us is for us."

Our foreign policy of containment and destruction of communism, based on the theory that enough guns and bombs and money would do the job, has failed as it was bound to fail. It failed for the reason the Crusades failed. This Korean war, however, has revealed our productive capacity and our industrial might to be far greater than we had even hoped. Given this tremendous strength and power, with imagination, good will and statesmanship, our possibilities and potential for good stagger the imagination both as to our domestic and foreign policy.

Since charity should begin at home, we should start here. We should take ten billion dollars from the money appropriated for the military to destroy life and use it to save life. We should build a four lane highway from coast to coast and from the Gulf to the Great Lakes and Canada to accommodate every state in the Union and limit it to the use of passenger traffic. We should improve and use our present two lane highways for trucks and freight transportation. This would greatly reduce this terrible slaughter of the innocent upon the public highways.

The next billion or billions would go for slum clearance, flood control, housing, public health, hospitals, medical research and to promote education -- another vast saving and conservation of human life. Instead of prohibitions, isolation and insulation, we should encourage the free flow of trade and commerce with every country in the world. Likewise, we should encourage social and cultural relations. This would do more in the battle for men's minds and hearts than all the guns and bombs that can be created. Work with and through the United Nations in every effort for human betterment and world peace.

With enlightenment, the vision of Jefferson, the goodness and wisdom of Lincoln and the honesty and the dynamic creative ability of Theodore Roosevelt, or of any one of them, with not to exceed a half of the money we are now squandering, we could here and now create a new heaven and a new earth.

WHY SHOULD RED CHINA BE ADMITTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL

In discussing the question, we may eliminate the word 'Red' since there is only one China. Chiang Kai-Shek represents no one except himself and the corrupt gang which supports him. The present government of China controls every square foot of the mainland of China. China has the largest population of Asia and the world, and is by far the most important country of Asia. Asia contains over one-half of the peoples of the world.

This being true, there can be no peace and stability in Asia until China is given a place in the Council of Nations to which she is entitled as of right. This has been clear from the beginning. During August, 1950, I wrote a letter to the Iowa delegation in Congress in which I said, "China will be heard in the Security Council or on the battlefield. If in the Security Council and the Assembly, there is strong reason to believe an amicable settlement can be reached. If on the battlefield, every time China speaks some of our American boys will be killed. It is up to the administration and Congress to determine which it shall be."

In my letter to the Iowa delegation in Congress of July 3, 1951, a few days after President Truman intervened in the Korean war, I said: "It is appalling to think of the consequences which will follow, assuming Russia does not enter the war, but that China enters the war in support of North Korea. China, under the law of self-preservation, could not allow a hostile nation on her Manchurian border."

Walter Lippmann, in one of his most penetrating analyses in July, 1951, said: "Why, we have to ask ourselves, do we find ourselves facing impossible choices wherever we turn in the Far East?" "Because we are unable and unwilling to recognize the fact that Red China is a great military power in the Far East, and that nothing can be settled within the sphere of China's historic interest without the participation

of Red China. The facts of life are the facts of life; and wishing, hoping, preferring, crying out against them will not alter the facts of life."

The facts of life being the facts of life, we are compelled, whether we wish it or not, to negotiate with China on the battlefield, the Security Council or elsewhere, since, as Lincoln said: "If you go to war, you cannot fight always." Upon what possible theory then can it be claimed that we should wait to negotiate until thousands, perhaps millions of our boys are slaughtered in an all-out war with China, which will almost certainly lead to a third world war. No one who has any sense of reality can suppose we can have a permanent, dictated peace with China.

However, it is not a question of admitting China to the Security Council; rather, it is a question of recognizing such admission by the United States and other members of the United Nations. China is named in the United Nations Charter together with the United States, Russia, Britain and France as one of the permanent members of the Security Council.

Britain, although she has become closely allied with the United States, early recognized Red China. India did likewise, together with a number of other nations.

It was the intention of our State Department to make no objection to the recognition of Red China, but McCarthyism changed that overnight. There is little statesmanship, either within or without the administration, in our foreign policy since political expediency is largely the ultimate, determining factor. Both political parties have become captive victims of their own and of each other's campaign of hate and hysteria. Like Shakespeare said of jealousy: "It is the green-eyed monster which doth make the meat it feeds upon." There seems to be no stopping place since, in time, the accusers become the accused.

No man dares offer a rational solution or speak his honest convictions lest he be branded as a Red, a fellow traveler or a subversive. Even though he has first-hand knowledge whereof he speaks and knows more about Asia than any man in Washington, his suggestions that it would be wise and to our advantage to recognize China bring down upon his head intemperate denunciation and name-calling and a demand by a member of Congress that he be impeached. Regardless of the fact that he holds the high office of Justice of the Supreme Court, he does not receive even a courteous hearing.

I have witnessed with concern and dismay this corroding and corrupting influence of our whole foreign policy, the increasing destruction of our most fundamental rights bequeathed to us by the founding fathers.

I have witnessed the silencing and intimidation of our national leaders in every field of endeavor; the stifling of our press and news agencies, and I have noted with anguish that the public schools have become the prey of these despoilers of our sacred heritage and lastly the Supreme Court of the United States, the last bulwark of our liberties, has, through its majority members, succumbed to this hysterical pressure.

We had as well face the fact that what may be correctly described as McCarthyism is shaping both our domestic and our foreign policy.

Senator McCarthy may be denounced and Senator McCarran and General MacArthur severely criticized, but in the end what they advocate, if not fully adopted, causes our State Department to back track, apologize and make commitments which tie our hands from making a realistic approach to global questions of the most important nature.

It is this McCarthyism and the influence of Chiang Kai-Shek which is the root of our government repudiating the clear provision of the United Nations Charter and in using strong-arm methods to prevent China from taking her place on the Security Council as provided in the Charter.

This is morally wrong, economically and politically wrong. I use the word 'political' in its global sense. <u>One of the great tragedies of our time and of all history is our total lack of understanding of Asia.</u>

Gardner Cowles sensed this fact when he had Justice Douglas of the Supreme Court prepare the article published in Look Magazine on the subject: "Why We are Losing Asia" and the article in Look by Pearl Buck, "Why Asia Hates Us."

The eminent philosopher and mathematician, Bertrand Russell, affirmed this truth when he spoke to the American newspaper correspondents in London on August 9th last, and said that he saw slight chance of the world ruled by communism, but that the big problem of white men "is to come to some arrangement with the black, yellow and brown men of Asia and Africa."

But to come to some arrangement we must first realize that Colonialism and Feudalism in whatsoever forms they may appear must come to an end. Sovereign nations and their people must be treated as sovereign and as equals, not as inferiors to be controlled either by Big Government or Big Business. Fundamental rights know no color line and will recognize no external authority. Foreign domination must cease.

What the backward peoples want is understanding and guidance to help them to help themselves, not handouts or military equipment.

You can't shoot democracy into people 'nor bomb communism out of them. Want, hunger and disease are not satisfied or cured by vocables or high-sounding slogans and platitudes such as "Democracy", "The Free World" and "Our Way of Life". 'Nor are these people awed by the threat of the use of the atom bomb. They demand that most basic right to be found in the jurisprudence of the civilized nations of the world, the right to be heard as equals in their own behalf.

If they are entitled to these rights, then China should no longer be denied her seat in the Security Council.

But it is said that China forfeited these rights when she joined North Korea in aggression. The answer is that China did not go to war to assist North Korea to conquer South Korea and unify all Korea.

Do we or do we not believe in the Golden Rule for nations as well as for individuals? Would we allow China or Russia to invade Mexico and continue beyond Mexico City to the Rio Grande River on our Texas border? Even a child knows we would not allow this and that if we went to war to protect the southern border of Texas, we would not consider it aggression on our part. Then how can we say it is aggression for China to protect her Manchurian border when MacArthur crossed the 38th Parallel and continued to the Yalu River? How can we say this is aggression in view of the tragic experience which China suffered as a result of the invasion of Manchuria by Japan through Korea and across the Yalu River?

China went to war for the most elemental reason; namely, to protect her Manchurian boundary, not at the behest of Kim Ill Sung or Joseph Stalin, but for her own protection. She gave warning in advance to India that we must not cross the 38th parallel; that she would not tolerate a hostile nation on her border. General MacArthur told President Truman, and President Truman says he believed him, that China was just bluffing, and so MacArthur proceeded across the 38th parallel clear to the Yalu River.

The rest is history written in blood and tears and destroyed homes and fields and factories, followed by hunger and disease, with utter bankruptcy and desolation for Korea and impending bankruptcy for France, England and even the United States if we continue our present policy.

By their fruits ye shall know them. This is the direct result of MacArthurism and McCarthyism. It derives from our failure to heed the warning of China and Nehru and Britain and not follow the line of MacArthur and McCarthy.

What price glory? Is human life no longer sacred in America? Has it become the settled policy of our government and our people that our boys are expendable in every part of the world; that blood letting is secondary to our military objectives? How far can a great and free

people be led by fear and hate, hysteria and self-righteousness from the paths of sanity, peace and justice and freedom and abundance down the road to destruction -- the destruction of everything which makes life worth living; the destruction of everything which good and brave men have fought and died for since the dawn of civilization?

Let us pass from the general to the concrete. Let us particularize to see more clearly how far on this road we have already travelled. Had China been allowed to take her place on the Security Council, it is my opinion there would have been no Korean War. Or, if North Korea had invaded South Korea,with China on the Security Council, it could have been settled on the basis of the 38th parallel, since China's primary interest was the protection of her Manchurian border, and since she did not enter the war until after MacArthur had reached the Yalu River.

We may be assured that with China on the Security Council the United Nations would have prevented MacArthur from crossing the 38th parallel and continuing to the Yalu River.

It is of the greatest importance that we recognize that it was this act of MacArthur that brought China into the Korean War to protect her border.

But it is claimed that too much importance should not be attached to the 38th parallel since, after all,it was an arbitrary line agreed to by Russ ia and the United States for a practical division of Korea.

The complete answer to that is that President Truman regarded the 38th parallel of such importance as to furnish reason, or excuse, as you like, to intervene in the war between North and South Korea, using the army, navy and air force, without any declaration by Congress and without previous authorization or direction by the United Nations. The half-hearted approval by the United Nations followed after Truman had already entered the war. Congress to this day has not declared war and Congress alone has the power to make war.

Can we say then, that it is not aggression for the President of the United States to intervene in a war between Koreans in contravention of the Constitution and without previous sanction of the United Nations, but that it is aggression for China to intervene in the same war to protect her own border from a hostile nation which at this very moment has military possession of Formosa, which belongs to China, though it was definitely agreed between the President of the United States, Britain, China and Japan that Formosa would be returned to China?

Up until MacArthur reached the Yalu River and China entered the war, the damage, relatively speaking, was not great. The terrible destruction of life and property dates from the time that MacArthur crossed the 38th parallel. This damage and destruction begger description. Words are inadequate. J. Donald Kingsley, Agent General of the United Nations, Korean Agency, said: "I doubt if ever in the history of the world since perhaps the sacking of Carthage has there been such complete destruction as has occurred." He added: "It has been estimated that 2,000,000 civilians have been killed in the war so far (May 21, 1951); that the destruction of the thatched villages that blanket a large part of Korea has been almost total." He estimates over six hundred thousand homes have been destroyed. This has resulted in more than 6,000,000 refugees in their own country. Small pox, typhus, pneumonia, tuberculosis and other diseases followed to further decimate the population.

It has not yet dawned upon our people that for every North Korean soldier killed, we have killed ten Korean civilians. We have almost annihilated a nation. We have liberated the South Koreans by death. This isn't police action, Mr. Truman. This isn't war. This is barbarism. And this needless slaughter and destruction, Mr. Truman, is not "due to the fact that some distant and shadowy figures in the Kremlin control millions of people far from them", to quote from the letter of Secretary Acheson to the Marine and his father. No, Mr. Truman,these millions of Koreans killed, men, women and children,

the aged, the blind, the sick; babes in arms and babes waiting to be born were killed by American soldiers dropping American bombs from American planes.

In this connection, Mr.Truman, you should ask yourself the question -- a question being asked by an increasing number of people in this country -- and throughout the world -- Is there a better way to do the things we profess we want to do? If the universe is at heart moral, then there can be but one answer, a moral not a military answer. Great and good men like Nehru and Justice Douglas of our Supreme Court say there is a better way, a way that leads to peace, not war. Mrs. Davis, wife of Major George A.Davis, the flying ace who was shot down in North Korea, cries out in her anguish that there is a better way and that her husband lost his life in a war without reason.

Wrapping the cloak of self-righteousness around ourselves solves no problems, contributes nothing to world peace, but closes our eyes to the part we are playing in this terrible drama and how far afield we have wandered from the principles of our forefathers and of every president from Washington until Truman.

Some historical references will help us to understand and evaluate the evil we have wrought and our place in history since Truman became president. It should help us to understand Nehru when he said he agreed with our purpose but not our method.

If we place on one side the early Christians killed by Nero and the other Caesars, all those killed in France during the reign of terror and the Franch Revolution, all our soldiers killed in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and our soldiers in World Wars I and II, and add to those all the colonists and early settlers killed by the American Indians, the grand total will not exceed the number killed in this Korean War to date, if we include the civilians and the soldiers of all nations since Truman intervened in the Korean War.

It has been said, however, that we had to do this because the invasion by North Korea was ordered by the Kremlin. This is purely an assumption and not proven. There is persuasive though not conclusive evidence to the contrary. The leaders of both North and South Korea were spoiling for a showdown. Syngman Rhee is an arrogant tyrant. He had imprisoned forty thousand Koreans for political offenses. In March of 1950 Rhee had imprisoned, in violation of the Constitution, thirteen members of the National Assembly. Border clashes had been frequent for a long time.

Rhee had made a radio address not long before in which he said he would invade North Korea. The New South Korean Assembly that convened the Monday before the invasion was strong anti-Rhee. Rhee had been promised help by John Foster Dulles just the week before invasion. Dulles said he told Rhee they would not stand alone. Kim Ill Sung says he did not go to the offensive until after repelling three attacks from the South. There is reliable information that North Korea at the time was only partially mobilized and had less than seven full divisions, whereas their plan called for thirteen to fifteen divisions.

John Gunther in Tokyo, writing a history of MacArthur, was told by an occupation officer at MacArthur's headquarters the morning of the invasion that South Korea was invading North Korea. China and Russia were at the time engaged in trying to get China a seat on the Security Council and the Assembly and Russia had boycotted the Security Council and Assembly and hence was not present to cast a veto on the American resolution in support of the Truman intervention which had been ordered before the resolution was presented.

Thus at the time of the invasion, both China and Russia were concerned in seating China in the United Nations but were even more concerned in the return of Formosa to China which had been promised. Mao Tse-Tung intended to see that China obtained Formosa. He had the military strength to take it. Chiang knew that Mao intended to take Formosa and had the power to take it, and that unless help arrived his number was up.

MacArthur was s trongly in favor of giving the help. MacArthur said we needed Formosa for military reasons to dominate the Pacific. John Foster Dulles was in Tokyo a week before the invasion. It is fair to presume that Dulles gave Chiang the same promise of help that Dulles says he gave Syngman Rhee. Whether he did or not, immediately after Truman intervened in the Korean war, he, Truman, as President and Commander in Chief, ordered Formosa seized by our Navy and we took military possession of Formosa, unilaterally without any sanction of the United Nations. This is exactly what Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee wanted. Intervention in the Korean civil war and the military occupation of Formosa. Their prayers and schemes had succeeded. Chiang and Syngman Rhee were now safe. The strong military arm of the United States was around them. Henceforth, our American boys would die in their defense on the battle fields of Asia.

Whatever history may show as to the real cause of the Korean War, nothing can justify the needless killing of millions of Korean civilians and the mass destruction of their homes and property.

But this tells only a part of the story. Looked at from the long range of history, the worst part is yet to be told. We fought two world wars to destroy militarism, to give small nations the right of self-determination, and to make the world safe for democracy. We denounced the dictators, Franco and Peron, for their Fascism and for giving aid to Germany during the war. We looked with favor on nations struggling to be free and with disfavor against colonialism. We demanded no foreign territory and no special rights for ourselves from any nation. We sought moral and economic leadership, not military domination. Our purpose was to unite, not to divide.

Wendell Willkie had popularized the idea of One World. The conditions for One World were well and wisely provided for in the United Nations Charter. Each nation was to retain its sovereign power with no interference in its domestic affairs from any foreign power. The United Nations Charter was based upon the theory that there was room in the world for different political, religious and economic systems. Each nation was to be free to select its own system and its own ideology. All could co-exist in the same world. None was to have special rights and none was to make surrender.

The United States could join and adhere to such an organization because nothing therein provided was inconsistent with the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence of our Constitution, and political philosophy that was announced by our forefathers and by our great presidents, Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln. Under these principles and under the United Nations Charter, with all of the world's ills, we were making progress. The war with the Axis powers had been won and it was only a matter of final surrender. Slowly the antagonism between the two giants, United States and Russia, was softening. Cultural, social and trade barriers were being gradually relaxed. There was hope and promise for the future at the time of the death of President Roosevelt. Taxes were relatively low, production was increasing and social, civic and internal improvement was going forward in every direction. The standard of living was high. Take-home pay, measured by the purchasing power of the dollar, was good. The military was subordinate to the President, Congress and civil authorities. There was less fear and hate and hysteria amongst our people than had existed for over a generation.

Our freedoms were maintained and our Bill of Rights was respected. There was a place for the scholar and independent thinker. Appeal to reason was more respected and effective than appeal to prejudice and hate. The Good Neighbor policy of Roosevelt was being implemented over the world. Our leadership was moral and economic - not military. Our nation and our people were trusted and held in high esteem everywhere except by Nazis and Fascists. The Third International had been dissolved by Stalin and the Cominform had not been established. Confidence between the United States and Russia was improving. Numberless prominent men of America, including the late Wendell Willkie and Gardner Cowles and Harold Stassen and Eric Johnson, then president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, visited Russia; had no difficulty in obtaining an audience with Stalin, and all came away with high hopes for peace with Russia.

However one may feel about some of the domestic policies ofRoosevelt, such were the conditions at the time of Roosevelt's death. Compare then and now. Let us briefly summarize what has taken place in the few short years since Truman became president in April, 1945.

After taking the leading part in creating the United Nations, the basic concept of which as before stated, was that each nation was to remain a sovereign equal and live its own life in its own way with no interference in its domestic affairs; we then, in violation of those principles, declared the Kennan-Truman doctrine of Containment with the aim of the destruction of Communism. To implement and carry out this purpose, we organized the North Atlantic Pact. By so doing, we divided the United Nations and the world into two hostile armed military camps - communist and non-communist. * We thus created a world crisis of confidence or rather lack of it. Negotiations fail at every level since no one trusts the other. Fear and hate, bigotry and intolerance, that is to say McCarthyism, have supplanted the Good Neighbor policy amongst nations, and the Roosevelt philosophy that there is nothing to fear but fear itself.

The cold war with all its evil consequences follows. Every accusation and unfriendly act by one nation provokes a counter-accusation and even more unfriendly act by the other. International trade and all peaceful relations are more and more curtailed and prohibited until statesmanship becomes bankrupt. Men of little vision surrender to the worst form of defeatism by abandoning faith in the peaceful machinery of the United Nations Charter and of the great moral forces of the world.

There is then nothing left except the primitive instinct of the use of guns and bombs, so the military takes over and dominates the civil. The Pentagon calls the passes for the White House. Force is the language spoken by the President and the State Department. We have a government of and for and by the military, rather than a government of and for and by the people.

The proof of this is painfully obvious. Witness the fact that our debt burden now approaches $275,000,000,000; the fact that the Truman administration has collected taxes in the amount of $262,600,000,000, i.e. $8,400,000,000. more taxes collected than during all of the time from Washington until Truman, though we fought two world wars, the Civil war, the Spanish-American, the Mexican, the war of 1812 and the Indian wars, and built the Panama Canal, before Truman became president.

By this orgy of spending and giving we have robbed the living, the dead and the children yet unborn. The living, by multiplying the federal tax burden three to seven fold and cheapening the dollar by inflation. The dead by halving the value of life insurance policies and bonds left by the deceased for the support of his widow and children. The unborn, by placing a first lien to the Federal government in the amount of $1,770. around the neck of each child as it comes into the world to pay this staggering debt burden. We have robbed the privately endowed colleges and universities and endowed philanthropic and religious societies by the same method and doubled the living costs of the students.

We have set outselves and the world a bad example of using fantastic sums of money on a global scale for the purpose of influence. By this reckless unprecedented spending and giving we have corrupted our own people and destroyed the self-reliance and impaired the morals of the Governments receiving our aid.

* Much concern was felt by a number of delegates to the United Nations at the time we were urging the signing of the North Atlantic Pact. A press dispatch from Lake Success by Nat Barrows said that many delegates thought that the United States, in urging the pact, was giving the United Nations the kiss of death; that it would emphasize and place reliance on the military rearmament and render ineffective the peaceful machinery of the United Nations Charter; that, while we were paying lip service to the United Nations, we were selling it down the river.

In carrying out the Truman-Kennan doctrine of Containment and the Atlantic rearmament program, we have set the East against the West and nation against nation and created division in the governments and set the people against their governments.

Britain is now torn into three factions, the followers of Churchill, Atlee and Bevan, and both people and governments against us. Neither the people nor the governments would follow our leadership for a day except for our coercion and the hope and assurance of receiving our millions and billions. That is because they do not share our hysterical fear of military invasion, but feel that we are needlessly dragging them into war, compelling them to choose between solvency and neutrality, or guns and bankruptcy; not guns or butter, but guns or bread.

By selecting their countries as air bases, we mark them for battle ground and thus increase and not lessen the danger of war. We further imperil their security and liberty by rearming West Germany and Japan. They resent our unilateral action in taking military possession of Formosa, in MacArthur crossing the 38th parallel and continuing to the Manchurian border. In our repeated threats to bomb the mainland of China and to use the atom bomb, in our forcing them to take Franco as a partner, in jeopardizing their economy by cutting off trade relations with Russia, and east-west commerce which is the very life blood of their economy.

The sum of it all is that we are violating the most basic principles of the United Nations Charter, thus destroying the very purpose for which it was created, to preserve the peace by peaceful methods. We then condemn the United Nations for its failure, for which we ourselves must bear our full share of the blame. I agree with Nehru, there is nothing wrong with the United Nations Charter, except the matter of representation.

The United Nations Charter, like the Ten Commandments, is not self-executing. Good comes from compliance; evil from violation.

If the United Nations is ever to fulfill the great purpose for which it was created - viz: to prevent major wars and promote peace by peaceful methods, three conditions are absolutely essential.

1. The Assembly and Security Council must be fairly representative of the nations and peoples of the world.

2. The Nations in the Security Council and Assembly must be treated as sovereign.

3. Each nation must be free from external coercion and influence so that it may exercise its own moral independent judgment on every question presented for solution. All this is the very essence of freedom and democracy.

<u>The question of fair representation in the Assembly and Security Council and the right of every nation free from influence or coercion to decide every question upon its merits goes to the very heart and root of the whole world crisis.</u>

The most fundamental thing in any government is that its judicial, legislative and administrative departments and tribunals shall be free from every form of influence and coercion. Five percent commissions, deep freezers, mink coats, air plane trips and deluxe entertainment at ritzy hotels are but the vulgar evidence of this corrupting and corroding influence. Such influence would be recognized as wrong in every civilized country. But if it is wrong to thus influence local and national officers and tribunals, why is it not a far greater wrong to improperly influence members of an international tribunal whose decisions mean peace or war?

What is the giving of a mink coat or a few thousand dollars in the form of a commission or rebate compared with the giving of millions and billions to a single government to induce actions and agreements in compliance with our demands which prevent such nation from exercising her sovereign right? But this use of billions of our money to subsidize (not to use the ugly word 'bribe') foreign governments to

let us do the thinking and planning for the United Nations tells only a part of the story. From the beginning we have assumed the right to say who should and should not be admitted to the Assembly and the Security Council.

When Roosevelt sought to add some new members to the Supreme Court, we called it packing the Court, and it was decisively rejected. What we then considered wrong, we now consider a virtue. To be specific, we forced the admission of the government of Dictator Peron of Argentine, as a member of the United Nations without allowing the appointment of a committee or a few days for investigation and consideration. We did this though we had previously issued a state paper denouncing Peron, and though Peron denies freedom of the Press, of Assembly, and denies freedom of speech and religion.

Russia considered this a needless hostile act and evidence that we intended to use strong arm methods to control the United Nations. This was the beginning of the Cold War, though the climax did not come until we divided Berlin. This policy of ours continued up to the closing of the Assembly in Paris, in February, 1952, when we refused agreement to admit group membership representative of both East and West, but more favorable to the West.

To the majority of the delegates the plan seemed fair and just, the political committee voted 21 to 14 in favor, and would have been accepted but Acheson denounced this group plan to give the East some representation as blackmail (strange definition of blackmail, isn't it, when you ask for a part of a loaf and offer the other fellow the larger part, though it should be divided equally). Well, for fear of offending rich Uncle Sam, a large number of delegates, including our friends, abstained from voting and the East was denied additional minority representation by the Assembly.

This brings us again to the all important question - the question which may well settle the fate of the world and leave its imprint upon world civilization for centuries. Shall China be admitted to the Security Council and the Assembly?

Before answering the question, let us consider the alternative - that we continue to use coercive methods to prevent China from being represented in the Council of Nations. History furnishes the answer to date of persuing this policy - the Korean tragedy, one of the world's great tragedies which president Truman assumed when he intervened that it was to be a mere police action.

Seeing no victory for the United States and no end in view that will bring peace in Korea and China according to our plans, it is proposed by men in high places that we gamble more recklessly with human life and human destiny by (a), starting an all-out preventive war with both China and Russia; or, (b) bombing the mainland of China and using the atom bomb if truce talks fail; and, (c) look to the resurrection of the political military corpse of Chiang Kai-Shek, and arm him and the remnants of his defeated army, and turn them loose on the mainland of China. Then instigate and subsidize sabotage, treason, counter-revolution and civil war in both China and Russia. Give this nasty business respectability by frequent statements of eminent citizens, public and private, telling the Chinese and Russian people how much we love them if only they will overthrow their present governments.

These proposals, collectively or individually, by whomsoever made, are not evidence of statesmanship, but of desperation; not of wisdom, but homicidal insanity. Sabotage, treason, counter-revolution and civil war gets us nowhere unless there is a reasonable chance of overthrowing the government in power and establishing a stronger and better government in its place; otherwise you get chaos and anarchy. You get what the French got after the revolution and before the man on horseback appeared, and Napoleon became First Consul, only the horrors of the French Revolution will be multiplied by ten or a hundred. Is that the measure of the statesmanship and contribution to world order of your country and mine?

This terrible situation in which we find ourselves, with no rational solution by our Government, was well expressed by Gardner Cowles in a recent address in Des Moines in which he said "our Government has no plan for winning the war in Korea and no plan for ending it", and he added that he saw no way of winning the Korean War except we inflict direct punishment on China and that would involve frightful risks which could not be undertaken at this time.

If we turn to Europe, Berlin and Germany, we find the situation equally hopeless. Our Government has no plan for winning and no rational solution and under our present foreign policy there can be no rational solution of the German problem. This is true because we have divided Berlin and Germany and our Government is insisting that Berlin and Germany remain permanently divided in order that Western Germany may be made a part of the military NATO rearmament program of Western Europe. Adenauer is willing to go along with us for the division of Germany but the people of Berlin and Germany do not wish to be divided. They passionately desire a united Berlin and Germany.

Russia, with a sense of reality, understands these national aspirations of the German people and therefore proposes a plan of free elections to unite Germany. But if Germany is united, then Western Germany cannot be integrated into the rearmament program of the NATO. And we are now feverishly attempting to put through theagreement to unite Western Germany to Western Europe before Russia can make any new offers. Strange, isn't it, that Lincoln fought the long Civil War to unite the North and the South and we now risk war in order to divide Berlin and Germany. The same holds for Korea.

All this furnishes convincing proof that the whole Truman-Kennan military policy of containment and the whole rearmament policy of NATO is not only wrong but a complete failure. It has caused far more evils than any possible good, granting due allowances for incidental benefits.

I would, therefore, scrap the whole foreign policy of the Truman Administration which includes the containment policy based upon the assumption that Russia and the United States cannot co-exist peacefully in the same world and the whole forced rearmament policy of Europe at our expense with the cutting off of East-West trade. All of which increases and not lessens the danger of war and all of which is destroying the economy of Europe and making these countries more and more dependent on the United States.

If you say that NATO military rearmament is necessary at whatever cost to prevent Russian military aggression against the United States or some of the European countries, my answer is that it is absurd to assume that if Russia had planned military aggression against the United States or some European country she would be so considerate as to wait 3, 4 or 5 years to attack, though she has had the military strength to overrun Europe within a few weeks during all of this time and also considerate enough to remain quiet while we committed the provocative acts of encircling her with military bases and armed her neutral neighbors and induced them to join a military pact against her and cut East-West trade.

If you say the scraping of the whole Truman foreign policy is a most radical proposal, my answer is that during all of American history, from Washington until Truman, the good established conservative American foreign policy has been based upon Washington's Farewell Address, Jefferson's philosophy during the French Revolution, the goodness and wisdom of Lincoln in dealing with the South and the slave question, and the good neighbor policy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The dividing of Berlin and Germany and the Truman-Kennan military containment policy and the NATO rearmament program of Europe and the cutting off of East-West trade is not only radical by all our previous standards and the standard of democracy throughout the world but it is Un-American. It is impossible of attainment, it offers no hope for success neither now nor in the future.

We have come to a dead end street with a military barricade in Asia and we have come to a dead end street in Europe.

The primary reason why the whole Truman Acheson foreign policy can never succeed is because it is a wholly negative destructive policy.

There is nothing affirmative and constructive in the whole Truman Acheson foreign policy except Point Four, and that is far too limited to accomplish any large purposes. The Marshall Plan held out great promise but we attached conditions to the Marshall Plan and it was all a part of securing adherence to the North Atlantic Pact which divided Europe and the world. We taught much about the free nations, we seem to think that by much repetition, that which is pseudo will become a reality and much repetition of false assumptions will become verities. As a matter of fact, the United States is the least free of all the non-communist nations. We have allowed one nation -- Russia -- to shape and dominate the whole frame and pattern of our American policy, both foreign and domestic. We take NATO, TITO and FRANCO and the McCarran Act and the concentration camps, wrap them all up in one package and they become part of the free nations.

A teacher can't teach, a preacher preach, a scholar write, a business man attend a world economic conference, a federal official offer a rational solution, or a person of goodwill attend a peace conference, a delegate at the United Nations disagree with our American foreign policy and enjoy the freedom and immunity which is guaranteed by and is the very essence of the Bill of Rights. They all hazzard the risk of condemnation by Acheson, McCarthy or McCarran.

There is, however, a way out; and that way has already been indicated - the scraping of the whole Truman foreign policy; restore Americanism and work by, with and through the United Nations; greatly enlarge Point Four, urging all nations to participate and operate the same through the United Nations and give aid impartially according to need and not with conditions attached to further our ambitious military programs.

If we wish a realistic Asian settlement, wash our hands of Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee; fulfill the contract made at Cairo concerning Formosa and signed by Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt and agreed to by Japan. In this connection we might consider the suggestions made by Walter Lippmann.

Repeating for emphasis, let it be known in an overall settlement that we will recognize the Republic of China -- the only Government of China as the permanent member of the Security Council and of the Assembly. Admit the block of nations which the Political Committee in the United Nations voted 21 to 12 to admit but whose admission was denied because our Secretary of State used coercive methods and indulged in intemperate language to prevent the admission of these nations.

Let it be known that we favor any fair method of uniting Berlin and Germany.

The facts of life being the facts of life, have an army, navy and airforce consistent with our great strength and the leadership we are destined to play in the council of nations; but sufficient only for self-defense, moral leadership and deterrent purposes and not for military domination. Recognize the sovereign right of every other nation to decide for itself the extent of its rearmament program and the amount of its own money it wishes to spend for such purposes.

If we do these things which may be done with honor and which as a matter of right out to be done, it will be amazing how the door will open to the solution of many grave questions which cannot now, under our present policy be resolved. We will restore the peaceful machinery of the United Nations Charter and open the way to a Korean settlement and adjustment of the Japanese relations with China.

We must choose between Americanism and the United Nations or the Truman Acheson un-American policy of military might. The fate of our Nation and the world depends upon the choice we make.

We are too close to events to judge of their great importance. We are too much influenced by hate and prejudice, self-righteousness and the love for domination that goes with patriotic Nationalism to see clearly and judge impartially. We may be assured, however, that we are witnessing the world's greatest drama and the world's greatest tragedy. We are both spectators and actors. The civilization of mankind for a thousand years may wellbe influenced by the way we play our part.

So I say to you: Be not afraid. Never lose faith in the great eternal verities. Believe that the universe is at heart moral.

Believe there is nothing so sacred as truth and no substitute for reason and justice.

Believe that intolerance, prejudice, self-righteousness and the lust for power and domination are cardinal sins.

Believe that peoples and governments of goodwill and enlightenment will always seek to settle their differences by peaceful rather than barbaric methods of mass murder.

Believe the civil, not the military, should govern men and nations.

PEACE AND GOODWILL ASSEMBLY :: Meetings September 15th to 20th

PROFESSOR KATHLEEN LONSDALE, F.R.S., D.Sc.
Head Dept. of Crystallography, London University. Prominent Member Society of Friends

These Distinguished Visitors will address the following

PUBLIC RALLIES

Wednesday, September 15, at 8 p.m.
MALVERN TOWN HALL

Thursday, September 16, at 8 p.m.
ASSEMBLY HALL, COLLINS ST., CITY
OVERFLOW: AUSTRALIAN CHURCH, RUSSELL ST., CITY

Saturday, September 18, at 7.30 p.m.
YOUTH RALLY
UNION MEMORIAL CHURCH, CURZON ST., NORTH MELBOURNE
SOCIAL ACTIVITIES - SUPPER - DISCUSSION

Monday, September 20, at 8 p.m.
WEST MELBOURNE STADIUM
Professor Lonsdale will also speak at a Luncheon arranged by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Sunday, September 19
Professor Kathleen Lonsdale will attend The Friends Meeting House.
Professor Hromadka will be Preaching in Melbourne Churches at 11 and 7

The Overseas Visitors will also have opportunity of meeting with special groups, such as Christian Students' Movement, University Staff Association, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Theological Students, Theological Faculties, Ministers of Religion, Scientists and Youth Leaders.

REV. PROFESSOR J. L. HROMADKA
DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF THEOLOGY, COMENIUS UNIVERSITY, PRAGUE

Don't miss the ART EXHIBITION by Leading Victorian Artists - in support of the Assembly - at Tye's Gallery, Bourke St. - September 14th to 25th inclusive

PRINTERS PTY. LTD. MELB.

PERIODICALS AND PAPERS FROM ABROAD ADDRESSED TO P.R. (1-18-54)
(others to be added as received)

NEWS, "Trud" 18b Gorky Street, Moscow 3
one addressed to P.R., one to WEBD, and ten to CAA

NEW TIMES, Re-address 12 Kalashny Pereulok, Arbat, Moscow
one addressed to PR, one to WEBD, and three to CAA

VOKS, USSR Society for Cultural R lations with Foreign Countries Readdress
Moscow 56, Bolshaya Gruzinskaya 17

PRAVDA

OGONEK

TEATR

KOULTURA

SOVIET UNION

ISVETZIA

DEMOCRATIC GERMAN REPORT D.G.R., Friedrichstrasse 167/III, Berlin

WORLD TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL CLIPPINGS 1950-54 12/14

NEW TIMES

A WEEKLY JOURNAL

CONTENTS

UNO AND THE AMERICAN AGGRESSION AGAINST CHINA 1

N. SERGEYEVA: Some Aspects of the World Debate . . 4

N. WEIZMANN: U.S. Monopolies Grow Fat on Korean War 10

L.S.L: Developments in Korea (Foreign Press Review) . . 12

INTERNATIONAL LIFE (Notes) 15

PORTRAITS FROM THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES
Orlin VASILEV: One of the Notables of the New Bulgaria 19

GLIMPSES OF THE NEW GERMANY (Interview with German Delegates) 24

BOOK REVIEWS
B. IZAKOV: Suicide Club 28

Chronicle of International Events 32

SUPPLEMENT: Second World Peace Congress. Warsaw. November 16-22, 1950. Report and Documents. III.

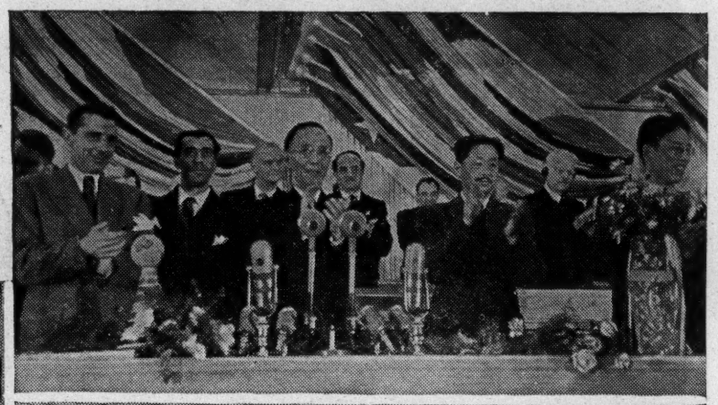
No. 49

1950

PUBLISHED BY THE NEWSPAPER "TRUD"—MOSCOW

Second World Peace Congress

Right: Some members of the Congress Presidium.



Below: Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Peace Council.

The Korean delegation.

Left: Chinese women delegates talk to a Warsaw schoolgirl.

Below: A mass rally outside the Dom Slowa Polskiego, where the Congress held its sessions.

NEW TIMES

A WEEKLY | No. 49 | DECEMBER 6, 1950

UNO and the American Aggression Against China

THE UNITED NATIONS Organization is examining one of the most important questions on its agenda—the American aggression against China.

When the American imperialists embarked on their piratical war in Korea, they decided to entrench themselves on the Chinese island of Taiwan, on which the shattered remnants of the Kuomintang bands have taken refuge. Acting on Truman's order of June 27 last, the U.S. 13th Air Force and Seventh Fleet occupied Taiwan and its waters in order to turn the island into a base of aggression against the Chinese mainland.

On August 24, Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister of the Chinese People's Republic, sent a message to the Security Council demanding that measures be taken to stop the American aggression. The U.S.A. and its satellites used every means to keep the question from being discussed in the Council. It was included in the agenda only at the insistence of the Soviet Union. Even after that, the U.S.-British bloc tried to put off the examination of this important issue as long as it possibly could. Moreover, realizing that in the end the Council would have to go into the matter, Washington resorted to a trick: the U.S. delegation hastily presented to the Council a so-called report by MacArthur, a document teeming with slanderous allegations and wilful distortions of the true story of the American intervention against the Korean people.

Simultaneously, in defiance of the provisions of the U.N. Charter, which stipulate that when a dispute is examined the parties concerned must be given a hearing, the U.S.-British bloc endeavoured to prevent representatives of the Chinese People's Republic from being invited to the sittings of the Security Council.

The battle around this question raged for more than a month. At last, on September 29, thanks to the insistence of the Soviet delegation and the representatives of the People's Democracies, and also to the attitude of some of the other delegations, who apparently realized that to examine the dispute in the absence of one of the parties concerned would be both illegal and senseless, a resolution moved by the Ecuador representative was adopted, under which representatives of the Chinese People's Republic were invited to participate in the discussion. The resolution was supported by the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, India, Norway, Ecuador and Yugoslavia. The U.S.A., Egypt, Cuba and the Kuomintangite voted against it.

Thus in the end the attempt of the U.S.-British bloc to ignore the Chinese People's Republic came to naught. And it is obvious, of course, that it is impossible to solve international problems, and particularly problems relating to Asia, without hearing the voice of the 475 million people of China.

Parallel with the Security Council, the Political Committee of the General Assembly also has the question of the American aggression against China under consideration. It was included in the Assembly's agenda under the title "U.S.S.R. Protest Concerning United States Aggression Against China," on the motion of the Soviet delegation and in the teeth of resistance by the delegations of the American bloc. Here too the U.S. delegation tried to confuse the issue and resorted to a diversion by laying before the General Assembly what it called "the question of Formosa," thus implying that it was an open question whom the island belonged to, and that the United Nations must decide on its status.

This is another of the State Department's usual crude manoeuvres. De jure and de facto, Taiwan is Chinese territory, and was so long before the United States secured its own independence. All the time the island was under the Japanese aggressors, its population, 98 per cent of whom are Chinese, never ceased to struggle for their reunion with continental China. On December 1, 1943, at the Cairo Conference, the governments of the U.S.A., China and Great Britain resolved that, together with Manchuria, Taiwan and the Pescadores should be restored to China. This solemn commitment is contained in the Potsdam Declaration of the U.S.A., Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China.

Now the American imperialists have jettisoned their solemn international pledges and decided to use Taiwan as a military base for further aggression against China and other Asian countries.

The American side adduces two arguments in justification of its policy, undeterred by the fact that they are mutually contradictory. The first is a flat denial of having encroached on China's integrity, on China's territory. U.S. delegate Austin sent a letter to the U.N. Secretary-General on August 25, in which he stated very categorically that "the United States has not encroached on the territory of China, nor has the United States taken aggressive action against China."

Referring to these assertions at the sitting on November 28, Chinese representative Wu Hsiu-chuan aptly recalled the Chinese adage: listen to words and observe deeds. The presence of American armed forces in Taiwan cannot be denied. Other instances of U.S. aggressive action against China are also generally known, such as, the systematic violation of the frontiers of the Chinese People's Republic by the American air pirates, the bombing of Chinese towns and villages, the slaughter of Chinese civilians. In the course of their aggression in Korea, the American imperialists carried the flames of war to the very borders of China. In its statement of November 11, the Foreign Ministry of the Chinese People's Republic said in reference to this:

> "China's security is seriously threatened as a result of the invasion of Korea and Chinese Taiwan by the American imperialists, and their bombing of Northeast China."

In the light of these facts, one must be naive indeed to believe Truman's assurance that the United States has no predatory designs on Chinese territory.

The second argument advanced by the American side in defence of its position is that the United States had to take these actions in order to safeguard its security. This was the line taken by Austin in the Security Council, and by John Foster Dulles in the Political Committee. But where does American "security" come in, when Taiwan lies some 8,000 kilometres from American shores?

Trying to justify the invasion of Taiwan, Austin and Dulles, and Truman before them, characterized the Chinese people's desire to liberate Taiwan as—aggression. This is turning the matter upside down. For it is patent nonsense to assert that the invasion of the territory of a sovereign state by foreign troops is not aggression and a menace to the security of the entire Pacific, but that the presence of that state's troops on its own territory would be.

Quite obviously, it is not a case of the "security" of the United States, but of the rapacious plans of American imperialism, which is out to take the place of Japanese imperialism in Asia. The notorious "Tanaka plan" expounded the thesis: "To conquer the world, one must first conquer Asia; to conquer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, one must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia; to conquer Manchuria and Mongolia, one must first conquer Korea and Taiwan." The debacle sustained by the Japanese imperialists has apparently had no sobering effect on the American bidders for domination in Asia. Their hypocritical pretence of desiring peace and friendship with the Chinese people is totally belied by their own actions.

The delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France, Norway, Cuba and Ecuador in the Security Council moved a "six-power resolution" sanctioning the American aggression and grossly maligning the Korean people and China.

The American voting machine turned down the Soviet resolution condemning the American aggression and calling for the immediate withdrawal of the American forces from Taiwan and other Chinese territories. A resolution moved by the representative of the Chinese People's Government, supported by the Soviet representative, on the subject of the American

aggression in Taiwan was likewise rejected. Yet the proposals contained in these resolutions could guarantee peace in the Far East.

But though it secured the defeat of these resolutions aimed at safeguarding peace and security in the Pacific and in Asia, the U.S.-British bloc in the Security Council failed to put through the "six-power resolution," because the Soviet delegation voted against it.

The examination of the question of America's aggression against China is being continued in the Political Committee of the General Assembly. The Soviet delegation has submitted the following resolution:

"The General Assembly,

"Having gone into the question of aggression by the U.S.A. against China, having heard the statement of the delegation of the Chinese People's Republic on the subject and the explanations of the U.S. delegation, and having considered the instances of encroachment by U.S. naval and air forces on China's territorial integrity and the inviolability of her frontiers, to wit: a) invasion by United States armed forces of the Island of Taiwan, which is an inalienable part of China's territory—as recognized by the Cairo Three-Power Agreement of the U.S.A., Great Britain and China, of December 1, 1943—and the consequent intervention of the United States Government in China's internal affairs, and b) the blockade of Taiwan's shores by the U.S. Seventh Fleet, with the hostile object of preventing access to the island of the armed forces and authorities of the Chinese People's Republic,

"Requests the Security Council to take the necessary measures to secure the immediate termination of the United States aggression against China."

The situation which the American aggression has created in the Far East makes it incumbent on the United Nations to take immediate and resolute measures, in accordance with its Charter, to restore peace and security in Asia. The action of the American imperialists in unleashing war in Asia is a direct menace to world peace. The public in all countries expect the United Nations to do its duty. But America's rulers are endeavouring once again to paralyze the United Nations. They refuse to accept the victory of the Chinese people and the collapse of their predatory plans vis-à-vis China. But if they think to gain their ends and impose their will on the Chinese people by extending their aggression in Asia, they are mistaken. No manoeuvres or diplomatic stratagems will avail them.

In statements by their government, in numberless resolutions passed by public and political organizations, in letters and telegrams to the United Nations, the Chinese people have uttered their weighty word.

"The Chinese people," declared Wu Hsiu-chuan in the Security Council, "are maintaining sharp vigilance over the progress of American imperialist aggression. They have already acquired experience and learned a lesson from history as to how to defend themselves from aggression."

Some Aspects of the World Debate

N. SERGEYEVA

THE CARDINAL issue of our day—war or peace—has been brought into the world forum. This is a great achievement for the partisans of peace. The issue was broadly discussed by representatives of different views and trends at the World Peace Congress. But not only there. Actually, those who were desperately anxious to avoid the discussion—those whom it profits to preserve the secrecy in which wars are hatched, and who want to have people believe that war is inevitable and inescapable—have, willy-nilly, been drawn into the debate. The vicious attempt of the Labour government to prevent the Congress, by closing England's doors at the last minute to its principal delegates, was exposed and denounced, and this helped to break the conspiracy of silence and compelled the opponents of peace to speak out. And the character of their attacks on the peace movement still further stressed the essential rightness and historical justice of its cause.

The discussion which developed at and around the World Congress was one of the most severe moral and political defeats ever sustained by the enemies of peace and their abettors. We should like to dwell on some of the principal issues raised in the course of this discussion.

THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND A POLICY OF PEACE ARE INDIVISIBLE

The present-day warmongers are trying to propagate the belief that war threatens (and is inevitable) because of the existence (and policy) of the Soviet Union. This argument is used to justify the armament drive and the aggressive war preparations of the U.S.-British bloc.

But capitalist states made war on one another *long before* the Soviet Union came into existence, and that fact in itself knocks the bottom out of this argument. The first world war, as everyone knows, also began before the establishment of the Soviet system in Russia. Furthermore, all through the period between the first and the second world wars, from 1918 to 1939, wars hardly stopped in the capitalist world. They were aggressive wars, waged by imperialist powers in furtherance of their predatory interests. Cases in point are the attack of fascist Italy on Ethiopia and the attack of imperialist Japan on China. The second world war likewise began as a collision between two coalitions of capitalist states: Hitler Germany attacked Poland and brought on war with France and Britain. Now, with the publication of documents from the secret archives, it is known that Hitler not only intended to seize the British Isles, but was planning to conquer the American continent.

In contrast to this imperialist policy of war and aggression, the Soviet Union has invariably adhered to a policy of peace and friendship among nations. Peaceful relations with all countries, whatever their political systems, have been the aim of the foreign policy of the Soviet State ever since its inception.

The Soviet policy of peace is not a sign of weakness. This was convincingly shown by the outcome of the intervention 30 years ago, when, although its muscles were still unknit, the young Soviet Republic successfully repulsed the loudly vaunted "campaign of fourteen states" organized by Churchill. It was also shown by the outcome of the war unleashed by Hitler Germany. The Soviet Union is strong enough to repel the armed attack of any foe. Its might is beyond question. Nevertheless, it does not build its policy on violence and coercion, but on peace and the promotion of friendly relations and co-operation with other countries.

The Soviet system began its existence with a call for peace. And this was not fortuitous, but a natural corollary of historical development. In order to accomplish the great social transformation proclaimed by the October Revolution, the first and essential requisite was peace. Consequently, the primary and fundamental principle of the Soviet Government's foreign policy has been and is to ensure peace among nations and to oppose imperialist wars,

imperialist robbery, imperialist violence of state against state.

The Soviet Republic's struggle for peace is a struggle against imperialism, to which war is a natural state, the "normal" way of settling disputes and conflicts. More, war for the imperialists is a desirable modus of overcoming their economic difficulties, by robbing other countries and peoples, and their own people too. Although only preparing to launch another world war, Truman and Attlee already insist that the British and Americans must make sacrifices and more sacrifices. Göring's sinister formula, "guns before butter," has been revived and made the keynote of the political and economic life of the United States, Great Britain and all the Marshallized countries.

The Soviet Union's peace policy follows logically from the progressive nature of the Soviet system, Soviet society and the whole Soviet way of life. Progressives everywhere and always are believers in lasting peace among nations. A progressive who does not stand for peace is inconceivable. And if additional proof were needed of the arch-reactionary, fascist character of the Tito clique in Yugoslavia, it is provided by their hatred of the world peace movement and their savage reprisals against peace supporters.

But the peace movement embraces not only all the progressive elements. It is much wider. It includes many members (and can include many more) of the conservative camp, who do not believe in progressive social reform, but who realize the criminality of war and the disastrous consequences it holds out for mankind. Undoubtedly, there are bourgeois statesmen and politicians who are alive to the fact that the world war the adventurers are plotting will be fraught with grave peril to the very social system in which they believe.

Thus the very existence of the peace movement, in the form represented by the Second World Peace Congress, refutes one of the major arguments levelled against it by bourgeois politicians, namely, that it is a "Communist move," a tool of Moscow. British Prime Minister Attlee officially repeated this allegation on November 1. But the reaction he got was not what he intended; he met with a vigorous rebuff from the public of the world and from broad sections of British opinion. The retort he received was that the struggle for peace was not the affair of Communists alone. The *Yorkshire Post*, which published an article abusing students of Leeds University for supporting the peace movement, received many letters of protest, some of which it was forced to print. One of the students, G. A. Evans, put the case as follows:

> "The demand for abolishing atomic weapons is... a just and righteous demand which Communists, non-Communists and anti-Communists can support. The fact that the Communists are in favour of banning the atom bomb will be felt by most English people as a matter for rejoicing rather than sorrow."

Professor J. G. Crowther, President of the British Peace Committee, said in a reply to Attlee:

"I am not a Communist, nor are the majority of the 500 million men and women who have signed the Stockholm Appeal.... Today, with half of the human race looking to the Communists for inspiration, any peace movement without Communist participation is unrealistic and in fact helps to endanger peace. The two kinds of society in the world must live together if there is to be peace, and they can live together."

NON-INTERVENTION IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF OTHER NATIONS

Non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations is one of the elementary conditions for peace.

Imperialism does not believe in respecting the rights of other nations. Persuaded of their military or economic superiority (real or imaginary), the imperialist powers practise the cult of brute force, and the prime mover of their foreign policy is an urge for conquest and robbery. But this imperialist gangsterism is so detestable to the people—of the metropolitan as well as of the dependent countries—that the rulers of imperialist states are compelled to camouflage their aims. We accordingly find the warmongers prating about their devotion to democracy and peace.

A number of sophistries are advanced nowadays to justify imperialist aggression and brigandage. The chief of them is that peoples have no right to change their system of gov-

ernment, or their social order. It is on these grounds that the American and British governments are stifling the struggle of the Greek people against the royalist-fascist regime which they detest, and which was forcibly imposed on Greece by the imperialists themselves. Washington uses the same argument as a justification for nurturing and cherishing bankrupt political cliques that have been ejected by their peoples—from Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang gang to Mikolajczyk, Ferenc Nagy, Gemeto and the other outcasts from the East-European countries who have now been switched to the job of espionage. The State Department's intrigues against the People's Democracies are prompted precisely by this policy of denying peoples the right to change their government systems and choose regimes and governments which they trust.

The hollowness of this argument is shown up by historical facts. The political systems prevailing in all the states of today are the outcome of revolutions. Let us recall the French bourgeois revolution of the eighteenth century and the English bourgeois revolution of the seventeenth. The U.S.A. owes its origin as a democratic state to the War of Independence of the 1770's and the civil war of 1861-65 between the North and the South. If President Truman is president today, it is only because the North American colonies rose against the British crown and threw off its rule in the eighteenth century.

The celebrated John Rogge may now say that he does not recognize the War of Independence and the war for the abolition of slavery. He might just as well say that he does not recognize the force of gravity or the solar system. Some, we know, did deny them at the time of Newton and Copernicus.

To justify their gross interference in the affairs of other peoples with the object of stopping their progressive development and their struggle for social reform, the imperialists have invented the term "internal aggression." They are trying to stop this "internal aggression," they affirm—with the noble motive of safeguarding peace and promoting the welfare of the peoples in whose affairs they meddle.

Actually, the idea of the imperialists is to brand as aggression the legitimate movements of peoples springing from the internal development of their countries. A clause concerning "internal aggression," it was revealed in the press at the time, was included in the secret provisions of the aggressive North-Atlantic treaty. Its import is that if in any country internal developments should occur tending towards a change of regime not approved of by the imperialists, and Washington should consider it necessary to intervene, the other signatories of the North-Atlantic pact are obligated also to intervene with their armed forces. The slanderous allegation that North Korea had committed aggression against South Korea was, as we know, advanced as a justification for the American invasion of that country.

It is as absurd to talk of internal aggression as it is to talk of hot ice. The term was invented by the imperialists to confuse people's minds and create a pretext for interfering in the affairs of other countries. Aggression is always *committed from outside*. The Address of the World Peace Congress to the United Nations contains a definition of aggression which no sensible person will question. It says:

> "No political, strategic or economic considerations, no motives deriving from the internal situation or any internal conflict in one or another state can justify armed intervention by any other state. Aggression is a criminal act on the part of that state which first employs armed force against another state under any pretext whatever."

As far back as May 1933, the League of Nations Security Committee approved a definition of aggression based on this same principle. It defined as the aggressor that state which is the first to declare war against another state, or whose armed forces invade the territory of another state even without declaration of war. It further expressly stated that justification for attack cannot be based upon the internal situation in a given state, as, for instance, political, economic or cultural backwardness; alleged maladministration; revolutionary or counterrevolutionary movements, civil war, disorders or strikes, or the establishment or maintenance in any state of any political, economic or social order.

Many bourgeois states agreed at the time with this definition, because no possible objection can be raised to it. But in our day the Washington and London politicians, in their

search for excuses and cloaks for armed intervention in the affairs of other countries, are trying to turn all the accepted ideas and rules of international law upside down. However, the aggression in Korea remains aggression, and rapine remains rapine, no matter what fraudulent arguments the American imperialists resort to in order to whitewash their intervention. It is not Korean troops that have invaded New York and are establishing their order of things there, but American troops that have invaded far-off Korea and destroyed practically every town in that heroic country. The decision of the World Congress, with its clear-cut definition of aggression, is of a vast and fundamental importance; it deprives imperialist propaganda of every shred of justification for violence against other nations—violence, moreover, which jeopardizes world peace.

PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE OF THE TWO SYSTEMS

When the North-Atlantic treaty was being framed, Truman and Bevin asserted that it was not directed against any country. This was of course a lie, and one which nowadays even the most case-hardened political truth-twister would not venture to repeat. With the preparations for war gone as far as they are, it can no longer be concealed or denied that these preparations are directed against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. And so, as a means of justifying their aggressive designs, the imperialists make it their business to prove that war is inevitable because of the very existence of two antithetical systems—the socialist and the capitalist.

It is well known that in their statements of principle the founders of Soviet policy, Lenin and Stalin, declared that the two systems can and must live peacefully side by side. It is also well known that the Soviet Government unswervingly bases its policy on these principles. Since the war, notwithstanding the demonstrative military preparations of the Western powers and their gross violations of their international pledges, the Soviet Union has unfailingly signified its readiness to settle controversial issues in a peaceful way, and, in particular, to reach agreement on all major problems with the United States. We need only recall J. V. Stalin's replies to Kingsbury Smith, the Soviet Government's recent proposal for a conference of the four Great Powers on the German question, and the proposal made by the Soviet delegation at the present session of the General Assembly that the five Great Powers should conclude a Pact for Strengthening Peace. These and similar proposals met with the warm support of the masses in all countries, the U.S.A. and Great Britain included. But all proposals for a peaceful adjustment of differences, including the Soviet proposal at the present Assembly session, recommending direct negotiations between the five Great Powers, have been consistently rejected by Washington. It is clear to every lover of peace that negotiations between the five Great Powers, and a spirit of harmony and good will between them, would be the shortest and most effective way of eliminating the danger of war. This was stressed in the resolutions of the Second World Peace Congress.

Like that of the Nazi bandits in their time, the propaganda of today's warmongers is conducted along two lines. On the one hand, they make a parade of their supposed desire for peace. Realizing full well that the peoples hate war, the imperialist politicians—Truman and Acheson, Attlee and Bevin, Bradley and Eisenhower, and even that war criminal MacArthur—declare with unparalleled hypocrisy that their aggressive preparations and frenzied rearmament are designed solely and exclusively to strengthen peace. Even the murder and rapine in Korea is alleged to be motivated by the desire to establish enduring peace in that country!

On the other hand, this unsurpassed canting about peaceful intentions is accompanied by the most rabid propaganda for war and the whipping up of war hysteria. Psychological preparation for war is being conducted by the present-day bidders for world supremacy on a scale which Hitler and Goebbels might have envied. To the best of their ability, and as far as conditions allow, the American imperialists are trying to stir up the savage beast in the peaceful American people too. To the great chagrin of the brass hats in the Pentagon, the mass of American youth are no fire-eaters. The cult of the dollar, money-grabbing and go-getting has proved to have its reverse side: profiteers and self-seekers do not relish

shedding their blood, and certainly not for the dubious ideals held up to them by the psychological warfare division of the State Department. As to gangsters alone, they don't get you very far. And so the ubiquitous radio and the monopoly-serving press are kept hard at work stirring up hate, racism and chauvinism in American minds, infecting them with suspicion and hostility towards other peoples, and especially towards countries with just and progressive social systems.

No matter how fervently America's masters may vow their devotion to peace, they cannot help exposing themselves as warmongers. Washington is in such panic fear of the demand of the peoples that war propaganda be prohibited because its entire propaganda machine is geared to war. Obviously, if war propaganda is proclaimed a crime, as the peoples demand it should be, the first place to look for the criminals will be Washington. One of them will be Bernard Baruch, the banker, who ever since the end of World War II has been planning the mobilization of America's economy for another war.

It was he who, addressing New York college students on October 12, 1946, declared that "peace seems beautiful during the savagery of war, but it becomes almost hateful when war is over."

When he said this, he was speaking on behalf of all the merchants of death, for whom war is a profitable business. On their behalf, too, speak the advocates of a preventive war who have lately been so vocal in Washington —Secretary of the Navy Matthews, for instance, who called for aggressive war as a "preventive measure" against any state that refused to submit to American dictation, or MacArthur, with his scandalous plan for turning the Pacific into an American lake, and his program for U.S. domination of all ports "from Vladivostok to Singapore."

The warmongers and their political handymen greeted the peace partisans' appeal for peaceful economic competition between the two systems with such an outburst of fury because this goes right against their propaganda stress on the inevitability of war. This sensible and feasible idea has been put forward by the World Congress in its Address to the United Nations, and is meeting with the support not only of the working people—they have always been in favour of improving business relations with the Soviet Union—but also among wide sections of the wealthier classes. It invariably figures in the petitions of Quaker, women's and other United States public organizations to the White House. And even in the British House of Commons voices in favour of this solution of international problems are raised not only among the so-called Labour opposition, but also on the Conservative side of the House. They are the voices of people who have not lost all sense of reason and who have learned a lesson from the second world war.

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

An indispensable condition for international co-operation, and one without which stable peace is unthinkable, is recognition of the equality and respect for the sovereignty of other states. This is the principle on which the United Nations is founded, and the provisions of its Charter furnish the necessary basis for co-operation among nations.

The idea that co-operation between states, regardless of their social systems, is possible, feasible and essential for the maintenance of peace among nations—an idea advanced with such unanimity by the peace partisans and embodied in the decisions of the Congress—is reflected in the U.N. Charter, notably, in the principle of the unanimity of the Great Powers in the Security Council.

Agreement among the Great Powers is essential for the safeguarding of peace. This was fully realized by U.S. statesmen who really desired peace and were sincerely in favour of international co-operation. It was for this reason that President Roosevelt, for instance, espoused the principle of unanimity. But when the American government embarked on the reckless course of preparing another world war, it launched an offensive against the principle of unanimity in the Security Council, and ever since American imperialism has been working to undermine and disrupt the United Nations.

This line has been revealed in all its nakedness at the present session of the General Assembly. The State Department has mustered the mechanical majority vote of its satellites against the sane policy of agreements and compromises, which is essential for the maintenance of universal peace. It does not betray the slightest inclination to arrive at agreed

decisions acceptable to all. It demonstratively avoids seeking for them, openly and grossly violates the U.N. Charter, forces unlawful decisions on the Security Council, and places the flag of the United Nations in the hands of MacArthur, stained with the blood of the Korean people.

The mechanical voting majority in the United Nations does not reflect the aspirations of the peoples. This is apparent not only to us in the Soviet Union. Henry Usborne, Labour M.P., pointed out in the House of Commons on July 28 that whereas the U.S.S.R., India and China, together containing half of the population of the world, cast only 10 per cent of the votes in the United Nations, the 20 Latin American countries, which are satellites of the U.S.A., and which represent only 7 per cent of the world's population, cast 40 per cent of the votes. But this perfectly suits the State Department, which is turning the United Nations into one of its subsidiaries.

With the help of this mechanical voting majority, the lawful representatives of the Chinese People's Republic are prevented from taking their seat in the United Nations. The American politicians try to confuse the issue by reiterating that China is being kept out of the United Nations because she has a Communist government. As though a people three times the size of the American and ten times the size of the British can be prevented from setting up the kind of government that it fought for over more than twenty years! Would it enter anybody's head to deprive the U.S.A. of representation in the United Nations on the grounds that its government is a *capitalist* one!

THE BANNER OF PEACE VERSUS THE CULT OF POWER

"We must continue to increase our production for military purposes. We must continue to increase the strength of our armed forces —army, navy and air force. We must devote more of our resources to military purposes." These words were uttered in October in San Francisco by the president of a country which has embarked upon rearmament on a scale unprecedented in history.

"The only way is to create a situation of strength," Acheson told representatives of Big Business in the White House on February 16.

Strength, strength, strength; power, power, power—this is the keynote of all the utterances of America's policy-makers. The exponents of power politics are trying to dope American minds with the notion that overwhelming military strength, unlimited rearmament, is a sure road to peace. "If we are stronger than all the rest, we shall establish peace," affirm the advocates of preventive war. The purpose of these sophistries is to confuse people, to conceal from them the preparations for unleashing another world war and the aggressive designs of the American plutocracy.

Actually, the appeals for power, for a policy of brute suppression, are a sign of the internal weakness of the imperialist camp. Capitalism, in its period of general crisis, is powerless to stay mankind's progressive advance, and it therefore dreams of strength and fosters the cult of power politics.

But time is working against the warmongers. This is shown by the rapid growth of the peace movement, and it is confirmed by the lessons of the American imperialists' venture in Korea.

The growth and spread of the peace movement drives the imperialists to fury. The movement is a constant reminder to them of their political and moral bankruptcy.

The Second World Peace Congress was an event of major importance. It was a demonstration not only of the impressive strength of the peace partisans, but also of the strength of their arguments. Developments are bearing out the historical rightness and justice of the cause of peace. The banner of peace raised aloft by the Soviet Republic 33 years ago is successfully countering the cult of force, and it now has the allegiance of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

U.S. Monopolies Grow Fat on Korean War

Prof. N. WEIZMANN

BEFORE us lie a number of issues of the *Wall Street Journal*, organ of the American financial oligarchy. Among the welter of bold-captioned articles and flaring advertisements, occasional tables of figures, no more than a few lines each, are interspersed. Modest and inconspicuous, they scarcely attract the eye. But, perhaps, they tell the story of the present state of America's economy more effectively than the most lengthy and circumstantial editorial comment.

These tables show the *sales and profits* of America's giant monopolies and other big corporations for the third quarter and the first nine months of the present year.

The third quarter is snappily referred to by the paper as the "post-Korea months." It was in this period that President Truman signed the Defence Production Act of 1950 and approved a $500 million program of tank production, and that the Senate approved supplementary appropriations of $17,000 million as "emergency defence funds," including $11,700 million for "increasing the United States military forces."

Who is profiting from the suffering and mass slaughter in Korea? Into whose pockets have flown the colossal appropriations for extending aggression in Asia? The *Wall Street Journal* gives the answer—*the war in Korea is an exceedingly profitable business for the U.S. monopolies.*

In a number of instances, the tables give comparisons with 1948 as well as 1949. An examination of these figures provides additional evidence that in 1949 America's economy was passing through a very severe slump, showing all the signs of sliding into a regular crisis. This presumably was one of the factors that determined America's ruling circles to pass from threats of aggression to outright aggression. We shall give some of the figures—they are very eloquent. Here are the net sales of one of the biggest chemical concerns, the Union Carbide & Carbon Corp., for the first nine months in each of the last three years:

Year	Sales	Per cent
1948	$463,000,000	100
1949	*$434,000,000*	*94*
1950	$537,000,000	116

The same picture is to be observed in the case of other concerns. Here are the sales of four big corporations in the third quarters of the three years (millions of dollars):

	1948	1949	1950
Republic Steel Corp.	196.9	*155.4*	228.0
Detroit Steel Corp.	7.3	*5.9*	23.8
Acme Steel Co.	14.4	*12.8*	16.2
Johns-Manville Corp.	44.8	*43.1*	55.3

Union Carbide & Carbon has made plenty out of the armament drive; but its rake-off cannot compare with that of E. I. du Pont de Nemours, which, as we know, specializes in the manufacture of explosives and takes an active share in the production of atomic bombs. In the first nine months of 1950, du Pont's sales totalled $934.6 million, exceeding those of the corresponding period of 1949 by 22 per cent. The rate of increase was even swifter in the third quarter, when sales were *32 per cent* above those of the corresponding period of last year.

Du Pont's sales have expanded from quarter to quarter: taking the first quarter of this year as 100, sales in the second quarter rose to 117, and in the third to 130. However, profits have increased even faster. In the first nine months of 1949 the firm's net profits, after tax deduction, totalled $136 million; in the same period of the present year they totalled $218.6 million, which represents an increase of 61 per cent. *This means that its profits increased in 1950 nearly three times as fast as its sales.*

A large proportion of du Pont's huge profits (nearly one-third) comes from its share of the income of General Motors, the automobile firm. The latter's profits in the first nine months of 1950, according to the published figures, were truly astronomic—$702 million, exceeding those of the corresponding period last year by $200 million.

Du Pont is matched by another super-monopoly, General Electric, which also has a hand in atomic-bomb production. The sales of this concern in the first nine months of this year were $1,354.5 million, of which $473.4 million fall to the third quarter (the corresponding figures for last year were $1,190.4 million and $388.6 million). In the same period, the corporation's profits (after tax deduction) were $112.9 million, as against $67.6 million in the first nine months of last year. In other words, the expansion of General Electric's profits was nearly *five times* as great as the expansion of its sales (67 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively).

A much greater increase of profits compared with sales is also to be observed in the case of other firms producing supplies for American imperialist aggression. The following table shows percentage increase of sales and net profits (after tax deduction) in the first nine months of 1950, compared with the corresponding period last year:

	Sales	Profits
United States Steel Corp.	11.5	34.2
Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.	10.3	32.0
Acme Steel Co.	17.6	88.9
Caterpillar Tractor Co.	30.0	99.2
Monsanto Chemical Co.	34.5	78.5
Johns-Manville Corp.	20.5	51.9

Could there be more graphic proof that the artificially created war boom serves for the further enrichment of a handful of American plutocrats?

Here are a few other instances, also taken from the *Wall Street Journal*, of corporation profits in the first nine months of 1950 being half as much again and even double of what they were in the same period last year (millions of dollars):

	1949	1950
Standard Oil of New Jersey	195.0	274.5
Socony-Vacuum Oil Co.	66.0	83.0
United States Rubber Co.	8.6	15.8

The *Wall Street Journal*'s issue of November 1 contains a report of the sales and profits of the United States Steel Corporation, America's biggest supplier of steel and rolled metal. In the third quarter of 1950 its sales amounted to $750.4 million (compared with $604.8 million in the third quarter of last year). Its profits in the third quarter were $59.7 million and in the nine months they totalled $178.8 million, as compared with $133.2 million in the corresponding period last year.

Equally rapid is the growth of the sales of other steel firms: Republic Steel, National Steel, Jones and Laughlin.

That the fat profits of the monopolies come primarily from war contracts is no secret. An article in the *Wall Street Journal* of October 9 entitled "Arms Buying" stated that the U.S. army was spending for "hardware" (the playful term used for such things as guns, tanks, ammunition and other weapons) *500 per cent more than was planned before the aggression in Korea*—$1,962 million, instead of $312 million.

The Cadillac division of General Motors has alone received orders for light tanks totalling $110 million. This means that at least one-fifth of the half a billion dollars assigned by Truman for tank building has already passed into the coffers of General Motors. Orders running into many millions have also been received by Willys-Overland Motors ("jeeps"), Continental Motors (tank engines), the American Car & Foundry Co. (105-millimetre howitzer motor carriages), International Harvester (armoured vehicles), and others.

These cold figures mercilessly expose the fact that behind the American aggression in Asia and the war hysteria and armament drive in the United States lie the infamous business interests of the American monopolies.

Developments in Korea

Foreign Press Review

L. S. L.

THE BOURGEOIS press has recently been giving greater prominence than ever to the developments in Korea—a fact which is directly connected with the failure of General MacArthur's latest offensive against the Korean People's Army.

This offensive, preceded by lengthy all-round preparations on the part of the American aggressors, was trumpeted abroad as a "general," a "decisive" effort. On November 24 all bourgeois newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic prominently headlined the text of MacArthur's official communiqué announcing that the attack in Northwest Korea was proceeding "according to schedule," encountering "stubborn but failing resistance." Somewhat earlier, Associated Press reported that MacArthur, escorted by jet fighter planes, had made a flight over the Yalukiang—the border river—and then returned to Tokyo, where he boasted to newspapermen:

"Tell the boys when they reach the Yalukiang they are going to eat Christmas dinner at home."

It was noted in the press that MacArthur had timed his offensive in Korea to coincide with the arrival of the Chinese People's Republic delegation in New York to participate in the Security Council discussions of the U.S. invasion of Taiwan.

On November 25 the *Christian Science Monitor*'s Washington correspondent Harsh wrote that MacArthur's "unexpected" offensive had been duly considered and approved beforehand at the State Department and the White House.

> "The reason for the approval of the plan and for the general satisfaction here with the launching of the offensive," Harsh wrote, "is the dominant belief in high United States planning quarters that a situation of strength is an essential basis of any successful talks with Russia or with any of the countries associated with Russia. It is felt here that the sooner MacArthur's troops reach the Yalukiang, the sooner the United Nations will be able to talk with the Chinese."

The same day, Reuters correspondent Valentine wrote from Seoul that political circles close to the commander-in-chief believed the latter unwilling to wait any longer for a political decision to be reached at Lake Success, and very doubtful as to its possibility. In other words, Valentine continued, it was believed that General MacArthur wanted a quick decision.

What was hoped of the November offensive was revealed by *New York Times* correspondent Reston, who wrote from Washington that the United States was urging the British

> "not to press any conversations with the Chinese Communists too far until the outcome of the present offensive in Korea is clearer."

So we see that Washington's political line was to be directly dependent on what the adventurist MacArthur managed to accomplish in the field.

But events in Northwest Korea did not develop as the American interventionists had expected. In several sectors the Korean People's Army, aided by Chinese volunteers, launched decisive counterattacks. Dropping the optimistic tone of earlier reports, American and British newspapers began to carry very sombre accounts of the fighting. New words appeared: "defeat," "collapse," "disaster." On November 26 Reuters Tokyo correspondent wrote that the entire eastern flank of General MacArthur's three-day-old offensive had crumbled under a furious counterattack by the People's Army. A spokesman of American Eighth Army headquarters declared in the afternoon of November 26 that as a result of mass attacks by the North Koreans, first one and then another of MacArthur's lines across the central mountain area had collapsed.

Associated Press correspondent Whitehead, with the U.S. 25th Division in Korea, wrote in a dispatch published on November 27:

> "The big United Nations offensive . . . was threatened with complete collapse today. This was the

stark reality of the situation after forty-eight hours of savage fighting. The Chinese and Koreans have dealt a stunning blow to the United Nations forces. The offensive that rolled forward for two days has been halted decisively. The United Nations troops are on the defensive, after giving up most of their gains."

Other reports from the front gave a graphic picture of the confusion and disorganization among the troops of the U.S. and its satellites. Thus, United Press correspondent Kalisher wrote from American Eighth Army headquarters that the American command faced a major military disaster, and that the North-Korean offensive had smashed all hope of a quick conquest of Korea. Lt.-Gen. Walker, commander of the Eighth Army, issued the order to "hold the line at all costs." But this order was far easier to issue than to obey. Reports from correspondents at different American staff headquarters brought news of the disorderly retreat of U.S. and Li Seung Man troops, of nothing being known of many large units, of American army spokesmen describing the situation as "critical."

The failure of MacArthur's "decisive" offensive was very nervously received in American official circles. *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent Andrews reported from Washington on November 29:

"The bad news from Korea has plunged Washington into a state of gloomy apprehension and feverish activity.... Truman is holding an extraordinary conference with the National Security Council, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the State Department's Far Eastern experts."

The *Wall Street Journal*'s Washington correspondent Cromley wrote:

"At the White House, Pentagon, and Department of State yesterday the men who make policy were nervous and jumpy.... A Far Eastern expert said frankly yesterday, 'I cannot tell you what we think about the situation this morning; we may all have different ideas by this afternoon.' One diplomat just sat ... saying to himself, 'It is going to be war; it is going to be war.' Another diplomat was saying quietly under his breath, 'We ought to bomb them; we ought to bomb them—right in Manchuria we ought to bomb them.' Another Department of State planner said worriedly, 'We should better watch Europe too—the Lord knows what might happen, while we are tied up in Korea.'"

To this vivid description, *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Harsh added:

"General MacArthur's severe military reverse in Korea sent the top military command of the United States to the White House, urging on the President the earliest possible resort to diplomacy to extricate their armed forces from what they at present consider may become an impossible military position."

The "top men from the Pentagon" recognize however, Harsh declared, that "resort to diplomacy would be hopeless" as long as the army is in retreat. Hence, they consider that

"the immediate task is to stabilize the situation on the front, if possible.... However, they are of the almost unanimous opinion that the time has passed for military solution. MacArthur himself has appealed for such resort to diplomacy. This view accords entirely with that of the top military leaders in Washington, who told the President that the events of the past few days made it impossible for MacArthur to accomplish his present mission in Korea."

A dispatch from Cromley in the *Wall Street Journal* shows that U.S. ruling circles are not interested in a peaceful settlement.

"In the Department of State and the Pentagon," Cromley writes, "strong groups were determinedly urging a new 'get tough with China' policy.... They feared China would interpret softness as appeasement.... These 'get tough' proponents want to bomb Manchuria at present—and bomb it hard.... But there are other diplomats and Pentagon planners who want to go slow.... One diplomat says bitterly: 'MacArthur set off this new China attack with his big new drive. At present he wants to bomb Manchuria; what is he trying to do—get us in a real war with Red China?'"

British and American newspapers speak of numerous conferences now taking place in an endeavour to find a way out of the situation. MacArthur's reckless actions, they report, have evoked alarm and anxiety in England, France, and other countries, which fear that such a rash policy may bring them face to face with war.

Reston of the *New York Times* wrote on November 30:

"There is no doubt that confidence in MacArthur even on Capitol Hill has been shaken badly as a result of the events of the last few days. Similarly,

there is no doubt that United States leadership in the Western world has been damaged by Truman's acceptance of the bold MacArthur offensive and the President's rejection of the more cautious British strategy.... In the undercover dispute between the cautious policy proposed by the British and French and the bold policy sponsored by MacArthur, the President has backed MacArthur nearly every time. This has produced a situation within the Western coalition that United States diplomats just now are beginning to try to correct."

A fresh wave of war hysteria was started by Truman's press-conference statement of November 30. In this statement Truman not only repeated that the U.S. government has no intention of abandoning its "mission" in Korea, but held out the prospect of a still further extension of its army and a continuation of the U.S. imperialist moves in Korea and in relation to China. Thus, while professing to want peace negotiations, Truman is actually fanning the war flames.

One gets the impression that the present widespread criticism of General MacArthur in the most diverse American circles is being secretly inspired by certain groups in Washington, as a sort of safety valve for public indignation.

MacArthur is being censured by the very press which only yesterday praised him to the skies. No further back than November 26, one of the New York broadcasting stations spoke of him as "America's military genius." Now this "military genius" has cabled a Washington paper that his remark about the war terminating by Christmas was meant "facetiously."

Many Congressmen, the *New York Herald Tribune* reported on November 29, demand an investigation as to why MacArthur boasted about the war terminating around Christmas, just when an offensive against the United States forces was being prepared in Korea.

While mutual recriminations are bandied about in the circles which have had a hand in determining the present aggressive line of U.S. policy, progressive public opinion in America is coming out in determined protest against aggression in Asia. On behalf of a newly formed organization known as the "Emergency Conference on China and World Peace," Dr. Harry Ward has sent Truman and Trygve Lie messages of protest against MacArthur's threats.

"It is unthinkable," these messages declare, "that our country should war with the 475 million Chinese people.... There must be no U.S.-China war, and the atom bomb must not be dropped on Manchuria. We have tried everything except mediation and conciliation in the Korean war, and denial of China's rightful role and interests has led us to the very brink of a third world war. It is plainly time for the cease-fire order in Korea."

T. O. Thackrey, editor of the *Daily Compass*, proposes in a front-page editorial that MacArthur be recalled from the Far East and that his war policy be completely reversed. It was folly, Thackrey declares, to authorize MacArthur to cross the 38th parallel.

"This general who wants to be an emperor," Thackrey continues, "at present poses on the same grounds of 'military necessity' the demand for authorization to bomb China. And after China—what border then?... MacArthur has proved himself a general whose dreams, boasts and communiqués so far outrun reality and facts that it is folly to repose faith in his advice."

Thackrey demands cessation of hostilities and withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and proposes peace negotiations, which, he says, are imperative and certainly more important than

"the risk of displeasing the war party headed by MacArthur, or appeasement of Senator Knowland and the Chiang clique."

In Britain too, public opinion sharply condemns the reckless U.S. policy of extending the aggression in Asia. A characteristic illustration is a statement issued on November 29 by the National Peace Council, a pacifist body co-ordinating the activities of over forty British organizations working for peace but not affiliated with the British Peace Committee.

This statement declares:

"The citizens of our own country, who largely supported the original United Nations action in Korea, are—in the wide experience and representative judgment of the council—decisively opposed to any steps which would involve Britain with its allies in war with China.

"The council has therefore most urgently requested that the British government should strive to recapture the initiative for peace and should straightway instruct its representatives at the United Nations to make every effort to bring the war in Korea to an early close by way of a negotiated peace."

INTERNATIONAL LIFE

NOTES

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Thwarted in their attempts to torpedo the World Peace Congress, the enemies of peace and abettors of the warmongers in Britain are now venting their impotent rage on its delegates. The printer Freddy Layton, secretary of the Bristol Youth Peace Group, has been dismissed from his job with the *Bristol Evening World* for attending the Congress. A London worker, V. Finlayson, has been sacked on the same grounds.

The Conservative and Labour leaders are also hounding members of their parties who went to the Congress. On November 29 the Labour Party Executive in Blaydon, Durham, passed a decision to expel Steve Lawther, who has been elected to the World Peace Council. Lawther and his wife have resigned from the Labour Party in protest and announced their intention of devoting all their efforts to working in the campaign for peace.

The Carpenders Park Labour Party (North London) has suspended Mrs. Allan, who was a delegate to the Congress, from all further activity in the party.

Dr. Christopher Woodard, whom the Congress elected to the World Peace Council, has been expelled from the Conservative Party. Commenting on the expulsion, Dr. Woodard said:

"I've never in my life met such abysmal stupidity.... All those fools could do was to try to get me to say I was not opposed to Communism. I pointed out that there are at least 1,000 million people in the world who believe in Communism and that they have to be listened to and that we must co-operate with them if we are to have peace."

The Congress delegates for their part are doing everything to inform people in Britain about the Congress and its immensely important results. During their journey home from Poland they held several meetings to discuss how to further the work for peace. In a statement they have issued since, they declare themselves inspired by the success of the Congress and "pledge themselves to do their utmost in the cause of peace and to bring together the peoples of the world in friendship and co-operation." Professor Bernal, writing in the *Daily Worker* and in letters to the *Times* and the *New Statesman*, has given a detailed exposition of the Congress decisions.

The delegates are going to speak at a series of big "report back" meetings which the British Peace Committee is arranging throughout Britain in the coming fortnight. Many of them have already addressed meetings and mass rallies.

GERMANS SAY NO

The Landtag elections held towards the end of last month in Hesse, Württemberg-Baden and Bavaria in the American zone of Germany were a signal defeat for Adenauer's Christian-Democratic Union. Even in Bavaria, a traditional stronghold of the reactionary Catholic parties, the Social-Democrats topped the list.

The Bonn "chancellor's" servile zeal in remilitarizing Western Germany has discredited the Christian-Democratic Union in the eyes of the voters. They call it the war party. And the Schumacherites exploited these sentiments for all they were worth. Their election campaign centred around a lying promise to oppose Adenauer's pro-war policy. Schumacher told election meetings that a majority for the government parties would be interpreted abroad as support of remilitarization. He tried to talk away the fact that in all essentials he sees eye to eye with Adenauer on this question—a thing which more than one of the newspapers has pointed out.

Thus the keynote of the election was the attitude of the populace towards the remilitarization issue, and that too is the light in which its results have to be viewed. This is something that even American observers are unable to deny. United Press, for instance, had

to admit that the Germans had pronounced "against remilitarization." Voters in the American zone had followed the Socialists, whose main election promise had been not to rearm. And the Americans' political adviser in Hesse, Dr. Anspach, spoke in his dismay of a "regular landslide."

Certainly the elections were an emphatic demonstration by the people of Western Germany against Washington's remilitarization plans.

COAL FAMINE IN TRIZONIA

Again, as in the early postwar years, coal trains in Western Germany are being raided by a fuel-hungry populace. The stations where coal is unloaded are guarded by armed police and squads specially detailed for the purpose. But people shovel coal off moving cars between the stations. Some trains lose as much as 20 per cent of their freight en route.

According to official statistics, coal production in the Ruhr is normal. Why then this shortage of coal in Western Germany? Why are not only homes, but many of the peace industries experiencing an acute scarcity? Sugar refineries, textile mills, agricultural machinery plants, bakeries, gas works are closing down or curtailing production. Many firms are laying off workers wholesale. Small and medium-sized establishments find themselves in very bad straits indeed. The Bielefeld *Freie Presse* says:

> "The coal situation threatens to become a disaster that will plunge the Federal Republic into dire want."

At the same time, war factories are kept in capacity operation on American and British orders. Housing construction in the British zone has been suspended because the building material factories are getting no coal; yet available supplies of these materials have been commandeered for fortifications and barracks.

It is war production that is responsible for the coal hunger, which bids fair to bring on a crisis of the whole West-German economy. What makes things still worse is the large compulsory export quotas for Ruhr coal, which is delivered at a low price for the war industries of the Western powers. For the first quarter of next year the so-called International Ruhr Authority has fixed an export quota of 6,830,000 tons, although the Germans have pointed out that this is at least a million tons too much.

To be sure, the United States is ready to "help." It is offering to bring in 500,000 tons of American coal, only at the profiteering price of 16.5 dollars a ton, instead of the 10 dollars paid for Ruhr coal. There is also another American offer: if the Bonn authorities will lower their tariffs on oil, the U.S. monopolies are willing to supply it. This complaisance is easy to understand, seeing that the business would put some 100 million dollars of extra profits in their pockets.

Besides drawing Western Germany into the armament drive with all its sinister consequences, the American imperialists are shamelessly robbing her, strangling her peace economy and dooming her people to hunger and cold.

CANADA—A U.S. ARMY COMMAND

Some time ago, the hearts of Canadians were gladdened with the news that their armed forces had been given the privilege of being the aides of the United States. The person who told them this was External Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson, speaking in parliament on September 4. Commenting on Pearson's statement, independent M.P. Gagnon said that in the past the Canadian government had taken its orders from Britain, and now it was taking them from Canada's neighbour—Canada's policy was still being dictated by the heads of other countries.

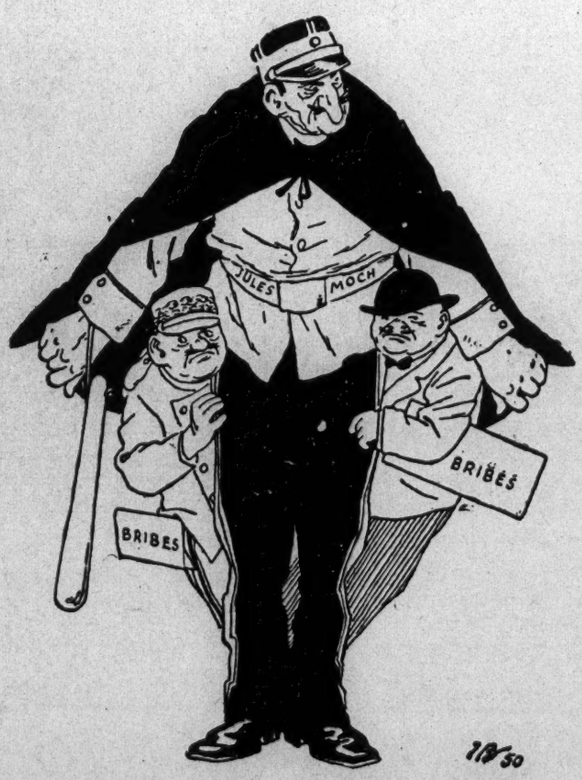
By other countries Gagnon naturally meant the United States. And what Pearson meant in speaking of Canada's new role was made plain by subsequent developments.

On November 24 a correspondent of the Ottawa *Citizen* reported, quoting official documents in his possession, that on October 1 the Pentagon had set up a new "U.S. Northeast Command," with U.S. Major-General Whitten in charge. And this command, it transpired, included a good third of the territory of—Canada: the entire Province of Quebec, the other Atlantic provinces, all the Canadian Arctic islands, right up to the North Pole, and, to round out the picture, the whole of Danish-owned Greenland.

The thing promised trouble. Pearson called a press conference in a hurry and tried to explain it away. But what could he say to justify such a flagrant violation of Canada's sovereignty? He could only mumble that Canada had been duly "consulted."...

Since then the Canadian press has published some further unsavoury details of this affair. The Canadian government, it appears, made no objection to the Pentagon's imperialist appetites as such. No, it only made one request: the Americans should publish no maps of their new command, so that people shouldn't get the impression that U.S. jurisdiction had been extended to these Canadian territories.

News Item: Jules Moch, France's Minister of National Defence, has been exposed as a shielder of grafters and spies of the General Staff, who are implicated in the notorious "Ministers' Affair." Two hundred and thirty-five deputies voted to have Moch's crimes brought before the High Court.



WHOM FRANCE'S DEFENCE MINISTER DEFENDS

G. VALK

After making Washington boss of a third of the country, the Canadian government tries to "save its face" by subterfuges like these. But it's fair to assume that Canadians want to live in Canada, not in a U.S. "Northeast Command."

SOME PERTINENT CORRECTIONS

When the Italian Chamber of Deputies was considering the budget estimates for the Ministry of the Interior, Minister Scelba informed the deputies, among other things, that "in the sphere of social legislation Italy stands well in the forefront." Whether this was a specimen of the policeman's smug complacency or just a barefaced lie is uncertain. Certain it is, however, that if the Italy of De Gasperi and Scelba is "well in the forefront" in anything, it is only in unemployment, low living standards and illiteracy.

The present winter finds conditions in Italy worse than ever, and particularly dreadful is the plight of the children of the working folk. Statistics printed in the *Vie Nuove* magazine for November 19 show that 300,000 Italian children have a predisposition to tuberculosis, and only 4 per cent of them are receiving medical attention. Of the 2,000,000 school-age children who require medical treatment, 1,120,000 cannot get it. Fifteen thousand children in Italy were crippled during the war, chiefly in American bombing attacks; only 6 per cent of them are getting any assistance—and of the 200,000 war orphans 35 per cent are uncared for. There are also 500,000 mothers who receive no medical service.

Italy has not enough schoolhouses. Eighty thousand teachers are without work. The schools that do exist are overcrowded, and epidemics are rife. The national rate of incidence of tuberculosis among school-age children is above 10 per cent, and in some areas it is as high as 50 and 60. The illiteracy percentage in the South is between 60 and 70, which is hardly surprising, seeing that the annual government expenditure on schooling is 10 lire (less than 6.5 kopeks) per child.

And so we see that Scelba's bombastic pronouncements about Marshallized Italy's achievements in social welfare stand in need of substantial correction.

NEO-FASCISM IN AUSTRIA

By a law passed on the 22nd of last month, the Austrian parliament has abolished the so-called people's denazification courts, established in 1945 to punish Nazi and war criminals. But only very naive people can be led by this to assume that denazification in Austria has been completed and the courts are being abolished because there is nothing more for them to do.

With the encouragement of the Western powers, the Austrian authorities from the very outset sabotaged the joint allied decisions on denazification. The denazification courts deliberately evaded the job they had been set up to do. Even according to the official figures, out of the total of 80,377 cases started against Nazis, 64,811 were quashed, suspended or indefinitely postponed, and 4,375 persons were formally acquitted. Only 6,219, or 7.7 per cent of the accused, were found guilty. And even out of these acknowledged Nazi criminals, 5,984 were given only the briefest prison terms, and their preliminary confinement was credited to them, so that they were released right from the courtroom. Only 67 Nazis are in custody at the present time.

The Austrian government has also failed to carry out the Allied Council's directive for speedy enforcement of Law No. 25, which provides that National-Socialists who are a menace to the state shall be confined in special camps. All these individuals are at large and many have been officially amnestied. In 1948-49 the President of Austria amnestied 6,411 fascist criminals by his personal decree, and another 356 former active Nazis were amnestied by the Ministry of Justice.

With the Austrian authorities acting in this way, Nazism is positively encouraged to revive. Some dozen and a half underground neo-Nazi organizations were uncovered in the Western zones of Austria in 1948 and 1949; it came out, incidentally, that they had been closely linked with the British and American secret services. The Nazi "League of Independents" was made legal last year, and a neo-Nazi group calling itself "The Young Front" exists openly in the ruling People's Party.

In the light of all these facts, the abolition of the denazification courts can only be interpreted as a fresh move towards the neo-fascization of Austria.

PORTRAITS FROM THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACIES

One of the Notables of the New Bulgaria

Orlin VASILEV

The author of this story about the Dimitrov Prize winner Ilia Pelov, the talented self-taught inventor, is a well-known Bulgarian novelist and journalist, editor of the newspaper "Literaturen Front." The author of many novels and screen plays, including "White Road," "Strahil," "Primeval Forest," "Everyday Life," "Kalin the Eagle," and "The Alarum," Vasilev has been awarded a Dimitrov Prize for literature.

AT THE FOOT of the Balkan mountains nestles the old town of Vazovgrad. Its squat little houses roofed with mossy tiles are huddled together, and most of them are surrounded by high stone walls dating back to the days of Turkish rule. For centuries the heavy gates, locked and barred, concealed the poverty of the small farmers, the shepherds and artisans. Thin-legged, long-eared donkeys plod drearily along the narrow crooked streets, picking their way among the stones that have rolled down the mountainside. Nuns in their long dark habits move like black shadows under the walls of the ancient convent. The primitive, cumbersome "dikanya," a flat board studded with jagged flint teeth, is still used in these parts for threshing the grain....

And suddenly a new town thrusts itself powerfully and irresistibly into the midst of this medieval scene. The heart of the new town is a factory, surrounded by a large park. Huge, spacious factory buildings rise on either side of broad avenues. Encased in metal and glass, they spread themselves bright and shining under the blue sky. Beyond towers the handsome, imposing building of the House of Culture, and beyond that, more avenues and gardens. Then come blocks of four- and five-storey apartment houses where the workers live, their broad windows sparkling merrily in the sunshine.

We are sitting by an open window in one of these apartments. This is the home of Ilia Pelov, a worker of wide renown, who has won the Dimitrov Prize and three government decorations. Pelov is a man of 46 or 47 with a finely-featured face and steady penetrating eye. He is deliberate, unhurried in his speech as in his movements.

"Not so bad for a start, is it?" he says, pointing to the view from the window. "The old life is retreating and we're advancing. Look, there's the new high school, and over there is the reading room, the library and the cinema. Everybody has electric light and radio here. The fathers still drive donkeys and thresh with 'dikanyas,' but their sons and grandsons are operating the latest kinds of machinery. Before very long all that will be left of the old town will be a museum. Let it stand as a reminder to future generations of what we had to start with."

But I feel that Pelov's contemporaries too might benefit by knowing the story of this descendant of a long line of farm labourers who is today a notable of the new Bulgaria—where he started, what his life has been, and what his plans and aspirations are for the future.

* * *

His father, Mladen Pelov, fled from his famine-stricken village and roamed from place to place in search of work. He wanted to send his children to school, to give them a good start in life, but it was more than he could manage. And when two of them died, he told his third son:

"You see how it is, Ilia.... We have six mouths to feed. You will have to keep yourself from now on. Perhaps you'll be able to get on in life...."

His mother made him up a bundle of two faded shirts, a towel and a hunk of bread. Ilia shouldered the bundle, and set off to "get on in life."

"In one village where they had a threshing machine I got a job as stoker," Pelov recalls. "Got my first whiff of machine oil there—the sweetest smell a worker knows! But the summer ended, and with it the threshing. I decided

to push on to Sofia. If I was to go under, I might as well dive into deep water—that was how I looked at it."

Scared by the bustle of the big city, the village lad did not venture beyond the district around the railway station, spending the nights in vacant lots. There he made the acquaintance of some stonemasons as homeless and destitute as himself who advised him to try the railway repair shops. He was lucky enough to be taken on as a turner's apprentice, and was given a warm welcome by his work mates, many of them Communists, with whom he lived in the railway barracks, sleeping like them on three bare boards with a sack for a mattress and another for a blanket.

Ilia Pelov

Here in the Sofia railway repair shops Ilia learned the first lessons life was to teach him. It was here that he found out how marvellous a thing was the lathe and how hideous a thing the society he lived in.

With the older workers, the boy visited the Communist club, and there for the first time he heard about the Soviet land, where farm labourers like his father and stonemasons and lathe hands like his new friends had driven out the capitalists and landlords and were running the factories, banks and estates themselves. And because they had done this the interventionists had set out to make war on them.

In his spare time Ilia learned to drive a car, and later he got a job as mechanic in an automobile repair shop. He was endowed with a questing mind, an accurate eye and a steady hand. Industrious and persevering, he would spend long evenings poring over technical handbooks. And after a time he matched the skill of workers of much longer experience. He read blueprints at sight, was quick at making calculations, could adjust a lathe, and later, a milling machine too. He soon had the reputation among his fellows of being expert at copying parts from specimens, without working drawings.

He wanted to study further and so he spent the money saved up for a suit on buying technical books. But he soon found that in monarchist Bulgaria the ordinary worker could make no headway.

There were no engineering plants in Bulgaria. What machine shops there were had one or two small lathes and an ordinary hand bellows standing in the middle of the floor. Some of the bigger ones did have machines, but they were worn-out, obsolete models used mainly for petty repair work.

And so life in capitalist Bulgaria taught Pelov another bitter lesson. The country was foreigner-ridden. Everything was run by Germans, Americans, Belgians, French, Englishmen or Italians. None of them, naturally, had any interest in developing Bulgarian industry. On the contrary, the theory was brazenly propounded that Bulgaria could be nothing but an agrarian adjunct of German industry. The Bulgarians were supposed to follow the plough, plant tobacco, soybeans, barley and corn. All the rest they were to receive "ready-made" from abroad.

Sofia's streets were literally jammed with foreign shops and the offices of foreign firms. It was not only machines that were imported. Hammers, pliers, spades, screws, bolts, horseshoes and even nails bore foreign trademarks.

"For grain, tobacco and attar of roses you can buy really good things from any foreign firm, not that Bulgarian-made stuff...."

This was the slighting way in which goods of domestic manufacture were referred to by the foreign businessmen and their Bulgarian menials. "Bulgarian stuff," "Bulgarian work" meant poor stuff, trash. The implication was that Bulgarian goods could never compare even with the worst rubbish brought in from America, Germany or Britain.

This degrading term of opprobrium, originally used by the colonizers and their agents in alluding to manufactures, was subsequently applied also to literature, the theatre and the arts generally.

The simplest machines that came from abroad were accompanied by men to install them. Bulgarian factory-owners regarded foreigners with awe. And even the few Bulgarian trained engineers took this state of affairs quite for granted. They themselves went to Germany, Austria, France or Italy for their education and returned home filled with con-

tempt for Bulgarian workmanship. As a matter of fact, most of them quickly forgot all they had learned, and even before they received their degrees sought positions in local branches of foreign firms in order later on to become salesmen of ready-made machines and parts. And if the firm did not deal in machines, but in razor blades, say, or toothbrushes, or shoe polish, what did that matter? In his desire to make money the Bulgarian bourgeois surpassed even his foreign partners and instructors.

The lot of the engineer who sought to preserve his self-respect and his professional dignity was unenviable indeed. In most cases he became an official in some administrative position, usually on the railways; or else he might open a small garage or a workshop for repairing spirit stoves, electric cookers and bicycles. As for engineers who were Communists, when they were not in jail they led the semi-starvation existence of the unemployed.

"The ablest, the most gifted worker," says Pelov, "could not hope for anything better than a bare crust of bread. Yes, we Bulgarian workers had big scores to settle both with our own and foreign capitalists."

But it was not until Russian tanks clattered along the banks of the Danube that the bitter past came to an end.

* * *

Starting with that day, Ilia Pelov found that life had another lesson to teach him—a happy lesson this time. He had long since known of the heroic struggles and labour prowess of the great Russian people. He had heard about the Dnieper power plant and the Turksib Railway. News of the glorious doings of the Soviet people had made their way past all the fascist barriers. Working in that old primitive repair shop, Pelov had thought many a time of the gigantic projects built by emancipated labour.

The Bulgarian people rose to meet their liberators and together with the Soviet Army swept forward to finish off the German fascist hordes. The army needed vehicles, and the workshop where Ilia Pelov was employed was given the job of repairing large numbers of them.

That was all very well, but how was it to be done? With the wretched, worn-out equipment and the old hand bellows? But once again Soviet assistance arrived. A lean, bronzed army engineer with hair prematurely grey came to the workshop one day. His name was Major Rybak.

At first even the Major was rather taken aback. Why, there wasn't a single milling machine in the place! On the other hand, there were plenty of directors and managers, outwardly cordial but scared and secretly hostile.

Major Rybak got the older workers and technicians together. He had been a lathe operator himself once and he knew that victory is forged by workers' hands.

"There's a war on, comrades!" he said. "An arduous, patriotic war of liberation. And, as you know, armies nowadays move on wheels. And wheels must have engines to drive them, and engines need bearings, pistons, gears and bushings and all sorts of other parts that have a nasty way of breaking when least expected.

"It's terrible to think," he went on earnestly, his face grave now, "that victory might be delayed even for a day because some wretched screws got loose somewhere. Every extra truck means hundreds more shells, thousands more mortar bombs and bullets delivered to the front. And that means death for the fascist thugs and life for our heroes, our brothers and sons. Do you understand me, comrades?"

That was the beginning of a period such as the workers had never known before. They stayed in the shops for days on end. They ate their meals at their lathes, and snatched an hour or two of sleep stretched out on the floor beside their machines or on a heap of earth in the foundry. And with them all the time was the Soviet engineer, always brisk and cheerful. He had become particularly friendly with Ilia Pelov; he had taken a liking to the quiet, reserved worker from the very first. Pelov did not talk much, but Rybak noticed that his work mates deferred to his judgment: "Let's hear what Ilia has to say."

And Ilia would give his invariably lucid and well-considered opinion.

The Major discovered that Pelov owned a small but extremely valuable technical library. One of the books was "Cutting Tools," by the Soviet Professor Semenchenko. It had many notes in the margin.

Ilia became the Major's right-hand man. Their task was by no means an easy one. Production of the simpler parts had been organized quickly enough, but there were some parts

which even the best skilled man could not make with the equipment on hand. And so many different types and models of vehicles were coming in for "treatment"! In most cases parts had to be turned out without drawings, without the necessary specifications and even without specimens from which drawings could be made.

They did all that could be done on the spot, and the unfinished parts were loaded onto a truck and a "flying" team led by Ilia Pelov drove out to plants in other towns and machined them there, working at night when the machines were free.

At last the first milling machines arrived. The workers met them with great rejoicing. Every day, however, brought fresh problems with it.

On the rear axle of every motor vehicle is a rounded steel housing concealing the differential gears. These are the principal link in the transmission of power from engine to wheels. The steel bevel pinion connects with the crown gear. It does not look very complicated. Both parts can be forged and then machined on a lathe. The configuration of the teeth, however, is so complex that special machine tools are needed to make them.

"There are no such machine tools in Bulgaria," they told the Major. "The Germans wouldn't sell them to us."

Perhaps so, but the army needed vehicles, not excuses! What was to be done? The Major racked his brains, so did Pelov, so did the rest of the workers. The cement floor of the workshop was covered with chalked drawings until it began to look like a huge designing table.

At first they found a way to make the crown gear and the bevel pinion by hand. But how much time and effort it cost them! It took three or four days of painstaking work to make each part. And there were more than seventy different types and models of vehicles. . . . No sooner did you get accustomed to one measurement than another arrived, and new standards had to be drawn up, new teeth forged and new calculations worked out.

"Heavy weighs the automobile crown, eh, Comrade Pelov?" the Major would joke.

And so Pelov set to work to devise a mechanism that would make those confounded teeth automatically.

The engineer approved his general scheme and gave him some practical suggestions, but he did not stay to see the new device completed, for at that point the last volley of the second world war was fired in Berlin, and the Moscow sky was ablaze with the lights of the long-awaited Victory celebration.

With tears in their eyes the workers took leave of their teacher, the first Soviet engineer they had known.

Thus Pelov was left without the Major's solid support, and more and more problems seemed to be piling up. Industry had not yet been nationalized and most of it was run by capitalists. Nor had things changed much at the state-owned plants, for most of the former managers had retained their positions, and even where new ones had come in, the historic significance of the new movement among the working class was not yet fully appreciated.

Gradually, however, the Communist Party and the Fatherland Front government broke the ice. Georgi Dimitrov surrounded the first shock workers and rationalizers of production with paternal care and attention. Step by step the way to a people's industry, a socialist industry, was cleared.

LETTER FROM ORAN

The editors have received a letter from Oran from Bachir Merad, a North-African trade-union leader who visited the Soviet Union recently as one of a delegation of Algerian and Tunisian workers, peasants and intellectuals. This is what he writes:

"Please thank Soviet workers on behalf of my docker friend Boualem and myself for the wonderful welcome we received at the factories of Moscow, Stalingrad and Tashkent.

"We were truly thrilled on seeing what your country has accomplished. Thanks to the socialist system, the Soviet people can live in happiness, freedom and peace—the peace they so warmly defend.

"We shall never stop relating and describing to our friends and to all we meet what the Soviet Union is really like, and in this way we shall fight those who try to distort the truth.

"The meetings at which we tell about our impressions are everywhere a tremendous success. We are showered with questions. We shall do everything to spread far and wide the truth about what we saw in the Soviet Union."

Of course, there were still many difficulties. Pelov found that he still had fewer assistants than "advisers" who assured him there was no sense in putting in so much effort when new machines and spare parts would soon be coming in from abroad.

But deep in his heart he cherished the Party's call to follow the grand example of the Soviet workers. He remembered too the Soviet engineer's injunction: never let up, always push forward!

The hardest thing of all was to find a formula that would co-ordinate the complex operation of the device. And again Pelov spent nights poring over Professor Semenchenko's "Cutting Tools" and other Soviet technical handbooks, which were now available in the library at his job. With their help he solved three serious problems one after another.

These three victories were followed in due course by three high government awards: three Order of Labour medals, two of silver and one of gold.

Up at the Ministry, they were following the progress of this worker-inventor. The war was over, but the need for crown gears and bevel pinions was constantly growing, for the economic rehabilitation of the country had begun. Every two or three days the telephone would ring:

"Well, how are you getting on?"

And at last Pelov was able to reply: "I am ready. Send down a testing commission."

Now the first steel bevel pinion was clamped in place. The current was switched on and a special mechanism fed it under the revolving cutter.

At that moment Pelov felt as if the tool had cut not into the steel but into his own heart.

The machine worked for two hours. And for two hours the commission stood by watching, testing, checking, calculating. At last the cutter ran free. The job was done! The head of the commission picked up the newly-made pinion and compared it carefully with the specimen.

"No difference," was his conclusion, "except that ours is still warm...."

The part was measured with the finest precision instruments.

"Nice clean work."

"Bulgarian work!" the commission head remarked proudly.

It was for this work that Ilia Pelov was awarded a Dimitrov Prize, First Class.

"Do you know where I was when I got the news about the award?" Pelov asks. "In Moscow, at the May Day celebrations. Yes, I was there and saw the Soviet wonders with my own eyes. I met Rossiisky, and Chutkikh. What men they are! What strength and persistence! Oh, we have a long way to go yet....

"But we are working and learning as we go. And what we are doing today is genuine Bulgarian work.

"If our Soviet friend Engineer Rybak were to pay us a visit now, I doubt whether he would recognize either us or the works. The plan is constantly being exceeded, although we increase the quotas ourselves all the time. We are stepping right over the old quotas! Our works has already sent five men to the Gabrovo technical college and two to Karlovo. Eleven are taking a preparatory course for the university, and eleven more have gone to Hungary for special study. Yes, our people are growing. We have a factory training school, and advanced training courses besides. New engineers have come to the works, and new suggestions are pouring in all the time to our rationalization commission, of which I am chairman."

* * *

Night has long since descended on the valley, but the lights from the plant and the new town around it twinkle so brightly that the stars in the sky seem pale by comparison.

When we took leave of Ilia Pelov, the sky in the east over the famous Shipka Pass was growing lighter. The sun was about to rise. Only under its life-giving rays, I reflected, under the rays of that sun that is coming to us from the East, from the Soviet land, could the talent of a self-taught inventor, the talent of our entire Bulgarian people, blossom out.

Sofia

Glimpses of the New Germany

The following is an interview by our correspondent with members of a large delegation from the German-Soviet Friendship Society which visited the Soviet Union in November. The group consisted of workers, peasants and professional men.

New Masters of the Land

A SMALL BOOK with a cover bearing the black eagle and the title, "The German Reichstag, 1928." In it we find the photographs of moustached Prussians in starched wing collars, in morning coats, in evening dress.... Graf von Eulenburg, Graf von Stolberg-Wernigerode, Freiherr von Hammerstein-Loxten, Freiherr von Richthofen, Rear Admiral Brüninghaus... lawyers, army officers, high-ranking government officials, industrialists. Of the 490 members of the Reichstag, only 27 were workers.

This booklet came to our mind when we met Erich Wirth, a deputy to the recently elected People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic.

A spare man of medium height dressed in a modest suit, Wirth is neither a titled aristocrat nor an industrialist. He is a lathe operator at the Sachsenwerk plant in the small town of Radeberg in Saxony. Erich Wirth is one of the new Germany's prominent people, a "production activist" who has devised new high-speed methods of machining metal.

Our comparison with 1928 is not fortuitous, for it was in that year, when the aristocrats and manufacturers sat in the gloomy building on Berlin's Platz der Republik, that Erich Wirth launched out on his conscious political life, joining the Communist Party of Germany. A worker all his life, Erich Wirth in 1950 is a National Prize winner, one of the most popular people in the republic, a member of the new parliament to which the people sent him as their envoy.

There are scores of workers like Wirth in the parliament of the German Democratic Republic, along with peasants and members of the working intelligentsia. Hundreds and thousands of ordinary workers and peasants, once the slaves of the Flicks and Krupps, are now builders of the new Germany.

"I was quite a good worker before too," Wirth told us. "But why should I have bothered about how much I turned out and what the quality of my output was? What I produced did not belong to me anyway...."

Things are different today. In Radeberg too the workers' life changed radically after the factories and mills passed from the Nazi monopolists' hands into the possession of the people. Wirth showed us an album of photographs of the plant he works in. There were pictures of well-lighted factory departments, a canteen, a club, a children's nursery and a library—all new.

"The workers have come to see the fruit of their labour," Wirth said. "It did not happen all at once, of course, and the new attitude to work did not appear overnight either. Even today there still are quite a few enemies of the new way of things. When I first became a production activist I got unsigned threatening letters on more than one occasion. But we are not the kind to be frightened....

"The experience of Soviet workers has helped us a lot," he went on. "Last April I read in a newspaper about the Moscow lathe operator Pavel Bykov, who had attained high speeds in machining metal. Being a lathe operator myself, I set out to do the same. On April 14 I registered a cutting speed of 783 metres per minute. And on April 22—I chose the occasion in honour of the 80th anniversary of Lenin's birth—I reached a speed of 1,460 metres per minute...."

Wirth's example was caught up by the young workers Piduk and Hoffmann, then by others, and before long Wirth had 36 pupils. The movement for high-speed tooling spread to other plants—in Groditz, Görlitz, Magdeburg—and by November some 800 workers were involved. Besides Wirth, a number of his followers were honoured with this year's National Prize award.

Now Erich Wirth was a member of the German-Soviet Friendship Society delegation. Otto Duwe, one of the republic's best coal miners, was another.

Duwe first went down into the pit when he was 18. That was in the early years of the democratic order in Eastern Germany, so that he already began work under the new conditions.

"Last year I became a production activist," he said, "doing from 200 to 350 per cent of the output quota. Soon I saw that collective work could produce still better results. So we organized a youth team, and it became the best in the pit. Today we have some 15 youth teams and they are working just as efficiently as the old experienced workers."

Active participation by the youth in both economic endeavour and political life is highly characteristic of democratic Germany. Representatives of the younger generation are to be found everywhere—in mass organizations, political parties, and at rallies of leading workers.

Village in Saxony

Dittersbach is a small village of 70 households in the foothills of the Erzgebirge not far from Chemnitz. Once it was the bailiwick of a manufacturer called Major Reuter, who owned two estates totalling 400 hectares of land. The entire population of the village, with the exception of a few kulak moneybags, was under his thumb. Scores of labourers toiled on Reuter's fields, and among them the Szymczak family. Between them they used to make 12 marks a week for a family of six. One of the boys, 14-year-old Czeslaus, became a milker on Herr Reuter's dairy farm.

"If things had gone on in the old way, I suppose I would have drudged all my life like my father and his father before him," Czeslaus Szymczak told us. "But everything is different now."

When he returned to his village, an ex-soldier of 24, the Nazi order had come to an end. Reuter's land was distributed among the peasants, and Szymczak too received a plot. He was one of 10 Dittersbach villagers who got completely new allotments—"new settlers," as they are called. Fifty others had land added to the strips they owned before. Today Szymczak, who once had nothing to his name, farms nine hectares of land and has four cows, six hogs and a yard full of poultry.

Szymczak's life is not the only one that has changed.

There are no more downtrodden farm hands in Dittersbach. Those of the peasants who do not farm on their own but work for the more prosperous have an eight-hour working day guaranteed by law. The law compels the employers to provide decent housing for their workers, set aside garden allotments for them and give them annual holidays.

A new school is being built now in Dittersbach. An athletic field has been laid out, and a summer camp organized for the schoolchildren. There is a class for the study of Michurin and Lysenko farming methods.

The village is represented in the Kreistag (regional parliament). It now has 80 members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and everybody in it has joined the Peasants' Mutual Aid Committee.

The local chapter of the German-Soviet Friendship Society has 40 members.

"More are sure to join when I get back," Szymczak said.

In 1948 an institution the like of which the German countryside had never seen before—a machine-hiring depot—was set up a few miles from Dittersbach, with branches in the surrounding villages of Frankenberg, Mennberg and Grünberg. Each branch has five tractors and all kinds of other equipment. The depot is a tremendous help to the peasant tillers.

"You see, we still have a few large holdings of over 50 hectares in Dittersbach," Szymczak remarked. "And you know how the moneybags always try to get poorer folk into their clutches. They were all set and waiting for the new settlers to come to them for help. But instead, we got real, unselfish help from the workers."

The publicly-owned estates supply the peasants with good seed, and professors of agronomy Ahland and Blache come over regularly from Leipzig.

Such is life these days in a small village in Saxony.

Five-Year Plan

The five-year plan is the keynote of the whole life of present-day democratic Germany. Under this plan, industrial output will be doubled, 26.89 billion marks will be invested

in construction, and agricultural production will exceed the prewar level. Crop yields are to rise by 25 per cent over 1950, the national income is to increase by 60 per cent and wages by 16.8 per cent, while food prices are to be reduced by at least 28 per cent.

For our German visitors the five-year plan is also their own plan of action.

"Our plant was built under the two-year plan," said Herbert Greif, director of a new steel mill in Brandenburg, "but it will be completely finished only during the five-year plan period. All ten open-hearth furnaces will be put into operation, and we are going to add several rolling mills and a new foundry department. The number of workers employed will increase sixfold in the five years, and output will go up a great deal. There will also be many new facilities for our workers: a Palace of Culture, a stadium, a dispensary, thousands of square metres of new housing floor space, and a rest home.

"All wrecked buildings in Brandenburg will be completely restored during these five years," Greif continued. "A central city Palace of Culture will be built, also a new town hall. Parks and gardens will be laid out in all parts of the city. And a new plant to produce sectional steel will be set up...."

Hero of Labour Gustav Köhler, an engineer, has worked for 32 years at an iron and steel mill in Riesa.

"Our plant is going to double its output during these five years," he said. "We shall build new blocks and production units. Instead of a small club we shall have a large Palace of Culture, and we're going to lay out some more sports grounds. New dwelling houses will be built as well."

"Let me tell you about the health services," said Physician of Merit Dr. Reinhold Schwarzlose. "Twelve out-patient clinics, 4 polyclinics, and 2 hospitals are to be opened next year in the Land of Brandenburg, and in the five years the number of doctors will be doubled...."

Dr. Joseph Naas, the eminent scientist and director of the German Academy of Sciences, pointed out that the plan embraces not only construction but scientific research too. "In our days upright scientists cannot remain aloof from the common cause of the people," he observed.

"Our Academy is developing into a large scientific centre," Dr. Naas continued. "It already has 43 institutes, commissions and laboratories. And we too have drawn up our five-year plan, for which the state is allocating 52 million marks. For the sake of comparison let me mention that in 1949 the sum was five million. Our plan pursues two main aims. Firstly, we must render direct assistance to the republic in the solution of economic problems. A number of specialized institutes have been established with this in view. The artificial fibre institute assists our textile industry, and the institute of inorganic chemistry is working on problems vital to the chemical industry. Our agronomists, headed by Academician Mitscherlich, are searching for ways of increasing grain yields. Our second task is to promote scientific research activity in general and to train personnel. The number of research workers is to increase substantially by 1955. For instance, the Academy staff is to grow from 1,125 to 3,900."

And Willi Stoph, a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party, seemed to be summing up everything that had been said about the five-year plan when he declared:

"For us the five-year plan is not just a plan of economic development. It is the law of the republic's development as a whole, it's our program of action. By carrying it out, we shall be strengthening the cause of democracy and peace."

For Peace and Unity!

Just as the delegation returned from Leningrad to Moscow, the press carried the following dispatch from Berlin:

> "The workers and office personnel of the Brandenburg steel mill have decided to work an extra shift in honour of the coming World Peace Congress and to donate their earnings for the shift to the Peace Fund."

Herbert Greif beamed with pride.

The struggle for peace is inseparably bound up with the building of a democratic Germany. Speaking of the recent elections, Professor Naas said:

"The success of the National Front of Democratic Germany was due in large measure to the fact that we were able to bring home to the voter the basic truth that *a vote for the National Front was a vote for peace.*"

The victory at the polls on October 15 has been a great source of inspiration for the republic's citizens. But none of them forgets for a moment that only in the eastern part of the country are people free to work for peace. In the West the American occupation authorities and their German henchmen persecute every honest champion of peace.

We were told something about this by Professor Robert Havemann, scientist and chairman of the Greater Berlin Peace Committee, who himself fell victim last July to the police terror rampant in Western Berlin.

"What happened was this," Prof. Havemann said. "On July 18 over 10,000 partisans of peace went out into the streets of Western Berlin to collect signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. Among them there were students, scientists, lawyers. My section was in Neukölln, in the American sector. At half past five in the afternoon two law students and myself began collecting signatures on Hermannplatz, and at once we were surrounded by an eager and sympathetic audience. But in less than 10 minutes two police trucks rolled up, the policemen piled out, fell upon our hearers to disperse them, and arrested my fellow signature-collectors.

"'You have no right to arrest them,' I protested. 'They are fighting for peace and that is something every man has a right to do.' At this point a man darted out of the crowd and whispered something to one of the police. A moment later my arms were being twisted and handcuffs clapped on my wrists.... But even then we continued to voice our protest. All the way to the police station we were followed by a large crowd. The next day we were taken from the local police station to the West-Berlin police headquarters in Friesenstrasse, from there to prison, and in the evening for trial in Moabit. All told, 1,600 peace supporters were arrested that day.

"Nearly seven years have passed since the day—December 16, 1943—when I was brought before 'Mad Roland,' the Nazi judge Roland Freisler, who sentenced me to death for anti-fascist activity," Prof. Havemann recalled. "Now I stood before a West-Berlin, that is, American, judge."

A shameful farce followed. The judge declared that the court would sit behind closed doors as Havemann would not be tried, but "only questioned." On this pretext the defence and the public were removed from the courtroom.

"The questioning did not last long," the professor went on. "I was released, but that was only because of the pressure of public opinion, which was roused by the arrest of the peace partisans. As it happened, however, 12 days later I found myself in Moabit again, this time charged with having had an illegal 'assembly' in my own garden!

"Such are the conditions in which the fight goes on in the West," Prof. Havemann concluded. "Regular fascist methods prevail there. I might just observe that the American gentry are working faster than their Hitlerite predecessors. Under Hitler I was dismissed from the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut in 1933, but I was arrested only in 1943. This time the Americans dismissed me from the same institute in April 1950 and arrested me the following July...."

Bitter irony indeed! But while the American and German reactionaries are making great haste to impose a new fascism on the German people, the peace movement is growing even faster.

This autumn a conference of women peace partisans was called in Munich. Travelling funds were collected all over Western Germany, and more than 1,000 delegates arrived. Then, twelve hours before the conference was due to open, a police ban was imposed. The conference was held nevertheless, illegally, in three different premises, but with great success for all that. And the West-German Peace Fighters' Committee, headed by Dr. Hatzfeld, the writer, has collected two and a half million signatures to the Stockholm Appeal, although the Bonn authorities persecute every person who gives his signature.

"As for our impressions of the Soviet Union," the delegates declared, "the most important thing is that time and again we have seen for ourselves the Soviet people's determination to uphold peace."

"The friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Germany will ensure peace in Europe"—this idea was to be found running all through the German visitors' statements. The German-Soviet Friendship Society functions in both Eastern and Western Germany. It has a membership of 1,400,000 and continues to grow rapidly.

"We are learning from the Soviet people how to build the new life," Herr Friedrich Ebert, President of the Society, said. "We are learning from them how to create a new, anti-fascist and democratic order and to safeguard it from the machinations of the imperialists. We know that it is not enough to want peace, that peace must be fought for and won. We shall fight for Germany's unity, which is the foundation of lasting peace in Europe. We shall fight for our friendship with the Soviet Union—that shall be our contribution to the cause of peace!"

BOOK REVIEWS

Suicide Club

B. IZAKOV

SOMEWHERE in the beginning of his latest book* John Foster Dulles recalls that, as a boy, he was fond of reading Robert Louis Stevenson's story "The Suicide Club." The club members were dealt cards every Saturday night and the one who drew the ace of clubs had to kill within twenty-four hours the one who drew the ace of spades.

And Dulles, the man behind the foreign policies of the United States government, follows this up with a burst of frankness: "Today we are all, in a sense, members of a suicide club."

Right enough, as far as Dulles himself and his associates are concerned. The Wall Street bosses and their servants in Washington are pursuing a policy that does indeed stamp them as members of a suicide club. And if fresh proof of that were needed, the program Dulles outlines in his book provides it.

Though written in the usual vaunting style of the political adventurers of present-day America, the book breathes a sense of doom. Dulles is filled with fear and rage as he sees the ground slipping from under the system to the upper crust of whose leaders he belongs. Every now and again an hysterical note creeps into his writing.

> "Something has gone wrong with our nation," he says, "or we should not be in our present plight and mood.... What we lack is a righteous and dynamic faith. Without it, all else avails us little. The lack cannot be compensated for by politicians, however able; or by diplomats, however astute; or by scientists, however inventive; or by bombs, however powerful.
>
> "At home, our institutions do not attract the spiritual loyalties needed for their defence.... Abroad, our foreign policies can be implemented only by money and goods. These are limited; and because they are limited our policies are limited. Limited policies inevitably are defensive policies, and defensive policies inevitably are losing policies."

For all this, Dulles refuses to recognize that the capitalist system is unsound and rotten. All the ills that beset this system, with which the interests of his pocket and the inclinations of his heart are intertwined, he blames on people, on the common man.

> "There is confusion in men's minds and a corrosion of their souls," he exclaims irefully, and adds: "No Federal Bureau of Investigation, however efficient, can protect us under those circumstances."

Dulles is compelled to note the undeniable victories of the camp of peace and democracy. He reluctantly admits that Communism has "a creed of world-wide import," "a powerful grip on millions of people throughout the world," "a universal appeal." He speaks of the immense power of attraction exercised by the Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which guarantees the inalienable rights of man.

> "There has been a very definite shift in the balance of power in the world, and that shift has been in favour of Communism," he says with a mournful sigh.

He makes the following computation: the United States and the countries linked with it

* John Foster Dulles, "War or Peace," New York, 1950.

by the North-Atlantic pact and by the "Truman doctrine" has a total population of more than 350 million; the population of the further area in the Americas linked with the U.S. by the Rio de Janeiro pact aggregates about 100 million; on the other hand, the Soviet Union, the East European People's Democracies and the Chinese People's Republic have a total population of 700 million (here Dulles is a little out in his reckoning, he should add at least another 100 million); the other countries of the world have an aggregate population of about 1,000 million.

From this, the adviser of the U.S. State Department comes to the disconsolate conclusion:

> "While our influence and security have been declining, those of the Soviet Union have been rising."

What makes the strongest impression on Dulles' atom-ridden mentality is the fact that the Soviet Union has mastered the production of atomic energy. His reflections on this subject are highly characteristic:

> "The development of atomic weapons by the Soviet Union must go down in the ledger as a great success. The Soviet Union, by quickly bringing our monopoly to an end, radically altered the strategic situation to its own advantage.... Perhaps the position is more than neutralized, for our economy may be more vulnerable than that of the Soviet Union to atomic attack."

Dulles tells us that as late as the spring of 1949 "top official experts" in Washington were convinced that it would be five years or more before the Soviet Union would be able to make atomic bombs. And he admits that there has been a "dangerous tendency" in U.S. ruling circles to underestimate the Soviet Union. (Incidentally, a similar "tendency" was rife among the top Nazi leaders in Hitler Germany.) The conclusion he draws from these atomic reflections is:

> "The ending of the United States monopoly in this field will have widespread repercussions which cannot yet be fully foreseen."

John Foster Dulles may not have wanted it, but a fact that stands out very clearly from his book is that the camp of democracy, progress and peace, headed by the Soviet Union, is already at this stage immeasurably stronger than the camp of reaction and war, led by the American monopolists.

When American propaganda starts talking about the enhanced strength of the Soviet Union, it is usually in order to frighten the Americans with the bogey of a Soviet armed attack. But this is not the case with the present book, which the State Department's adviser has written for a "select public." This is a fact worth noting. He says quite distinctly that *the Soviet Union has no intention of attacking America.*

"It is by no means certain," Dulles says, that the Soviet Government "plan a fighting war." The Communist Party of the Soviet Union

> "talks about the Soviet military establishment as being designed to *defend* the Soviet Union.... Communist doctrine does not emphasize conquest by military invasion....
>
> "Most well-qualified persons are inclined to feel that there is no imminent danger of the Red Army's being marched out of Russia against Western Europe or Asia in a war of aggression."

More, Dulles has to admit that, because of the policy it consistently follows, the Soviet Union "appears as the advocate of peace" in the eyes of the general public, and that "even in the United States there are important groups" which accept this view.

All this is said in a book that is full of scurrilous abuse and vilification of the Soviet Union. It appears that America's rulers know quite well that their country has no reason to fear a Soviet attack.

Well, then, what could be better? Since the mighty Soviet Union is not menacing the United States, why shouldn't the United States calmly go about reducing armaments and promoting international co-operation? So one would naturally think. But not so Dulles. He does not like the Soviet Union's peaceful policy at all, because it upsets the game of the American warmongers. This member of the Wall Street suicide club, while admitting that the United States is not threatened by "Soviet aggression," delivers himself of the following significant remark:

> "Therefore, a policy which, at best, merely counters direct aggression is bound to be inadequate."

And here Dulles lets the reader into a startling discovery: besides direct aggression, there is "indirect aggression." Under this heading he includes such things as strikes in capitalist countries, victories of progressive elements in

parliamentary elections, numerical growth of Communist Parties—in a word, every success of the democratic camp and every defeat of the international monopolies. If Dulles' definition is accepted, then any repulse received by the monopolists in any country can be dubbed "indirect aggression" and can furnish the U.S. State Department with an excuse for starting war.

One can easily imagine where this line may lead if carried to its logical conclusion. The American warmongers may, if the fit takes them, proclaim even an economic crisis in the United States to be "indirect aggression"!

To confuse the meaning of the term "aggression" and to give currency to the concept "indirect aggression" as an excuse for starting war, is, indeed, the chief purpose of Dulles' book. Its appearance emphasizes the timeliness of the statement made by the Second World Peace Congress in its Address to the United Nations: "*We consider it necessary to denounce the attempts made by the aggressors to confuse the very concept of what constitutes aggression and, in this way, to provide a pretext for foreign intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.*"

Why Dulles has to confuse the meaning of the concept "aggression" is clear: read his book, and the aggressive intent of the Dollar Empire's foreign policy becomes as plain as a pikestaff.

Dulles says, and we can see him licking his chops as he does so, that the United States is "maintaining a great military establishment" and "pushing the accumulation of atom bombs" and that it has "decided to go ahead with the manufacture of hydrogen bombs."

And while the peoples of the world are imperatively demanding the prohibition of the atomic bomb, John Foster Dulles goes all out to justify its employment. His disgusting arguments fully bear out the reputation he has already earned as a warmonger and an enemy of mankind.

> "We should all feel relief," he says, "if methods of mass destruction were abolished. But that would not mean 'peace.' It might mean that we should die a little later rather than a little sooner; it might mean that we should die slowly rather than quickly."

But the people do not want to die; they want to live, and that is why they attach such paramount importance to outlawing the atomic weapon. And their unanimous insistence will get it outlawed.

Dulles gives the line of casuistic argument to justify and keep alive the war hysteria that is so assiduously worked up by America's rulers:

> "If at any time in the near future it seems that the danger of war has passed, that will be a period of greatest peril. Then we may be tempted to relax and get careless and disarm, materially and morally. By so doing, we should expose ourselves to a sudden attack, which is most likely to come at such a time."

Here Dulles is on his old tack. It was he, you will remember, that said, after the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Paris in the spring of 1949, that the American people should be "artificially kept alarmed."

And well he might. The war hysteria and the United States' frantic rearmament are a source of fat dividends to John Foster Dulles. Adviser to the State Department, he is also a director of the International Nickel Company, the Bank of New York, and a number of other banks and industrial corporations. His industrial interests are linked with the production of war materials—nickel, gunpowder, dynamite. He is also the senior partner in Sullivan and Cromwell, which the American reference books describe as "the richest and most powerful law firm in New York." The firm specializes in shady international affairs, in kindling and fanning war.

With all the profits he skims from America's war preparations, small wonder that Dulles wants the U.S. government to pursue an even more aggressive policy, to perfect the tactics and technique of the cold war, to extend its subversive activities against the Soviet Union, the East European People's Democracies and the Chinese People's Republic.

Outlining the objectives of American imperialism in Europe, Dulles is annoyed that Western Europe is "subdivided" into different countries, each with its own frontiers, its own currency, its own tariffs, and—oh, horror!—its own "national practices." He cannot stand the thought that in Western Europe—which he contemptuously refers to as a "vacuum" and a "poorhouse"—"the tradition of national independence has become so deeply rooted." All these are handicaps to the unification of West-

ern Europe and its conversion into a "formidable and effective" military system, or, more plainly, into an American war camp. An indispensable requisite for a "united Europe," in Dulles' opinion, is the revival of militarism in Western Germany.

But what is to be done if the peoples of Western Europe obstinately cling to their pernicious (so Dulles thinks) "tradition of national independence" and refuse to "unite" under the sceptre of dollar imperialism? Dulles has the answer ready: The United States must exert "friendly but firm pressure" and pay no attention if any of the rulers of these countries should "protest." For, as he cynically remarks,

> "it is not the first time that politicians protest publicly against what they advocate privately.... We cannot at this grave juncture stand on ceremony."

Just imagine the spectacle, the unique spectacle!—the American imperialists herding their West-European satellites into the common fold of a "united Europe," the latter shying and backing, and Dulles explaining that this is "not part of any imperialist design," but only a "matter of enlightened self-interest" on the part of the United States.

> "We have not only the moral right, we have not only the experience, we have not only the worthy motive, but also the responsibility," he triumphantly exclaims.

Dulles, out of "enlightened self-interest," taking upon himself the "responsibility" for the future of the European "vacuum" and for the fate of the unhappy wretches who stubbornly cling to their West-European "poorhouse"—is it not charming? But it is doubtful whether such a prospect will have any appeal for the peoples of Western Europe.

Dulles also recommends the American imperialists to "build a totally new policy towards Asia." A prominent feature of this "new policy" must be more vigorous intervention in Viet-Nam, and Japan must be assigned in Asia a similar role to that mapped out for Western Germany in a "united Europe."

It should be noted that Dulles wrote his book before the American aggression in Korea. It is to be presumed that his "new policy towards Asia" also provided for starting war there. At any rate, in speaking of the fact that at the time of writing peace reigned in the Korean peninsula, he lets fall the remark:

> "It would, of course, be rash to predict that this situation will continue indefinitely."

A very meaningful remark, bearing in mind Dulles' subsequent visit to Korea and all that has happened since!

Such is the program for kindling general war in Europe and Asia which John Foster Dulles expounds in his book.

He sets no little store on the United Nations as a means of furthering this policy. When the peoples founded this organization after the second world war, they intended it to be an international agency for the maintenance of peace and security. But the American imperialists decided to turn the United Nations into an instrument of their policy. Dulles makes no bones about it: "The United Nations is a political instrumentality," he says bluntly.

Dulles enumerates a number of "improvements" whose purpose is to make the United Nations completely a tool of American policy. We shall not stop to examine them, but will only say that some of his recommendations anticipated the proposals with which the American delegation appeared at the present session of the General Assembly.

It only remains to observe that Dulles' latest work is generously larded with foul calumnies against the Soviet Union and the entire great camp of peace and democracy. He mercilessly garbles postwar history, unceremoniously distorts events and facts, and blasphemously juggles with the words "peace," "freedom," "democracy" and the like. And he spares no colour to paint capitalist realities in the brightest hue.

In the concluding pages of his book, Dulles recommends America's leaders to find a "message" that would win them the following of the peoples. But what hope can warmongers and enemies of mankind have of finding such a message? None whatever. Dulles himself has an uncomfortable feeling that this is so. He says:

> "Our postwar effort in the West is not an effort to win a popularity contest. Popularity, even if we could buy it, is not worth $20,000,000,000. Also, we are not popular now."

"Not popular"!—that is really putting it mildly.

The peoples are turning away with disgust from the American warmongers. And the dollars squandered by the American monopolies on their lying propaganda cannot alter the situation.

"War or Peace" is the name of Dulles' book. A more accurate title would have been "War, Not Peace." For that, in a nutshell, is the lengthy program so cynically and nakedly expounded in it. It is the program of the Wall Street suicide club, of a handful of greed-crazed monopolists.

But mankind will have no truck with these suicides. The fruitful work of the Second World Peace Congress has forcefully proved that mankind is rising in its might to save all that homicidal maniacs like Dulles and MacArthur are threatening with destruction in a new war.

CHRONICLE OF INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

November-December 1950

November 25

A Council session of the World Federation of Democratic Youth opens in Vienna.

November 27

The Korean People's Army engages the American and South-Korean troops in all sectors of the front. In a number of sectors the American and South-Korean forces are pushed back southwards, sustaining heavy losses.

—

The Presidium of the Berlin Committee of the National Front of Democratic Germany sends its proposals for the unity of Berlin to the commandants of the three Western sectors, the representative of the Soviet Control Commission, Oberbürgermeister Friedrich Ebert and the head of the West-Berlin Administration, Ernst Reuter.

November 29

Albania celebrates the sixth anniversary of her liberation from the German fascist invaders.

—

An Albanian trade delegation, headed by Vice-Premier Spiro Koleka, arrives in Moscow.

November 30

The Security Council rejects the Soviet resolution condemning the American aggression against Taiwan and calling for the immediate withdrawal of American troops from Taiwan and other Chinese territories, and a similar proposal introduced by the Chinese People's Republic. The six-power resolution is likewise rejected.

—

In the Far Eastern Commission, A.S. Panyushkin, Soviet Ambassador in the U.S.A., repeats his protest against the United States' utilization of Japanese soldiers in the Korean war, which constitutes a gross violation of the agreed decisions on the demilitarization of Japan.

—

The State Assembly of Hungary unanimously approves the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress and orders a Peace Defence Act to be prepared.

—

President Truman officially announces that the U.S. government intends to expand its army and continue its aggression in Korea and against China.

December 1

The Executive Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions meets in session in Bucharest.

A German-Soviet Friendship Month begins in Germany.

—

The U.S. Defence Department orders the conscription of 50,000 men in February 1951.

—

The Greek government decides to renew diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

December 2

In Korea, the People's Army continues successful operations against the American and South-Korean forces in all sectors of the front. South of Anju (Ansyu) and Tokusen, the enemy withdraws southwards under the impact of the People's Army.

—

French Premier Pleven and Foreign Minister Schuman arrive in London for talks with Attlee.

December 3

The Korean People's Army continues successful operations on all fronts against the American and South-Korean troops. On the east coast the South Korean forces, hard pressed by the People's Army, start a retreat from the area north of Ranan.

—

Elections to the regional, city, district and village People's Councils are held in Rumania, with the people displaying a high degree of political activity.

12 Kalashny Pereulok, Arbat, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Editor: V. BEREZIN

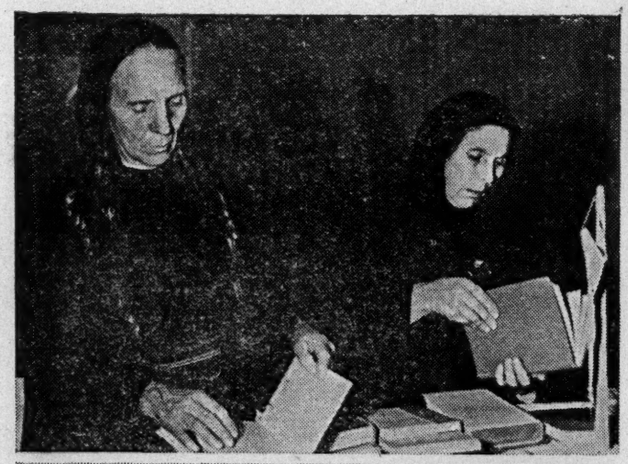
Second World Peace Congress

Below: The Viet-Nam delegation.

The Polish delegation.

Centre: The American writer Hershel D. Meyer.

Below: Two delegates from Bulgaria—Elena Vaptsarova, poetess, and Suba Petrovna Yeneva, mother of four partisan fighters killed in battle against the Nazis.



A view of the Soviet delegation.

Below: A Warsaw youth delegation greets the Congress.

SUBSCRIBE NOW FOR 1951

TO

NEW TIMES

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN RUSSIAN, ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN AND POLISH

Apply to **MEZHDUNARODNAYA KNIGA,** Moscow, or the agencies indicated below

U.S.S.R.—"Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga," 18, Kuznetski Most, Moscow.
AUSTRALIA—A. Keesing, G.P.O. Box 4886, Sydney.
AUSTRIA—Das Internationale Buch, Trattnerhof I, Wien 1.
BURMA—People's Literature House, No. 546, Merchant Street, P.O. Box 709, Rangoon.
CANADA—Progress Publishing Company, 95, King Street, Toronto, Ontario.
Universal Newsstand, 112 East Hastings St., Vancouver B.C.
CEYLON—People's Publishing House, 85, Cotta Road, Colombo 8.
CHINA—Kuo Chi Book Co., 38 Su Chow Hu-tung, Peking.
Branches:
Kuo Chi Book Co., 679 Fu Chow Road, Shanghai;
Kuo Chi Book Co., 37 Chiao Tung Road, Hankow;
Kuo Chi Book Co., Shang Shih, 108, Harbin;
Kuo Chi Book Co., Malu Wan, Mukden;
Hsin Hua Shu Tian, Tihwa (Urumchi).
CUBA--Editorial Paginas, Apartado 2213, Habana.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA—A. O. "Orbis," Stalinova 46, Praha XII.
DENMARK—A/S Land og Folks Boghandel, Bredgade 37, Copenhagen.
Hovedbanegaardens Aviskiosk, Reventlowsgade, Copenhagen.
ECUADOR—A. D. Bolanos, Junin 737, Quito.
ETHIOPIA—Minerva Bookshop, George P. Giannopoulos, P. O. Box 120, Addis-Ababa.
FINLAND—Rautatiekirjakauppa Oy, Köydepunojankatu, 2, Helsinki.
Kansankulttuuri Oy, Malminkatu, 14, Helsinki.
GERMANY—"Meshdunarodnaja Kniga" GmbH, Brunnenstrasse, 188, Berlin N. 54.
GREAT BRITAIN—Collet's Subscription Dept., 40, Great Russell St., London W.C. 1.
ICELAND—Kaupfelag Reykjavikur og nargennis, Reykjavik.
INDIA—People's Publishing House, 190 B. Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.
Current Book Distributors, 3, Madan Street. Calcutta.
Radical Book Club, 6, College Square, Calcutta 12.
People's Publishing House, Purshottam Bldg., Mount Road, Madras.
Progs (Book-Corner), 122, Municipal Market, Con. Circus, New Delhi.
People's Book House, 7, Bishweshwar Nath Road, Lucknow.
Janata Book House, Besant Road, Governorpet, Vijayawada 2.
Quami Pustak Bhandar, Bazar Satti, Amritsar, E. Punjab.
Adhunik Pustak Bhandar, 7, Albert Road, Allahabad.
Current Book House, Lotus Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
Marx House, 207, Irwin Road, Post Box 547, New Delhi.
ISRAEL—Pales Press Co., Ltd., P.O.B. 844, Tel Aviv.
Levant Publishing Company, Ltd., 96, Allenby Road, P.O.B. 1136, Tel Aviv.
Book Store Boleslavsky, 64, Allenby Street, Tel Aviv.
Haiflepac, P.O. Box 1794, Haifa.
MEXICO—Fondo de Cultura Popular A.C., Avenida Hidalgo 75, Apartado 2352, Mexico D.F.
NETHERLANDS—Uitgeverij "Pegasus," Leidsestraat, 25, Amsterdam.
Uitgeverij Republiek der Letteren, Rokin 40, Amsterdam C.
NORWAY—Johan Grundt Tanum, Tidligere Aschehougs Boghandel, Karl Johans Gt. 43, Oslo.
A/S Narvesens Kioskkompani, Post Box 125, Oslo.
PAKISTAN—Book Centre, Clark Street, Sadar, Karachi 3.
SWEDEN—A.B.C.E. Wennergren-Williams, Box 657, Stockholm.
C.E. Fritze's Kungl. Hovbokhandel, Fredsgatan 2, Stockholm.
THAILAND—Tar Chung Wen Hua 647 Samyek, Bangkok.
URUGUAY—Ediciones Pueblos Unidos, Ltd., Casilla Correo 589, Montevideo.
U.S.A.—Four Continent Book Corporation, 38 West 58 Street, New York 19, N.Y.
Universal Distributors, 52-54 West 13 Street, New York 11, N.Y.
VENEZUELA—Distribuidora y Editora de Publicaciones, Principala Santa Capilla 14 (altos 2), Caracas.
Libreria Cultura Popular, Jose Martines Pozo (Munoza a Solis 19-2), Caracas.

Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

ASSISES NATIONALES DE LA PAIX A BRUXELLES

LES 2 ET 3 OCTOBRE 1954

NOUS publions en première page de ce numéro spécial l'appel lancé par l'Union Belge pour la Défense de la Paix, invitant tous les citoyens de notre pays à se rencontrer en un large rassemblement, les 2 et 3 octobre prochain à Bruxelles. Il est indispensable d'indiquer dès à présent que l'U.B.D.P. ne prétend nullement conserver le monopole d'une telle rencontre. Bien au contraire, nous espérons que la préparation de ces Assises ainsi que les Assises elles-mêmes se dérouleront sous les auspices les plus larges et les plus divers. La liberté de parole y sera la plus complète. L'ordre des travaux sera déterminé par les participants eux-mêmes. A nos amis, à nos sympathisants, à nos militants, nous demandons d'œuvrer au succès de cette entreprise en sollicitant leur entourage, leurs organisations pour que, développant l'appel de l'U.B.D.P., ils manifestent leur position et leurs propositions pour assurer la sécurité de notre pays.

Aujourd'hui, à la veille d'une solution de paix en Indochine, obtenue grâce à la négociation directe, d'autres questions restent pendantes, qui peuvent faire l'objet d'une discussion, les 2 et 3 octobre, et notamment : **la C.E.D. et la sécurité de la Belgique ; le danger des expériences thermo-nucléaires ; les armes atomiques ; le désarmement ; l'admission de la Chine Populaire à l'O.N.U.; la libération complète des échanges Est-Ouest.**

Les Assises Nationales de la Paix peuvent être l'occasion d'une confrontation fructueuse ainsi que l'affirmation de la volonté de négociation et de coexistence de notre peuple.

Nous pouvons assurer leur succès par une vaste campagne populaire.

Il n'est pas trop tôt pour commencer à retenir les autocars et à préparer les cagnottes !

L'ALLEMAGNE ET LA SECURITE EUROPEENNE

A L'INITIATIVE du Comité belge pour la Solution pacifique du problème allemand, s'est tenue à Bruxelles, le 27 juin passé, une large réunion ayant pour thème le problème de la sécurité européenne. Après un rapport fouillé de Maurice Grosjean, une discussion s'entama, à l'issue de laquelle la résolution suivante fut adoptée :

CHACUN se réjouit aujourd'hui d'assister à une certaine détente internationale. Dans cette atmosphère nouvelle, qui s'est manifestée particulièrement en France, il apparaît davantage que la C.E.D. irait à l'encontre de toute entente internationale.

Cependant, l'on parle de « solutions de rechange » qui permettraient, sous une autre forme, un réarmement de l'Allemagne et son intégration dans un bloc militaire. Ceci comporte un grave danger.

Une solution acceptable pour tous consisterait dans la réunification d'une Allemagne démocratique et pacifique, obtenue grâce à un accord entre les Quatre.

Cet accord serait facilité et trouverait ses garanties dans le cadre d'une organisation européenne de sécurité collective. Un tel système, englobant tous les Etats, quel que soit leur régime, garantirait le respect des frontières et le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes. Il nous permettrait d'échapper à la division de l'Europe et du monde en deux blocs hostiles et préparerait le terrain à un désarmement progressif.

D'autre part, la poursuite d'une politique de réarmement, comportant la remilitarisation de l'Allemagne, compromettrait le programme de développement économique et social que s'est assigné notre gouvernement.

Nous appelons donc celui-ci à s'associer à une politique de détente pour la réalisation de la sécurité collective en Europe.

GUATEMALA

A l'annonce des événements du Guatémala, l'U.B.D.P. adopta la résolution suivante :

Vivement ému par la non-application de la résolution prise au Conseil de Sécurité de l'O.N.U. demandant le cessez le feu au Guatémala, le Comité Exécutif de l'Union Belge pour la Défense de la Paix, réuni le 29 juin 1954, demande que toutes mesures pratiques soient prises à cet effet et que les représentants belges à l'O.N.U. interviennent dans ce sens.

Indigné par les bombardements des populations civiles, le Comité Exécutif demande aux Belges de se joindre à tous ceux qui condamnent l'agression dont est victime le peuple guatémaltèque.

Edit. resp. : Rosa Michaut,
12, rue des Visitandines, Brux.

Le Messager de la Paix

UNION BELGE POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA PAIX
17, r. Watteeu - Bruxelles - C.C.P. 817568 - Tél. : 125282

NUMERO SPECIAL
Juillet 1954

1944 — Libération de la BELGIQUE

1954 — Réarmement de l'ALLEMAGNE

Nous fêterons bientôt le dixième anniversaire de la libération de notre pays. La Paix n'est pas encore signée et le réarmement de l'Allemagne inquiète à nouveau la Belgique.

Cette menace paraissait écartée pour longtemps après la mise en déroute des hitlériens, grâce à l'union des Grandes Puissances.

Mais, depuis, la renaissance d'antagonismes menaçants a rompu leur unité.

La course aux armements a provoqué un climat d'inquiétude et compromet les économies nationales.

La perspective de l'utilisation des armes atomiques effraie la grande majorité des hommes et des femmes qui veulent vivre en paix.

Pourtant des signes récents semblent indiquer une certaine détente internationale par la reprise du dialogue naguère interrompu.

La Belgique a tout à gagner à cette détente. La course aux armements peut être arrêtée et l'économie nationale peut retrouver son équilibre.

Par la solution pacifique du problème allemand, la sécurité de la Belgique peut être assurée.

L'utilisation pacifique de l'uranium du Congo belge doit pouvoir ouvrir d'immenses perspectives de progrès.

La reprise des échanges Est-Ouest donne et donnera du travail à nos industries frappées par le chômage.

Ces solutions simples, claires et réalisables, expriment certainement les vues de la majorité des Belges. Encore faut-il que l'opinion publique les exprime.

Nous croyons qu'une large confrontation des opinions peut contribuer à les faire prévaloir.

A tous nos concitoyens, nous proposons de se rencontrer, de discuter et de désigner leurs délégués à un large rassemblement.

Faites-vous représenter individuellement ou par le truchement de vos organisations patriotiques, pacifiques, syndicales, confessionnelles ou culturelles, **aux Assises Nationales de la Paix,** qui se tiendront à Bruxelles **les 2 et 3 octobre 1954.**

Elles aideront tous ceux qui aspirent à voir la détente internationale s'accentuer, tous ceux qui redoutent le réarmement allemand, tous ceux qui se soucient de notre sécurité et de notre prospérité, à trouver ensemble des solutions nationales et à les exprimer, pour qu'elles se traduisent dans les actes internationaux de notre pays.

L'UNION BELGE POUR LA DEFENSE DE LA PAIX.

Demand Grows for East-West Trade; Key to Jobs, Peace

Re-establishment of normal trade between the United States and the Socialist countries is the key to:

Putting many of the over four million unemployed American workers back to work.

Solidifying the possibilities of world peace by lessening tensions and liquidating the cold war.

Spreading world understanding and goodwill by mutual efforts in satisfying the needs of each other.

Although far apart on other issues, prominent American businessmen and union officials appear to see eye to eye on these objectives.

Capital and Labor

Representatives of both capital and labor are independently urging the Government to lift present embargoes and encourage trade with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the Eastern European countries.

Alarmed by the worsening recession and growing unemployment, which the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union puts at over four million, they zealously eye the eight hundred million people of the Socialist countries—one-third of the human race—and its great market.

Would End Unemployment.

They maintain that only an expanded world trade supplying some of the non-military needs of the people in the Socialist countries could check our recession and put many of our unemployed back to work.

There is also a strong feeling that while we are restraining trade with these countries some of our western allies are taking advantage of this situa- [illegible]

they cite the recently proposed contracts between British industries and the Soviet Union for over one billion dollars worth of goods to be delivered to the Soviet Union between 1955 and 1957.

BUILD PEACE THRU TRADE

"There is no broader highway to peace than the resumption of trade everywhere," declared Warren Lee Pierson, Trans-World Airlines board chairman.

Speaking before the Economic Club of Detroit recently, Mr. Pierson, who also heads the U.S. Council of the International Chamber of Commerce, asserted:

"There can be no hope of breaking off the cold war unless there is some gradual resumption of trade. . . . The sooner we ease the tensions, the brighter are the hopes of avoiding a shooting war and it is my belief that trade is one of those steps.

"The history of embargoes isn't very good so far as avoidance of war is concerned."

The Shipper trade journal [illegible]

Democrats Urged To Support Peace

Grass roots Democrats were urged to support any measure or policy that they think will lead to peace. The recommendation was heard by 1,000 active club Democrats attending a two-day conference at Pacific Palisades in December.

The conference, which held 22 panels on different subjects, attacked McCarthyism and expressed a willingness to fight it, but wasn't sure how it could be done most effectively.

Dr. Robert B. Pettingill, University of Southern California professor, addressing the foreign policy panel, declared that "peace, prosperity and the happiness of the entire world" should be and was "of most concern to people today."

The greatest applause of the conference was given to Mrs. India Edwards, vice-chairman of the Democratic national committee, when she appealed strongly for peace.

"Peace is possible," she said. "An armament race can lead only to war. We must use atomic energy for healing, constructive purposes, not for destruction, if we are to survive."

Mrs Edwards urged her fellow Democrats to take the lead in the field of disarmament and suggested that they come up with concrete proposals towards this end. She also recommended support for President Eisenhower's atomic energy proposal to the United Nations, which she saw as a peace move.

"Even if it is a Republican President who makes a peace proposal, for God's sake let's get in back of him and do something!" she said. "Something so that we won't be [illegible]

The

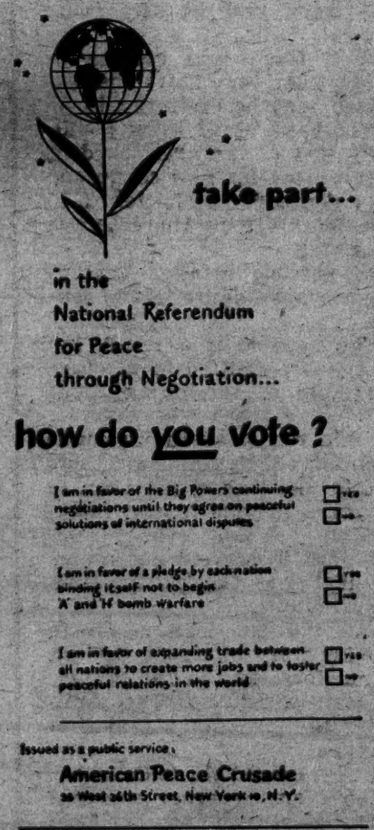
Peace Reporter

Bi-Monthly

Published by the
AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE, 35 W. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

Jan.-Feb.-Mar., 1954 178

Peace Balloting Begins



BALLOT used in APC National Referendum.

On February 5, at a Roosevelt birthday meeting addressed by Dr. Royal W. France, civil liberties attorney, and Thomas Richardson, American Peace Crusade National Co-Director, the New York Peace Council of the APC launched its ballot campaign for world peace through negotiations, as part of the National Peace Referendum initiated by the National Committee of the APC last November.

The objectives of the campaign are to influence the U.S. government toward a policy of give-and-take negotiations for the settlement of the international disputes; to stimulate public peace discussion and action; and to strengthen the local, borough and city-wide councils associated with the APC.

The long-range character of the campaign is being stressed. Canvassing teams are being formed by local peace groups. In some areas, persons at any time associated in peace work are the first to be visited with the Peace Ballot and the PEACE REPORTER in order to win them back into peace activity.

At the beginning of local bal-

Would End Unemployment.

They maintain that only an expanded world trade supplying some of the non-military needs of the people in the Socialist countries could check our recession and put many of our unemployed back to work.

There is also a strong feeling that while we are restraining trade with these countries some of our western allies are taking advantage of this situation to obtain a solid hold on trade with the Socialist countries.

To substantiate their fears asserted:

"There can be no hope of breaking off the cold war unless there is some gradual resumption of trade. . . . The sooner we ease the tensions, the brighter are the hopes of avoiding a shooting war and it is my belief that trade is one of those steps.

"The history of embargoes isn't very good so far as avoidance of war is concerned."

The Shipper, trade journal of the Pacific coast shippers, said in a recent issue:

"The time has come, we think, to face up to the fact that the sensible rather than the expedient or popular course

(Continued on Page 3)

Justice Douglas:

Bill of Rights Needed for Peace

Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, speaking to a meeting of Quakers recently, said:

"Only tolerance for a host of unorthodox creeds will give us wisdom to solve the political problem on which the chances of peace turn.

"This problem of foreign policy therefore starts at home with our Bill of Rights.

"The decline in our prestige abroad can indeed be correlated to the disrespect we have shown the rights of man here at home.

"We cannot blanket this country with fear and suspicion and at the same time be tolerant abroad.

"We have frightened people here at home so that they fear the unorthodox idea."

Pacifists Meet In Detroit

A Conference on the Church and Peace, arranged by the Church Peace Mission last December in Detroit, was attended by 362 persons from 18 Protestant denominations and 27 states.

Conference discussion panels were divided into three areas: The Contemporary World; The Basis of Christian Pacifism; and Positive Action for Peace.

The Conference recommendations on Local Community Action stressed the importance of fixing "criteria for judging the success of your programs and your total effort" for peace. It was urged that a main standard for judging success be the degree to which new people become involved in peace work.

This would require "thinking through and developing specific projects and materials enabling people on all levels of commitment to begin useful work where they are in their present thinking."

Conference proposals for study and action recommended strengthening the United Nations by making it all-inclusive; universal and complete disarmament and use of atomic energy only for peaceful purposes; planning for a transfer from a war to peace economy

(Continued on Page 3)

in the field of disarmament and suggested that they come up with concrete proposals towards this end. She also recommended support for President Eisenhower's atomic energy proposal to the United Nations, which she saw as a peace move.

"Even if it is a Republican President who makes a peace proposal, for God's sake let's get in back of him and do something!" she said. "Something so that we won't be destroyed."

I am in favor of a pledge by each nation binding itself not to begin 'A' and 'H' bomb warfare — ☐ yes ☐ no

I am in favor of expanding trade between all nations to create more jobs and to foster peaceful relations in the world — ☐ yes ☐ no

Issued as a public service,

American Peace Crusade

25 West 26th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

BALLOT used in APC National Referendum.

Brotherhood for Peace

By ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

(Mr. Lovett, Professor-Emeritus of Chicago University, has long identified himself with the struggles of oppressed peoples for freedom. In 1919, he was President of Friends of Freedom for India. From 1939 to 1943, he was Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands under the Roosevelt Administration. A sponsor of the American Peace Crusade, he is today active in the work for peace.)

The month of February was Brotherhood Month. February 15th to 21st was Negro History Week.

In connection with these events, it is well to remind ourselves of the great contribution to world peace brought through the struggles of colored peoples for freedom and for full human dignity.

This is a two-fold contribution: firstly, because colored peoples are in the forefront of the battle for peace and secondly, because every victory in winning respect for the rights of peoples to choose their own way of life is a victory for lasting peace since (as the United Nations Charter makes clear) there can be no true peace until such respect is the practice in all international relations.

The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and the Negro people of the United States have a passionate desire for peace, stemming not only from a hatred for war which is shared by their white brothers and sisters, but also from a long experience of ruthless oppression. They know that colonialism cannot live without force and violence and has at its heart a drive toward war. They see, therefore, that the greatest victory over their oppressors can be won by blocking the road to war and by ending all force and violence through the unity of all peoples for peace.

It is for this reason that powerful peace movements exist in those lands where the people are fighting for full freedom or to defend their freedom.

The development of those peace movements is welcomed by all lovers of peace, for without the full participation of colored peoples in the work for peace there can be no final victory of peace over war.

In the United States, too, the Negro people are playing an increasingly important role in the work for peace. They have a deep sympathy for oppressed peoples in other lands. They are increasingly alarmed by the attempts (often made possible by U. S. aid to colonial powers) to suppress the struggles for freedom in Africa and Asia. Such suppression violates basic human rights and the promises made to colored people. It also creates situations threatening international peace.

The last National Convention of the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World included

(Continued on Page 2)

local, borough and city-wide councils associated with the APC.

The long-range character of the campaign is being stressed. Canvassing teams are being formed by local peace groups. In some areas, persons at any time associated in peace work are the first to be visited with the Peace Ballot and the PEACE REPORTER in order to win them back into peace activity.

At the beginning of local balloting, a date is set for a public meeting six or eight weeks in the future at which ballots will be counted and a delegation elected to take the results to the local Congressman. The same procedure would be repeated for the next stage of the balloting. In this way, the referendum will help to assure that the issue of peace through negotiations will be given serious consideration in the 1954 election campaign.

Every effort is being made in the course of the balloting to win persons visited to ongoing participation in the work for peace. Canvassers are soliciting subscriptions to the PEACE REPORTER and FACTS FOR PEACE. They also seek pledges from individuals to be-

(Continued on Page 4)

Berlin Meeting Arouses Hopes

All over the world support was expressed for the Berlin Foreign Ministers Conference as a step toward peace.

A letter to the Conference from the World Council of Churches on behalf of 170,000,000 Christians welcomed the Conference, and pointed out that "the extent to which there is a commitment to further cooperation will largely determine whether the peoples of the world will regard the prospect of securing peace among nations with or without hope."

2,300 members of Local 347, United Packinghouse Workers, C. I. O., in 36 hours signed a petition to President Eisenhower (also forwarded to Secretary Dulles at Berlin) urging

(Continued on Page 3)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

EDITORIAL

Make Geneva Meeting a Success

We are all glad that governments are turning to the Conference table, rather than the battle field, to settle their differences. This is the road to lasting peace.

The Berlin Conference was a step along this road. The coming Great Power Conference in Geneva with China can carry us further toward peace.

But we have not yet reached the end of the road.

What is required to achieve peace is not only talks, but agreements between governments on solutions to problems threatening to cause war.

There must be agreements to end the war in Indo-China; to establish peace in Korea; to prevent atomic warfare; to end the arms race; to settle the German problem; to restore international trade and healthy peace economies.

Without such agreements, U.S. troops may become involved in Indo-China; Syngman Rhee may start the war again in Korea; civilization itself may be destroyed in an atomic holocaust; peoples will be bankrupted by war budgets and high taxes to pay the cost of the arms burden; Nazi generals will again have an army for new conquests; unemployment will spread and a depression be hastened.

It is clear that such agreements are in the interests of the American people.

Such agreements are today possible between governments—if there are reason and a sincere desire to end tensions on all sides.

Such agreements will not be possible if a small, but powerful minority in any country is permitted to sabotage reaching agreement between nations on sensible solutions to international problems.

Such a small but powerful minority exists in our country today, led by McCarthy, Knowland, Byrnes and others who seek to dictate terms to other nations rather than to find bases of agreement with other nations to end international tensions.

This minority is already at work to prevent our representatives at the Geneva Great Power Conference from reaching agreement with other nations.

It is necessary, therefore, for the American people to insist that our government make every effort at Geneva to reach agreements for peace in Korea and in Indo-China and for exploring new steps to lessen international tensions.

Write to President Eisenhower and your Congressman in support of the Geneva Conference.

Organize delegations to your representatives in Congress.

Participation in the American Peace Crusade's National Referendum for world peace through negotiations can help to create such a strong climate of public opinion here for reaching peace agreements with all nations that [illegible]

Let's Look at

THE RECORD

(This column reminds you of recent events indicating positive results of world-wide demands for negotiations, and suggesting areas where continuing negotiations for peaceful solutions should be demanded.)

Dec. 8: President Eisenhower tells United Nations our country wants agreements, not wars among nations, proposes talks with Soviet Union on international atomic pool for peaceful uses. The U.S.S.R. agrees (Dec. 21), proposes that an interim pledge not to use atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass extermination be considered too.

Dec. 13: Panmunjom talks to arrange Korean peace conference broken off by special U.S. Envoy Arthur H. Dean after North Korean-Chinese charge of U.S. "perfidy" in release of 27,000 POW's last June. Other side immediately requests resumption.

Dec. 29: Ho Chi Minh, President Vietnam Democratic Republic repeats his offer to negotiate an armistice in Indo-China with French Government.

Dec. 29: South Korean President Syngman Rhee repeats threats of forcible unification of Korea and calls for new World War.

Jan. 1: Soviet Premier Malenkov, in New Year greetings to American people, expresses hope of improved American-Soviet relations in 1954.

Jan. 7: President Eisenhower, in State of the Union Message emphasizes "military measures to make . . . peace secure," in-

Demand Grows: Cease-Fire U.S. Keep Out of Indo-China

With Indian Prime Minister Nehru calling for a cease-fire now in Indo-China in view of the Big Five Geneva Conference on April 26, and with such U.S. Senators as George and Russell of Georgia, Sparkman of Alabama, Stennis of Mississippi, and Kennedy of Massachusetts voicing alarm about U.S. involvement in the war, local peace groups are taking action to arouse public expression to officials in Washington to protest U.S. aid and men prolonging hostilities in Indo-China.

In California, Chicago, Connecticut and New York, leaflets have been distributed. In New York, a printed postcard to President Eisenhower is being used.

Leaflets point out: The French and Vietnamese people want the the war ended. U.S. taxpayers' dollars pay two-thirds of the cost of the war and keep it going. Now U.S. lives may be lost since 450 U.S. Air Force men are already performing combat duty in fighting areas (N.Y. Daily News 2/9)

Support for an immediate truce; support for the Big Five Meeting in Geneva; and protests against further U.S. involvement in Indo-China is being aroused across the country to prevent Indo-China from becoming another Korea.

RABBI HAILS NEGOTIATIONS

Rabbi Ira Eisenstein, president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, in a sermon on January 9 welcomed the initiation of talks between the United States and the Soviet Union in order to explore the peaceful use of atomic energy.

"The question now is in what spirit shall we approach the discussion table," he said. "Shall we acquire the art of compromise and achieve the best that the present situation can provide?"

Pointing out that "there is a vast differenec between appeasement and compromise," the rabbi stated: "In the present crisis in world affairs the factor that may decide whether we shall survive as a human race or wipe ourselves out in universal slaughter will be our ability to master the art of compromise."

He said: "We all pray that both sides will have the patience and the wisdom to recognize that everything depends upon willingness to negotiate.

"The disposition to negotiate, to sit down together and yield on both sides, is, in the ultimate sense, the criterion of a sincere love of peace."

Things to Remember

1. MOST OF THE WORLD LIVES IN ASIA.
2. MOST OF THE WORLD [illegible] learn to think in terms of Hindus, Muslims, Communists and others.

find bases of agreement with other nations to end international tensions.

This minority is already at work to prevent our representatives at the Geneva Great Power Conference from reaching agreement with other nations.

It is necessary, therefore, for the American people to insist that our government make every effort at Geneva to reach agreements for peace in Korea and in Indo-China and for exploring new steps to lessen international tensions.

Write to President Eisenhower and your Congressman in support of the Geneva Conference.

Organize delegations to your representatives in Congress.

Participation in the American Peace Crusade's National Referendum for world peace through negotiations can help to create such a strong climate of public opinion here for reaching peace agreements with all nations, that no minority can block the will for peace of the American people.

Brotherhood for Peace

(Continued from page 1)

in its resolutions a statement about world peace. The National Baptist Convention reflected growing concern about peace by establishing last year a Commission on International Affairs and a United Nations Commission.

Noted Negro organizations, such as the National Council of Negro Women, took a part in opposing the Bricker Amendment. The African Methodist Episcopal and the A. M. E. Zion Churches have been taking active interest in developments in Africa and in persuading the U. S. Government to put its influence on the side of brotherhood and justice. The Negro press follows the situation in Africa closely and many Negro editors are spokesmen for policies of peace.

Ralph Bunche, Dr. Mordecai Johnson, Mrs. Mary Church Terrill, the late Mrs. Therese Robinson, and other Negro leaders are well-known for their work in the field of international peace.

Throughout the world the names of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Paul Robeson are symbols not only of the Negro people's struggle for full equality, but of the efforts of the American people as a whole to win peace.

With the Negro people being so much in the forefront of the work for peace in the United States, it is clear why the American Peace Crusade, which seeks to join all Americans in a common effort for peace, has a noted Negro trade unionist, Mr. Thomas Richardson, as its executive leader and National Co-Director.

Those of us who are white Americans working for peace, welcome the growing contribution of the Negro people to the movement for a peaceful world and a secure America. We welcome every victory of the Negro people against racism and exploitation as a victory for peace over the groups in our country which are ready to use force to obtain their ends.

The true history of the United States reveals that at every critical point in our nation's life, from the time of the American Revolution through the World War against fascism, the Negro people have made vital contributions on the side of justice and humanity. This history tells us how great a contribution the Negro people will make to the work of saving our nation and the world from the disaster of atomic war.

Brotherhood Month and Negro History are occasions to fix these facts in our minds and put them in focus so that they will be a part of our thought and action throughout the year.

Recognition by growing numbers of white Americans of the decisive contribution which the struggles of colored peoples' for human dignity are making to world peace heralds a stronger peace movement in our land. This recognition will facilitate the brotherhood and unity between peoples which is so essential in order to achieve an era of international peace and domestic tranquility.

Dec. 29: South Korean President Syngman Rhee repeats threats of forcible unification of Korea and calls for new World War.

Jan. 1: Soviet Premier Malenkov, in New Year greetings to American people, expresses hope of improved American-Soviet relations in 1954.

Jan. 7: President Eisenhower, in State of the Union Message emphasizes "military measures to make . . . peace secure," including most effective use of nuclear weapons, which receive emphasis in new budget.

Jan. 12: Secretary of State Dulles declares "new strategy" of United States is "to depend primarily upon a great capacity to retaliate instantly by means and at places of our own choosing."

Jan. 25: Foreign Ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France meet in Berlin.

Jan. 27: Prime Minister Nehru of India denounces proposed U. S.-Pakistan Pact for military aid to Pakistan as step toward war. India likewise aroused against proposed Turkey-Pakistan military Pact.

Feb. 4: Moscow offer of over a billion dollars worth of contracts to delegation of British businessmen, following offers to buy large quantities U. S. surplus butter and other commodities, highlights immense potentialities of East-West trade.

Feb. 9: Senator Richard D. Russell (D-Ga.), ranking minority member Senate Armed Forces Committee, declaring sending of U. S. Airforce technicians to service U. S. bomber planes in Indo-China a "mistake" that might lead to "piecemeal" U. S. involvement in war, urges early withdrawal.

Feb. 10: Mounting expressions of popular and Congressional alarm over Indo-China situation lead President to declare at his press conference that it would be a tragedy for the United States to get involved in the shooting there.

Feb. 18: Four Power Foreign Ministers Conference in Berlin closes with announcement of 1) agreement on conference in Geneva April 26th of representatives of the Four Powers, the People's Republic of China, North and South Korea and other countries which took part in Korean war, to seek peaceful settlement in Korea and restoring peace to Indo-China; and 2) agreement to exchange views to promote solution of disarmament problem.

It was also announced that there had been a full exchange of views on Germany, European security and Austria, but no agreement had been reached.

Feb. 22: Prime Minister Nehru of India calls for an immediate cease-fire in Indo-China, with each side keeping its present battle positions, stating it would be "a pity" for the fighting to continue when the powers were preparing to discuss Indo-China at the coming Geneva Conference.

March 1st: 10th Inter-American Conference opens in Caracas, Venezuela. Public debate before the Conference reveals that U. S. desire for adoption of strong anti-communist measures will conflict with Latin American nations' determination to preserve the right for internal reform (as in Guatamala) without outside interfererence and their desire for peaceful relations and trade with all countries.

He said: "We all pray that both sides will have the patience and the wisdom to recognize that everything depends upon willingness to negotiate.

"The disposition to negotiate, to sit down together and yield on both sides, is, in the ultimate sense, the criterion of a sincere love of peace."

ing aroused across the country to prevent Indo-China from becoming another Korea.

Things to Remember

1. MOST OF THE WORLD LIVES IN ASIA.
2. MOST OF THE WORLD IS NON-WHITE. We must learn to live as a minority group.
3. MOST OF THE WORLD IS POOR
4. MOST OF THE WORLD IS ILL-FED, ILL-HOUSED, ILL-CLOTHED, ILLITERATE AND ILL. Illiteracy is not to be confused with ignorance. On a world-wide fight against malaria, TB, VD, yaws, cholera, small-pox and plague, the World Health organization spends less than 1c on each 300 people a year.
5. MOST OF THE WORLD IS UNDER-DEVELOPED. It lacks tools, methods of production.
6. MOST OF THE WORLD IS NON-CHRISTIAN. We must learn to think in terms of Hindus, Muslims, Communists and others.
7. MOST OF THE WORLD IS NON-ENGLISH-SPEAKING.
8. MOST OF THE WORLD IS EITHER IN REVOLUTION OR HAS RECENTLY ATTAINED INDEPENDENCE.
9. MOST OF THE WORLD LIVES UNDER A DIFFERENT FORM OF GOVERNMENT. We are regarded as conservative or orthodox.
10. MOST OF THE WORLD DIFFERS FROM US. We must learn to accept differences without hostility. There's no reason to assume all strangers are hostile.

(Excerpt from December issue of "An Annual Calendar," published by the Peace Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Society of Friends.)

Peace Award to U. S. Author

Howard Fast, well-known American writer and a sponsor of the American Peace Crusade, was one of the ten world figures to be awarded a 1953 Stalin Peace Prize by a distinguished international jury.

Major General Sir Sahib Singh of India, former Assistant-Director of the UN World Health Organization; Pierre Cot, former French Minister of Aviation; the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda; Professor John Bernal, noted British scientist; and Mme Isabelle Blume, member of the Belgium Paliament, were among those to receive the award.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

From Our Mail

North Branch, Minnesota:

On the basis of conversation with a great many farmers, I would say they are in favor of selling our surplus butter stock. I judge sentiment would run about 5 to 1 for selling to the Soviet Union. However, on general trade they are quite confused.

The Farmer's Union members around here are more definitely for general trade with all so-called Iron Curtain countries, and that is no doubt because they have been informed what it would mean in terms of peace and prosperity for our country.

The conclusion I would draw is that there has to be an intensive campaign of facts relating our peace and prosperity to trade with all countries.

The question most farmers are presently concerned with is staying on the farm. The farmer is experiencing a full blown depression. His economic problems are increasing daily.

The response to the "Peace Reporter" has been very good. I think an important point to stress again and again is the relationship of taxes to the war program.

Thanking you for the splendid job you are doing, I am

Yours for Peace,

A FARMER

Are Probes Silencing Youth on Peace Issues?

Rhode Island State Education Commissioner Walsh told a parent-teachers meeting in Newport on February 10th that because of Congressional investigations, some Rhode Island high school students recently refused to answer a questionnaire on Universal Military training lest their answers be used against them in future years.

In reporting this fact to a parent-teachers meeting Walsh said that federal and other inquiries were making a sharp impression on the minds of American youth.

He called the investigations as "perhaps the most serious undermining of American principles in history."

New Home for APC

On January 1st, the American Peace Crusade moved into more spacious quarters at 35 West 26th Street, New York City.

Volunteer workers have transformed a loft into an attractive place, fit not only for APC offices, but also for forums and parties for peace.

The first public function to be held in the new APC home was a house-warming on January 23rd attended by over 100 people.

Peace News Across the Country

NEW YORK CITY

An APC luncheon in honor of Tomoka and Louis Wheaton, who had spent ten months recently in China, was attended by 125 persons December 12.

Mr. Wheaton was Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the Asian and Pacific Region Peace Conference held in Peking in October, 1952.

The Wheatons have spoken to many groups since their return of what they saw in China. As a trade unionist, Mr. Wheaton has been especially interested in the possibilities of trade with China to help prevent unemployment in the U.S.

* * *

Seven thousand Christmas cards to President Eisenhower calling for peaceful settlement of differences between nations were sent from New York City.

Two thousand cards to the President in support of negotiations in Berlin, in Korea and on atomic energy were distributed in January.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

The Northern California Peace Council, recognizing the importance of trade between nations, is sending out a reprint of an article calling for trade with China. (Reviewed in Peace Publications, page 4)

During the holidays, the Alameda-Contra Costa Peace Committee issued 10,000 and collected 3,500 signatures on petitions and cards calling for negotiations. Over 100 sets of silk-screened Chinese paper cuts with messages of friendship were sold; 5,000 Peace and Job matchbooks were sold by Trade Unionists for Peace.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Over the holiday season, the Southern California Peace Crusade mailed 2,800 copies of a special issue of Peace Notes to churches, unions, mass organizations and individuals. One thousand two hundred copies of this photo-offset paper were given to community groups to be distributed by personal contact or through the mails.

Other activities of the Southern California Peace Crusade include distribution of 7,000 greetings cards, urging peaceful negotiations addressed to President Eisenhower. Among the new groups who sent out this card were several churches.

In Pasadena, 10,000 leaflets urging popular activity to insure peace in 1954 were distributed at the New Year's Day Parade.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The third semi-annual Minnesota Women's Peace Conference was attended by women from many parts of the state.

At the direction of the Conference, the Minnesota Women Peace Conference has issued a pamphlet quoting from the broadcast of Colonel Ben. C. Limb, South Korean representative to the U.N., in which he stated clearly South Korea's readiness to start the war again.

The Conference sent a resolution to President Eisenhower urging negotiations, and set up a Continuations Committee, authorized to call women's lobbies for peace whenever necessary, in order to see to it that peace will be an issue in the 1954 elections.

CHICAGO, ILL.

Chicago women have been selling peace key rings. All through the fall and winter these attractive blue disks with the dove of peace in white have found their way into pockets and purses, and have helped to finance the activities of the peace groups in the windy city. One peace worker sold 73 key rings at the National Negro

(Continued on Page 4)

Pacifist

(Continued from page 1)

to maintain full employment in civilian activities; "maintaining a flexible attitude in for-

Demand Grows for East-West Trade

(Continued from page 1)

to take with reference to Red China is to lift our embargo on non-strategic goods and

on trade. You take my wares, and I take yours.

Trade's Best

"Trade is the best method the human race ever devised

and Studebaker. Hudson cut its work schedule to three days per week, and announced it would keep closed for one whole week.

this time last year. However, this figures does not include all unemployed but only those receiving state unemployment benefits.

program.

Thanking you for the splendid job you are doing, I am

Yours for Peace,

A FARMER

to be held in the new APC home was a house-warming on January 23rd attended by over 100 people.

Peace Council, recognizing the importance of trade between nations, is sending out a reprint of an article calling for trade with China. (Reviewed

In Pasadena, 10,000 leaflets urging popular activity to insure peace in 1954 were distributed at the New Year's Day Parade.

to finance the activities of the peace groups in the windy city. One peace worker sold 73 key rings at the National Negro

(Continued on Page 4)

Pacifist

(Continued from page 1)

to maintain full employment in civilian activities; "maintaining a flexible attitude in foreign policy and the willingness to negotiate seriously"; generous use of resources to help other peoples and especially through the United Nations and "free from political and military entanglements"; efforts for reconciliation and building world brotherhood; advancing human rights for all men; support of the "rightful desires of people for political and economic independence by peaceful means"; "freer exchange of goods and services . . . to bring all the world into one trading area for non-military goods"; preservation of our basic civil liberties "to preserve the climate for the full discussion of the problems of war and peace."

Berlin Meet

(Continued from page 1)

that the Berlin Conference "bring about an end to the cold war and the realization of maximum world-wide trade between nations so as to provide more jobs and peaceful prosperity for the American people."

A letter to President Eisenhower from the American Peace Crusade signed by 60 prominent Americans urged the continuation of the Berlin negotiations "until agreement has been reached on at least some of the issues under dispute" since "if some issues are settled, hope in future meetings will be strengthened."

The letter said that the APC recognizes that "no single government is wholly to blame for past failures or for the present dilemma," but pointed out that "the irreconcilable attitude of certain political leaders who demand all and would concede nothing is not that of the American people."

Demand Grows for East-West Trade

(Continued from page 1)

to take with reference to Red China is to lift our embargo on non-strategic goods and trade with Peiping in all things except military weapons and accessories."

Restore Peacetime Trade

The National Foreign Trade Council favors restoration of trade in peace-time materials with the Soviet Union and the nations friendly to it. At its mid-November convention, the Council adopted a resolution which states, in part:

"In the case of materials and goods which are clearly of a non-strategic nature, the convention believes that the free world is likely, on balance, to experience greater disadvantage than advantage from any attempt to prohibit the shipment of such materials and goods to the Soviet area.

"The restoration of trade patterns where they are feasible and where they have economic validity today, could serve to lessen rather than increase existing tension—both between the free world and the Soviet bloc, and within the free world itself."

Ease Taxpayers' Burden

Resumption of normal trade would ease the American taxpayer's burden, the resolution says. And it warns that while the Government maintains severe trade barriers some of its allies are doing a brisk business with the countries whom we ignore.

Gravely concerned because recessions mean less jobs for its members, the CIO National Maritime Union is calling for trade with the Soviet Union.

The NMU Pilot, official organ of the union, says in its January issue: "This is a trading nation. Under the capitalist system there must be trade. Under the Communist system, too, there is trade. . . .

"The world has long thrived on trade. You take my wares, and I take yours.

Trade's Best

"Trade is the best method the human race ever devised as a means for getting out of a mud hole for a better dry spot."

Noting that our self-imposed trade embargoes against the Soviet Union and its allies are not affective, the NMU Pilot observes:

". . . We do know that many of our Western European allies in one way or another are trading with the Soviet Union.

"And we are about to discover that our allies are hell-bent on taking some of this good, solid American market, right under our noses."

Employment Declining

The decline in employment has been hitting basic industries. General Motors' 28 Chevrolet plants with 63,00 workers were put on a four-day work week. Layoffs and slowdowns were also recorded at the Ford Motor Co., Chrysler Corp., Nash and Studebaker. Hudson cut its work schedule to three days per week, and announced it would keep closed for one whole week.

Anaconda Copper has cut down its work week at its mines and plants from a six-day to five-day operation, slashing 12 hours of wages per week from its workers. Kennecott, largest non-ferrous metal industry in the country, is also reducing its work week.

Affected by curtailment of operations in the auto and copper industries, thousands of anthracite miners are also being laid off.

In New York alone the clothing industry has over 72,000 persons laid-off; construction trades, 15,893; service trades, 12,502; retail trades, 9,716; knitting, textile mills, 9,266; leather manufacturing, 7,331; electric machine manufacturing, 4,911.

As of Feb. 19, registered unemployed persons in New York City totaled 191,300, an increase of 55% over the figure this time last year. However, this figures does not include all unemployed but only those receiving state unemployment benefits.

Need For Action

The need for positive action to provide jobs for those now without them is quite apparent.

The NMU Pilot warns that if Washington does not act realistically in the face of unemployment, "Our warehouses will bust open for depression buying."

To prevent this from happening, the NMU suggests we "Trade with friends and enemies," meaning trade with the Soviet Union, China and other Eastern countries.

The lack of the Chinese market is being felt particularly hard on our west coast. Before the embargo was levied against China, there was much trade with her of grain, flour, lumber and other products. Today it is non-existent.

China Wishes to Buy

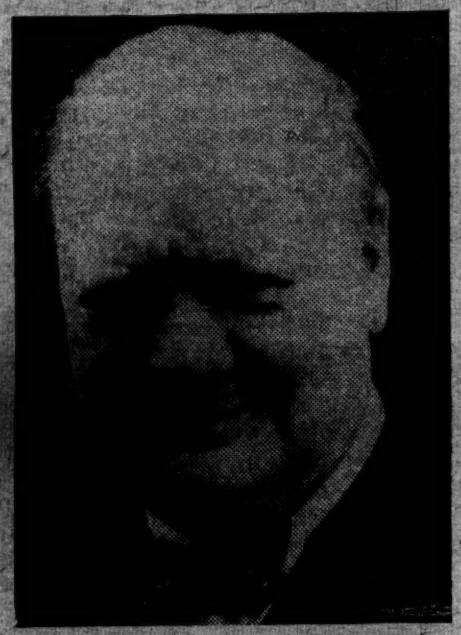
Despite our embargo, China's over-all trade has managed to increase over the previous year. It has expanded with both Communist and non-Communist countries to over 2 billion dollars, according to the N. Y. Times.

Govt. Commision For Trade

Recommendations by the Administration-appointed Randal Commission on U. S. Foreign Economic Policy are that "so far as it can be done without jeopardizing military security, and subject to the embargo on Communist China and North Korea, the United States acquiesce in more trade in peaceful goods between Western Europe and the Soviet bloc."

Despite this recommendation, our Government has recently blocked the sale of 20 million pounds of U. S. butter to the Soviet Union for a reported price of 10 million dollars.

Churchill Favors Soviet Trade



Sir Winston Churchill urged the expansion of British-Soviet trade and patient diplomatic negotiations with the Communist powers.

Addressing the House of Commons recently, the British Prime Minister called for eventual relaxation of the "cold war" embargoes as a means of reaching "a work-a-day" understanding with the Soviet Union.

Although he did not recommend trade with China at this time, Sir Winston indicated that was something Britain hoped might develop out of the conference in Geneva in April where China would be represented.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

PEACE PUBLICATIONS

THE AMERICAN BUSINESSMAN AND WORLD PEACE: A Special Section of the January 23 issue of the **Saturday Review**, 25 W. 45th St., New York 36, N. Y.; 20c a copy. Contains articles by prominent businessmen and economists on effect of peace and world trade on the economy and a poll of 500 business and labor leaders on free trade.

FARMER-LABOR TEAMWORK: Published by United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 11 E. 51st S., New York 22, N.Y.; no charge. Analysis of the effects of the cold war economy on farmers and a program for peace and prosperity.

DEMAND FOR ASIAN TRADE RISES: Reprint of an article from **The Dispatcher** of the ILWU; copies available from Northern California Peace Council, 935 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.; 50 copies for $1. 100 for $1.50, 5,000 for $5. An attractive double page article with many fotos and facts on need for trade with China.

JAPAN LETTER: A monthly publication, published by Japan Letter, 1197 McAllister St., San Francisco, Calif.; $1.50 a year. Vital information about developments in Japan presented thru translations from all sections of the Japanese press.

FAR EAST REPORTER, 103 W. 93rd St., New York 25, N. Y., $1 a year. Publishes reports on developments in countries of the Far East, such as People's China. Latest issue is devoted to Indo-China.

AMERICA, RUSSIA AND THE BOMB: 71-page booklet published by the National Council Against Conscription, 1013 18th St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.; 25c per copy. Although written in June, 1950, this booklet gives a good review of the history of efforts for disarmament since 1899 and of the American and Soviet positions on banning atomic weapons and on general disarmament.

OUR MILITARY GOVERNMENT: A 14-page report recently published by the National Council Against Conscription. Gives a critical study of the Army's influence in U. S. institutions.

FACTS FOR PEACE: Bi-monthly analysis of peace issues, published by the American Peace Crusade, 35 W. 26th St., New York 10, N.Y.; $1 a year. Last issue was a six-page analysis of Peace and Jobs. Next issue will cover the German problem.

BALLOTS for use in the APC National Referendum for world peace thru negotiations (see photo on p. 1): Order from the American Peace Crusade; $2 per 100 for orders up to 500, $1.50 per 100 for orders from 500 to 1,000; $1 per 100 for orders above 1,000.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, issued by the American Peace Crusade; 3c each. Gives text of Appeal adopted by APC National Committee and lists over 40 prominent endorsers. A useful instrument to open peace discussions with neighbors, shopmates or local church and community leaders.

WORLD PEACE NEWS

New Advances By Peace Movement

MIDDLE EAST

A Conference in Defense of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East, held in Beirut December 18th and 19th, adopted a Common Program for Independence and Peace, demanding peaceful solution of international disputes and respect for the sovereignty of peoples.

Among the delegates from 8 countries of the Middle East were former Prime Ministers, former Ministers, Members of Parliament, religious leaders, tribal chiefs, representatives of major political parties, the Moslem Brotherhood and the Peace Movement.

The Common Program denounced military pacts and foreign bases and called for trade and cultural relations with all nations.

CANADA

1,500 delegates at the Congress of Support for Negotiated Peace held in Toronto January 30-31st called on the Parliament and Government of Canada to pledge never to be the first to use atomic weapons and to seek such a pledge from other nations.

The Congress said world peace requires that China be restored her rightful place in the council of nations.

Resolutions urged full development of world trade and em-

World Meeting Proposed To Ease Tensions

The World Council of Peace, meeting in Vienna from November 23 to 28, adopted a Message to all organizations and notables desiring a relaxation of international tensions.

The Message proposed the "joint preparation for a meeting allowing free exchange of all viewpoints and the study of possible solutions" of urgent world problems.

"An international meeting of this nature, held as soon as possible," the Message said, "would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension."

Among those present were Nobel Prize winner Frederic Joliot-Curie, World Peace Council President; Petro Nenni, Italian political leader; Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey of India, former Assistant Director of the UN World Health Organization; Pastor Martin Niemoller, of Germany; Baltasar Castro, President of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies; Ilya Ehrenburg, Soviet writer; General Edgard Buxbaum, of Brazil; Mao Dun, Chinese writer; Gabriel D'Aboussier of Senegal, secretary of the African Democratic Assembly.

Great interest in the proposed meeting has been shown by organizations and individuals outside the Peace Movement seeking in their own way the lessening of tensions.

FULL TEXT OF MESSAGE:

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. Negotiations which were opened, however, have come up against renewed obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions vitally important for the peace of the world.

Nevertheless, the people long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures

Peace Ballot

(Continued from page 1)

come Sustainers of the Crusade by contributing a small amount every month to help the work for peace.

When taking the ballot to groups of persons whose interest in peace may stem from a special need or interest in a particular issue, canvassers take with them (when possible) a leaflet relating the fight for peace through negotiations to [illegible] need (e.g. the need

critical study of the Army's influence in U.S. institutions.

FACTS FOR PEACE: Bi-monthly analysis of peace issues, published by the American Peace Crusade, 35 W. 26th St., New York 10, N.Y.; $1 a year. Last issue was a six-page analysis of Peace and Jobs. Next issue will cover the German problem.

BALLOTS for use in the APC National Referendum for world peace thru negotiations (see photo on p. 1): Order from the American Peace Crusade; $2 per 100 for orders up to 500, $1.50 per 100 for orders from 500 to 1,000, $1 per 100 for orders above 1,000.

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, issued by the American Peace Crusade; 3c each. Gives text of Appeal adopted by APC National Committee and lists over 40 prominent endorsers. A useful instrument to open peace discussions with neighbors, shopmates or local church and community leaders.

U.S. Peace News

(Continued from Page 3)

Labor Convention; another 24 at the Conference for repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law; 100 have been sold to a union in Indiana; 100 to a New York peace group.

NEW CHICAGO COUNCIL

A Council, representing groups which have worked with the Chicago Peace Crusade was organized in December to give coordinated leadership to the Crusade's work in that city.

Among the groups included in the new body are the South Side Peace Committee, the Jewish People's Peace Committee, two Community Peace Committees on the north side, several nationality groups, and the Chicago Women for Peace.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

On February 3, the Louisville Peace Crusade, reviving its activities, elected new officers and voted to accomplish at least one project for peace each month. For their first project, the members are distributing one thousand peace leaflets at shop gates and factory corners.

Students Vote For Soviet Visit

The Student Council of Swarthmore College submitted to other colleges a proposal that an intercollegiate student delegation tour the Soviet Union this summer.

The Student Council of City College of New York endorsed this proposal and a referendum was held among City College students on this idea.

2,266 students voted in favor of the tour. 723 voted against it.

Since the CCNY members of the intercollegiate delegation would be elected by the students who would have to meet the costs of the trip, students were also asked if they would be willing to help finance the tour.

285 students said they would contribute $1. 455 would contribute 50c. 1,100 would give 25c. 1,210 were not willing to help.

An editorial in the **Observation Post** pointed out that the Student Council had endorsed the tour "on the ground that it may reduce world tensions and that international student exchange is a good thing in principle."

THE PEACE REPORTER
35 West 26th Street,
New York 10, N.Y.

☐ I enclose one dollar for six issues of The Peace Reporter

☐ I enclose ..... dollars to help build The Peace Reporter

Name .....

Address ..... Zone ..... State .....

1,500 delegates at the Congress of Support for Negotiated Peace held in Toronto January 30-31st called on the Parliament and Government of Canada to pledge never to be the first to use atomic weapons and to seek such a pledge from other nations.

The Congress said world peace requires that China be restored her rightful place in the council of nations.

Resolutions urged full development of world trade and emphasized the special responsibility of the Five Great Powers to undertake the negotiations upon which world peace depends.

CHILE

In Santiago de Chile on January 17th, 10,000 people crowded the largest theatre in the capital to hear Senor Baltasar Castro, President of the Chamber of Deputies, give his report on the last session of the World Council of Peace, in Vienna which he attended.

As the third ranking political figure of Chile, Sn. Castro had to have the permission of Parliament, under the Constitution, to leave the country to go to Vienna. Permission had been granted by a unanimous vote.

INDONESIA

The President of Indonesia gave a reception for the delegates to the first **Indonesian National Peace Congress** held in Djakarta January 25-29th.

The continuations Executive Committee elected by the Congress included the Ministers of Labor, Public Works, Justice and Agriculture, as well as the second Vice-President of the Parliament, many members of Parliament, the Chairman of the Peasants Union, the General-Secretary of the two million strong SOBSI (trade union council), and other public figures.

The Congress denounced the proposed U.S.-Pakistan military pact; called for a Five Power Conference with People's China; opposed the rearming of Japanese militarists; and supported full trade with all countries.

world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. Negotiations which were opened, however, have come up against renewed obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions vitally important for the peace of the world.

Nevertheless, the people long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of polical and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent scientific, religious and political authorities are condemning the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All people of good sense realise that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee fulfillment of any agreement made without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most West European countries have made a public stand against the rebirth of German militarism in any form.

In these conditions, we think an opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities, who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. The resolution, passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on November 28, 1953, is an expression of our point of view on this matter.

The joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the examination of possible solutions is now necessary.

A meeting of this nature, to be held as soon as possible, would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

(Continued from page 1)

come Sustainers of the Crusade by contributing a small amount every month to help the work for peace.

When taking the ballot to groups of persons whose interest in peace may stem from a special need or interest in a particular issue, canvassers take with them (when possible) a leaflet relating the fight for peace through negotiations to the special need (e.g., the need for jobs) or to the special issue (e.g., McCarthyism or colonialism or ending the threat of atomic warfare).

Supplementary action instruments are also used along with the ballot to enable public reaction to urgent issues arising in the international situation. Thus, a postcard to President Eisenhower urging no U.S. involvement in Indo-China and an end to the war there, as well as a leaflet on the war in Indo-China, are being used at present in the ballot campaign in New York City.

Canvassers report a warm response from the people, whether they are seen at factory gates or in their homes.

Two canvassers in one neighborhood, just to make an experiment, devoted one hour to calling on neighbors who had not been previously seen about peace. They got four subscriptions to the PEACE REPORTER in this time.

Canvassers are finding that the printed Appeal to the People of the United States adopted by the National Committee of the APC and endorsed by many prominent Americans is a useful thing to carry around with them in order to answer questions about the American Peace Crusade. The Appeal shows what is the platform of the APC. The list of endorsers on the Appeal, which includes persons who are Republicans, Democrats, Progressives, etc., and who are prominent in many fields of American life, reveals to what degree the Crusade has been successful in joining together in the work for peace persons of varied background and of different political and religious convictions.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Peace Review

No. 47 (10 *cents*)
MAY, 1955
THE MAGAZINE
WHICH TOURS THE WORLD

Printed at Toronto and authorized as second class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa.

This picture was painted by a Japanese artist at Hiroshima.

The Truth About The Unborn and H-Explosions....P. 6

☆

THE BOMB IS STILL KILLING AT HIROSHIMA .....P. 4

☆

NEW YORK 2660....P. 8

☆

A NEW MYSTERY PUZZLE .....P. 22

☆

HOW THEY FIGHT THE BOMB IN JAPAN .....P. 3

☆

TEN THOUSAND TIMES MORE ENERGY ....P. 20

☆

HOW THEY DO IT IN SASKATCHEWAN ..P. 16

☆

U.S. PUBLIC OPINION .....P. 18

☆

DAWN OF A NEW AGE .....P. 2

☆

REAL OPTIMISM ...P. 10

☆

MOTHER'S DAY ... P. 15

☆

IN PARLIAMENT ...P. 12

☆

POWERFUL DOLLAR .....P. 24

EDITORIAL:

THE GREAT HOPE OF MANKIND

The editor of the world peace review, Horizons, writes from Paris.

By PIERRE COT

MANKIND is entering the atomic age with a feeling of fear and despair. All that has been said about this subject can be summed up in Aesop's adage on language: it is the worst or the best of things, according to the use it is put to. Made good use of, atomic energy can be a powerful and speedy contribution to the liberation of man. In the hands of criminals or madmen it can bring about great suffering and jeopardize the people's march forward towards the future.

Atomic energy puts before our conscience a problem that no one can evade. So that each one of us can give thought to his responsibilities and make up his mind, we asked a number of well-known scientists to outline for us in this issue (and in the next two issues) of our magazine the technical facts of the problem. As a preface to the documentation assembled here, I would like to put a few general observations before the readers of Peace Review.

What if a New Hitler Should Arise?

And first of all, let each one of us weigh up the magnitude of the danger to which we are exposed!

It was not without good grounds that millions of human beings signed the Stockholm Appeal and demanded that atomic weapons should be banned. An atomic war would be thwart with horrors. We may tremble to think what would have become of our civilization if Hitler had had the atom bomb at his disposal: and in the present situation, no one can guarantee that a new Hitler may not arise.

What is more, each year the atomic arsenal is enriched with new inventions and the Hiroshima bomb has now become outdated.

Finally, if atomic war broke out, the belligerants, spurred on by military necessity, would be led to take risks which go beyond any possibility of control. Our world would be thrown into an adventure whose consequences no one can foresee.

For all these reasons, it is not necessary to be a great scholar to agree with Professor E. Burhop "Atomic war will be a war of extermination," or with Frank Beswick: "Over great distances and for the whole of a collective, there is no possible protection against atomic bombing."

It should, however, be pointed out that these technical facts are not, luckily, the only things to be taken into consideration. Human and political factors should also influence out judgment.

Fatalism or Cowardice?

From the magnitude and the imminence of the atomic threat it might be concluded that mankind is doomed to destruction. But the greatest danger in this respect is not the danger of under-estimating the horrors of atomic war. It is the danger that we may give in to fatalism and, as we say, to throw in the sponge.

Those who keep on repeating that the decision to use atomic weapons in no way depends on the peoples but on a group of leaders whose attitude cannot be influenced are giving in to fatalism.

This fatalism has no foundation—or rather, it is based on a resignation which is near to cowardice.

To counteract such an attitude we should note that in the course of his long history man has seen many such things. Since he came out of his rock-caves he has shown himself to be singularly resistant and capable of adaptation. The human race is strong and it clings to life.

Above all, to counteract fatalism, let us remark that the will of the peoples can and should be an obstacle to the development of atomic war.

There Are no Atom Secrets

The anxiety of the peoples and their will to survive can force the governments to give up arms whose effects could be more dangerous for those who use them first than for those who are to be the first victims.

In this respect, the conscience of the peoples is heightening throughout the world as the atomic threat grows. What is happening in the United States bears witness to this evolution. For a long time the ordinary U.S. citizen lived in a dream: he believed in "the secret of the atom-bomb" and in "the monopoly of the atom-bomb."

After this he thought that his country had a sufficient start, both from the quantitative and the qualitative point of view, to make it safe from atomic war.

Today he knows that there is neither an atom-bomb secret nor an atom-bomb monopoly. The best scientists have told him that their Soviet colleagues have, in any case, caught up to them and perhaps even surpassed them in the atomic field. His viewpoint has been modified. It will change more and more.

Peaceful Uses for the Atom

Once the threat of atomic war is done away with, the peoples will demand that atomic energy should be used to help them to fight against suffering, sickness and death.

Here again, in the pages of Peace Review, our readers will find very important articles which will enable them to look into the future, while avoiding premature or purely imaginary anticipation.

For my part, I would like to draw their attention to three points:

First, it is not only a new source of energy that science is putting at the disposal of mankind. Tomorrow the atom will be used in the service of medicine, industry and agriculture. Thanks to the atom, all technique will make enormous progress and we shall be able to attack and to solve problems which have, until now, been insoluble.

Secondly, by adding a new source of energy to those already at his disposal, man will not only increase the number of "slaves" working for him; he will be able to use what I call the classic sources of energy more rationally.

For example, we are still burning the vast majority of the coal we extract from the earth's crust: this is a waste. In the future it will be more sensible to use our coal reserves for the chemical industry. Something which would have been impossible without the discovery of atomic energy will then become very simple.

Thirdly, history shows that social progress is bound up with technical progress. Not only will atomic energy make it possible to equip those under developed countries which are poor in coal or in electricity but, what is still more important, it will modify the world distribution of the raw materials used by man. In each country, in each continent, it will crack the old social and political framework.

No one can know how men will live in the atomic age. But everyone should know that their life will be very different from the life we lead now, in the age of the steam engine and the electric motor. Thanks to the atom, and following a formula now become famous, man will come out of pre-history.

★ ★ ★

MEN of my generation will not know the full flowering of the atomic age. But it is up to them to greet the dawn of a new day which lights the horizon. And even more, it is up to all those who have faith in the destiny of mankind to prevent an atomic war from blasting this great hope to dust.

Marcelle Auclair's Notebook

A Cigarette Burn Hurts, Let Me Say

Last autumn I drove through the north and the east of France. There the names of towns and villages are the names of battlefields. Peace is only brought to mind by the thousands of graves in hundreds of military cemetaries.

And thinking of the period before the two world wars, I said to myself: "Under these stones lie socialists, French action supporters, radicals, communists, conservatives of all labels, liberals of all hues, those who had said, "I don't bother with politics." They did not understand in time that war is a plague; they did not want to fight together against war; they all died in the war. Peace be with them: they have not died in vain if the eyes of those who come after them can see further ahead."

Today the atom bomb puts the question with decisive sharpness: either men will fight together against the atom bomb or one day they themselves may be mingled together, without distinction of party, in the vast solidarity of logic.

The danger is imminent. On March 13th the Chairman of the American Federation of Scientists, Dr. Livingston, declared in a television program that the scientists were worried about the amount of radiation found in the atmosphere, as a danger-point for the future of the race would soon be reached. Yes, you read it correctly.

We are against the bomb. We are also against despair. This business that has been called "cosmic" is the personal business of every one of us. Let each of us come to understand this and join in the collective struggle.

Some women wrote to me, to ask: "But how can we struggle?" The reply is: By uniting with all who work for the same aim. We can only survive if we unite, without any outside consideration!

The signature campaign carried out in Japan against the A-bomb and the H-bomb gives us an excellent framework and some very fine examples to follow.

The first step is born of individual initiatives launched independently one of the other in various localities. (From April to June 1954).

The second step unifies the campaign on a national scale (from July to December 1954). The Japanese National Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, formed on August 8th 1954, brings together personalities of all opinions and religious sects. By October ten million signatures had been collected throughout Japan, 20 millions by December.

The third step gives the campaign international significance (from January 1955).

In an interview given to the Information Service of the World Council of Peace, the General Secretary of the Japanese Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen bombs, Mr. Kaoru Yasui, explained the results of his practical experience:

"If the Japanese had had the feeling that the campaign was a partisan campaign, we would not have obtained all these signatures, nor the participation of many conservatives in our action."

He spoke of the "kind of moral and spiritual revolution" which had taken place among the Japanese people because of the war "and first of all among women and mothers . . . The mothers, above all, have decided to keep their children safe from the suffering of atomic death. It is first and foremost on this basis that the peace movement has developed in Japan since the end of the war."

He stressed: "Women, Japanese housewives, are trying to understand international problems, they believe it is there that they can find a way to stop war. For example, in my district of Tokyo, at Suginami Ward, the workers' wives formed a reading circle. In the beginning 24 housewives attended the study circle and now there are more than a hundred. Last May, one of the members of the circle began to collect signatures. In this part of the city which has 390,000 inhabitants, including children, 280,000 signatures against the bomb were collected. And it should be added that the children were not allowed to sign.

"One woman supporter of the Liberal Party, a very conservative party, collected 15,000 signatures, while another woman, a member of the Progressive Association of Women, collected 14,000. These examples show that progressive and conservative people are coming together in this campaign which, in our country, is considered the best example of a national campaign."

It is sometimes said that the experience of others is useless: nevertheless, let the experience of Japan, the first victim of the atom bomb, guide us. This is what is awaiting us if we do not act: the Nobel prize-winner, Professor Power, declared in Westminster that the dropping of one atom bomb alone would be equivalent to 1,000 raids of 2,000 bombers in the last war.

And let me say that a cigarette burn hurts. How do you feel about atomic burns?

You must choose: either to struggle together against the atom bomb or to give up together to atomic death.

Winner on Intriguing Clipping of the Month

A second-time winner of a Chinese wood block water colour print is indefatigable F. W. Park of Toronto, who easily outstripped all other contestants again in submitting the most intriguing clipping of the month.

THOU SHALT NOT . . .

Mr. Park's clipping relates how the German Nazi V-rocket experts who had been responsible for "buzz-bombing" London had been led by Dr. W. von Braun, in 1945 fled the Red Army into U.S. custody and have been helping U.S. research on guided missiles ever since. Now they are to become U.S. citizens.

"As time goes by," said Dr. Braun, "I realize ever more clearly that it was a moral decision we made that day at Peenemunde, that somehow we sensed that the secrets should get only into the hands of a people who read the Bible." (New York Times 11-4-55).

THE TRUTH FROM THE MAN WHO KNOWS

The Atom Sickness

Is Still a Killer in Hiroshima

The funeral of the Japanese fisherman Aikichi Kubayama, who died after the H-bomb experiment at Bikini. His nine-year-old daughter, Mo Kayo, carries his portrait at the head of the procession.

By DR. NOBUO KUSANO
Member of the Institute for Infectious Diseases, University of Tokyo.

At the end of August 1954, I visited Hiroshima. On my arrival I found myself in the midst of such deadly chaos as had never before been experienced in human history.

Some twenty days before my arrival the first atomic bomb had exploded over the city and my job was to make a first-hand inspection, or, to put it more precisely, to investigate the "atomic disease" which from that time on, has never ceased to torture its victims.

What is the "atomic disease"? Some of those who, were within 1,000 to 1,500 meters of the ground centre over which the atomic bomb exploded, had, fortunately, not been so badly burned or wounded as to have died. They felt almost nothing, except a slight nausea, for a couple of days immediately after the explosion. They carried on as they were. But a fortnight or so later they found that their hair was falling out rapidly. It took no more than two or three days to make them completely bald.

Blood Poisoning

Blood spots appeared on their skin and many patients suffered from diarrohea accompanied by a loss of blood, as in the case of dysentry. Their tonsils swelled up and then gradually putrified. Their gums bled continually. Their injuries and burns which had started to get better took a turn for the worse and spread. A temperature as high as 104° lasted indefinitely.

By this time the whole organism of the patients was so badly attacked that the hemorrhagic diathesis had developed to an extremely high degree. Vomiting, spitting of blood, haematuria and so forth — these were the plainest symptoms of blood-poisoning.

Camps to Die in

Emergency camps were permeated with the nauseating odor of putrefying human organisms. For the patients there was no hope. They died a week after they became ill. This is what the citizens of Hiroshima fearfully call the "atomic disease."

Examine the blood of such a patient and you will find that the number of white blood corpuscles has decreased to as low as one-tenth or one-fiftieth the amount found in the blood of a normal man, while the blood platelets have gone down to less than one-tenth. The intense radioactivity (especially the gamma rays and neutron which have a very strong penetrating power) of the atomic bomb effects the blood producing organs, for instance the bone-marrow, lymph nodes, etc., causing the patient to lose a great proportion of his white blood corpuscles. The decrease of white blood corpuscles, lowers the body's ability to fight off bacteria.

In such a condition a man is defenseless against the continual external and internal attack of bacteria while the mucous membrane of the mouth, of the large intestine, etc., would be destroyed. Due to a re-

markable loss of the blood patelets, the blood is no longer able to coagulate. Once this happens, capillary bleeding occurs.

The Body Ruined

Although the appearance of a patient suffering from radiation sickness appears to be less serious than that of one suffering from simple injuries or burns, if you were to examine his tissue through a microscope, you would be shocked to see the drastic destruction of his organic system. His bone marrow, lymph nodes and testicles—where the cells are the most densely organized and most active in splitting up—are almost completely destroyed. This is the most shocking proof of the destruction caused by radioactivity.

Most Died Early

We now call it the subacute period of the "atom bomb radiation sickness." Its characteristics are:

1) Destruction of blood producing organs;

2) Secondary infection by bacteria or sepsis.

It is believed that in Hiroshima and Nagasaki the number of victims who died during the subacute period (from two weeks to two months after the explosion) amounted to as much as 10 per cent of the total number of atomic bomb victims (in Hiroshima there were more than 200,000 victims and in Nagasaki 100,000). Almost 70 per cent of the total number of victims died on the day of the explosion and another 20 per cent within the following two weeks. This means that 90 per cent of the victims were murdered in less than two weeks. It appears that most of them died, either directly, or indirectly, from burns, while the rest died of radiation sickness.

The Death Ash

However, this does not necessarily mean that the casualties were mainly caused by the heat and mechanical energy of the atomic bomb. Those who were believed to have died because of injuries and burns were also affected by the radioactivity and rushed away to an earlier death. Even if they had not suffered from injuries and burns, most of them would not have survived. It was their tragic fate to die within a few weeks.

It must be noted that an atomic bomb is not only destructive as a bomb; it is a devastating radioactive weapon which inflicts deadly destruction upon us. This can clearly be seen from the casualties caused among the innocent Japanese fishermen who were working in the Pacific Ocean when the Bikini hydrogen bomb was exploded. Apart from the injuries to the fishermen, so-called "death ash" floated from the Bikini district over Japan and was so dangerous that agricultural crops were affected, not to speak of the extensive losses to the Japanese fishing industry.

If exposed to strong radioactivity, animals used in experiments die in a few hours, or at most, in a few days. Not only such sensitive and highly active cells as those of the bone-marrow, or of the lymph nodes, the spleen and sex glands are destroyed, but also the less sensitive cells of the skin and epithelial cells of the mucous membrane of the intestine and the endocrine glands are destroyed. Such terrible destruction of human beings as that caused by radiation had never been seen in history until Hiroshima.

The characteristic symptoms of the above-mentioned acute period of the "atomic bomb radiation sickness" could be summarized as follows:

1) Vomiting,

2) Acute loss of vitality,

3) High fever (without bacterial infection),

4) Bleeding through the skin or of the internal organs.

If the radioactivity to which a patient was exposed is light and the damage caused to blood-producing organs slight, if the white blood corpuscle count was over 1,000 per cubic millimetre (the normal count is 8,000), then the patient will recover in about five weeks, as the number of white corpuscles increases and cures bacteria infested organs. But, in fact, the patient cannot be said to be free of the effects of radioactivity.

The Subchronic Period

Two to six months after exposure to the atomic bomb—the period we can call the "subchronic period" — the death rate becomes very low. Nevertheless, the patient will still suffer from a disorder of the testicles or ovaries, owing to the destruction of the cells. The drop in the count of red blood corpuscles during the acute period is lower than that of the white corpuscles, and the patient will suffer from anemia for a long time.

The most important symptom of the chronic period — that is, after about six months — is leukemia. The frequency of this disease among those who were exposed within two kilometres of the atom bomb is ten times as high as that of the normal, or control rate.

Deaths Now

Even today, ten years after the bomb explosion, the rate of occurrence of this disease is not on the decrease. In the past year 10 patients died of it.

Other disturbances reported are as follows:

1) Chronic anemia,

2) A high rate of cataract cases,

3) Retarded physical and mental development of children who were exposed to the explosion.

4) Retarded brain development of the foetus (for instance, malformation such as microcephalus) where the expectant mother was closely exposed to the explosion, and so on.

At the same time, many more cases

(Continued on Page 11)

Little Dictionary

KEEP UP WITH THE DOCTORS

Hemorrhagic diathesis: a proneness to bleeding.

Haematuria: blood in the urine.

Platelets: small oval discs floating in the blood which play a part in blood clotting.

Gamma rays: radioactive emanations or particles with high speed and higher frequency and penetrating power than X-rays.

Neutron: one of the components of the nucleus of the atom. It is electrically neutral and has neither a positive nor a negative charge.

Lymph nodes: gland-like structures made of lymphatic tissue which enlarge when infected (for example those at the angle of the jaw enlarge when you have a sore throat).

Mucous membrane: the inner lining of many body cavities. For example look in your mouth and see the inside of your cheek.

Capillary: the smallest blood vessels. They are invisible and red or white blood cells flow through them in single file. The red cells bring oxygen and pass it to all body cells, trading it for carbon dioxide through the walls of the capillaries.

Sepsis: decay leading to poisoning in the body.

Spleen: a ductless gland about the size of the kidney situated at left of the stomach. It processes blood.

Epithelial: inner lining of body cavities and blood vessels, etc.

Endocrine glands: Hormone-forming glands such as the pituitary gland in the head or the adrenal glands on top of each kidney.

Testicles: the male organ or gland that creates the semen.

Ovaries: the female organ that creates the ovum.

Leukemia: a blood disease in which the white blood cells are increased from the normal 7,000 per cubic millimetre to many times that number.

Foetus: the child before birth.

Microcephalus: abnormally small brain (cephalon—the brain).

Sarcoma: a malignant tumour which often occurs in the bones.

Genetic: having to do with heredity.

SCIENCE

THE FACTS about the Unborn

By PROF. PHILIPPE L'HERITIER

PROFESSOR AT THE PARIS FACULTY OF SCIENCES

The best answers science can yet give to questions everybody is now asking are outlined here by one of France's most celebrated geneticists. He speaks of the effects of radioactivity on the future of the human race and of the great care we must take in this atomic age to see that radioactivity does not menace the humanity of tomorrow that is being born from the humanity of today.

On several occasions reports have appeared in the press of the alarming results of an investigation into the health of the child survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs in Japan. Although it is difficult to judge exactly the statistical value of these observations, it seems clear that they indicate a real increase of deformity and of congenital physiological defects among these children. In reality, there is nothing in this to surprise genetecists, who have known for a long time now that any exposure to ionizing radiation and X-rays is capable of producing unfavourable mutations.

This genetic danger is perhaps one of the most serious problems which mankind faces on entering the atomic age. Any unwise use of radio activity carries the risk of an increase in the occurence of hereditary defects in human populations. Eventually this increase could become catastrophic and turn future generations into a collection of monsters.

Not Only War Dangerous

This danger is not solely bound up with large-scale military use of atomic energy. For mankind, a generalized atomic war would, in fact, mean so great a catastrophe that doubtless its genetic aspect would fade into the background. But the experimental detonation of ever more powerful nuclear engines which is resulting from the mad arms race is enough to increase the genetic danger. Even the peaceful industrial use of atomic energy can be dangerous unless very thorough precautions are taken to protect the human organism against all exposure to ionizing radiation.

What We Inherit — and How

Although in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to estimate accurately the extent of this danger, its reality is already quite certain.

It is known that the hereditary patrimony of any organism is formed of a multitude of hereditary units which are called "genes." Each gene can exist in one or more forms which the geneticists call "Alleles" and these alleles determine the various forms that can be taken by a certain characteristic of the organisms, such as the colour of the eyes or the way an organ functions.

For a large number of genes of the human species, several different alleles exist in the population and it is the particular proportion of alleles present at the moment of conception which constitutes the genetic basis of the personality.

It is upon the coexistence of all these alleles that the hereditary diversity of the individual human being is based. This diversity is familiar to all of us and covers intellectual and moral aptitudes as well as the physical aspect.

The Good and the Bad

A certain fraction of this variability is immaterial and even socially advantageous. It does not worry anyone that heads of fair hair or dark hair meet in the street, perhaps this even contributes to make life more pleasant. At the same time, a certain variety of tastes and aptitudes is clearly useful for the working of society.

But a great part of hereditary variation is in no way desired. This is the variation which corresponds to the mass of anatomic or functional infirmity of all types that human generations have carried with them through the centuries. In the picturesque words of the U.S. geneticist Muller, we all bear a part of this genetic burden to a greater or lesser extent.

Lucky and Less Lucky

For those who are less lucky it is expressed in the poor functioning of the internal secretion cells of the pancreas, bringing with it diabetes, or by lesions in the essential organs, such as the heart or the liver.

For the luckiest, it can be expressed simply, for example, by the defective conformation of the eyes, making spectacles necessary.

In between these two extremes we could fill in a long list of congenital infirmities and illnesses which are recognized and classified. However, there is no doubt that these are only a tiny fraction of all those which generally exist.

Mutations

This multitude of hereditary defects bears relation to the existence of abnormal allels which are transmitted from generation to generation according to rules discovered by Mendel almost a century ago. These alleles lessen naturally the chances of reproduction in those who carry them and thus would disappear fairly quickly, eliminated by natural selection or by chance, if their occurence was not continued by the phenomenon of mutation. Actually, it happens that the different alleles of the same type of gene can be born one out of the other and it is this phenomenon of transformation of an element of hereditary patrimony that has been given the name of mutation.

In normal circumstances, each individual mutation is a very rare phenomenon. For example, it can be estimated that two or three sexual cells out of a hundred thousand bear a gene of haemophelia which has appeared through mutation. But since in fact there is a very large number of possible mutations, an important fraction of the sexual cells contains within them one or more alleles, the fruit of recent mutation.

The vast majority of mutations give rise to unfavorable alleles. For the Drosophila (a tiny fly) it can be seen directly that for one mutation which simply modifies the pigmentation of the body, there are more than fifty whose effect is to lessen more or less catastrophically, the vitality and fecundity of the organism.

Like Filing a Motor

Thus the mutation could be compared to strokes of a file given to a delicate motor. Some of them have no effect and are even, in the long run, useful; but the vast majority are clearly harmful.

As long as the rhythm of the filing in each generation is not too quick, the populations can bear the genetic burden. But if the rhythm speeds up, the situation can become serious. An increase in the number of strokes of the file given haphazardly to the delicate construction that is the human hereditary patrimony is exactly what is risked as the aftermath of any kind of unwise use of atomic energy.

What Happens to Children?

It is known that the ionizing rays thrown out by radio-active bodies are capable of raising the frequency of mutations to a considerable degree. This phenomenon has been observed in all organisms used for study purposes, whether they are bacteria, moulds, plants, insects, or even mammals, such as the mouse.

There is no chance established in advance that Man can be the exception to such a general biological law and, indeed, though experiments are lacking, we do possess for the human species at least two series of supporting observations. One is in connection with the children who survived the Japanese bombs, the other is a series of statistics worked out in the United States on the health of the children of doctors specializing in radio-therapy. These people's profession obliges them to be subjected to irradiation of X-rays which, while generally light, is often repeated. Among their descendants a marked increase of the occurence of various genetic defects has been observed, such as cardiac and ocular malformations, abnormalities in the composition of the blood and so on.

Slow Death

Naturally, we have known for some time that this radiation has a destructive effect on the body tissues. These effects are particularly marked in respect to cells in the course of multiplying. Frequently, they only become evident after a certain delay and it is these that are responsible for the slow death of which the story of the Japanese fishermen, contaminated by radio-active dust, has recently made us so terribly aware.

But if the rhythm with which the organism is subjected to the influence of radiation is sufficiently slow, the destructive action only reaches a small number of cells at a time and no serious damage to the organim results.

Unsafe Safety Limit?

It is this that has led to the adoption — after an international convention — of a maximum limit to the amount of radiation to which people working in atomic plants or research centres can be subjected. This limit is one third of a roentgen unit per week and the security margin thus sufficiently large to ensure that the organism is not visibly upset.

But the genetic effect does not always obey the law. It accumulates in a manner not yet defined. The germinal cells are always present in the organisms and they store all the shocks of electrons which could produce mutations.

Thus, 0.3 of a roentgen unit per week make 15 in a year and 150 in ten years. Thus, for a man who has worked 10 years in these conditions it will be as though his testicles had actually received a dose of 150 roentgen units.

The increase of the frequency of the mutations which result from this cannot, unfortunately, be correctly estimated at the present stage of our knowledge. But it is certainly considerable.

What We Have to Know

The following result stems from the cumulative or stored up character of the genetic effect of radiation. The general effect on the population of an increase of the surrounding radioactivity will depend on two factors: on the one hand the average total dose of radiation received by an individual from the time of his conception to the moment he reaches a reproductive age, and on the other hand the frequency of mutations produced in the human species by one roentgen unit.

Unfortunately, little is known of either of these factors. The first will evidently depend on the development that the peaceful use of atomic energy will follow, on the precautions taken and, of course, above all on the explosion of bombs, even if these remain "experimental."

In any case, it seems that to put it at 50 roentgen units is a very modest estimate. In the near future, modern man will be exposed to a far greater extent to radiation, whether this is used for medical or industrial purposes—fifty roentgen units scattered over the 30 years which separate two human generations represent an average daily dose which is extremely minimal.

The Mouse Experiments

Since no experiment is possible on man, the effect of a roentgen on the human patrimony is not directly known. It thus seems most sensible to adopt the ratio which, has been determined for the mouse which, like us, is also a mammal. In the mouse, a roentgen increases the frequency of the chances of mutation in a quantity equal to two ten millionths. Multiplied by 50, this makes one hundred thousandth and it is exactly the scale of occurence of spontaneous mutations. From this calculation, whose basis is somewhat uncertain, it would seem that in the near future the normal occurence of mutations will be doubled, and perhaps even multiplied by a much more important factor in all civilized populations.

100 Years From Now

What will be the result? Obviously, there will be no visible result for our generation, and perhaps nothing visible for the two or three generations which will follow us. But from that moment, that is, a century hence, the degredation of the general state of health will certainly be felt and the moment will come when the maintenance and care of innumerable persons with congenital abnormalities will become a social burden very difficult to bear.

Will We Now Waste Man?

In conclusion, it is clear that the danger exists, but we do not know enough to enable us to estimate exactly its importance. This uncertainty itself should warn us to be prudent, for the real situation could be more serious still than present estimates.

We could, of course, consider that since the eventuality is far off, all this has little to do with us. The flood comes after us . . . this is a policy of the human species which is as old as the hills. It is this policy which has lead to a probably irremediable waste of certain natural resources on our planet, such as that of arable soil.

Is it now going to lead to the waste of the most precious capital, Man?

Of his own hereditory patrimony?

And another Little Dictionary

CONGENITAL: inherited from birth or before (a cleft palate is a congenital defect).

IONIZING: an ion is a molecule bearing a charge of electricity (in silver plating charged silver particles are attracted to the metal).

MUTATION: a change from the parent stock.

PATRIMONY: a heritage, as for example the accumulated fund of hereditary characteristics.

GENES: the invisible rudiment or transmitted germ or characteristic, supposedly residing in the chromosomes of the cell nucleus.

ALLELES: inherited characteristics in hybrids which appear in varying proportions in the offspring.

PANCREAS: a large gland behind the stomach which secretes insulin and some digestive juices.

LESIONS: any hurt, wound or local degeneration.

HAEMOPHILIA: a hereditary abnormal tendency to bleeding.

CARDIAC: having to do with the heart.

OCULAR: having to do with the eye.

ROENTGEN: a unit for measuring radio activity.

GERMINAL: pertaining to the sexual reproduction cells.

A SHORT STORY

NEW YORK 2660 BY NIGHT

•

RALPH 124 *C* 41+.

That is the name of a book.

This book is today considered a classic of science fiction. Its author, Hugo Gernsback enjoys in the United States something of a reputation accorded H. G. Wells in Britain or Robida and Jules Verne in France.

Written in 1911, *this book represents the world of the year* 2660 *and its marvellous inventions. Many of them already exist today, such as television. But others are yet unknown, such as the control of the weather for entire cities.*

Let us hope the world will not have to wait till the 27th century to see realized the astonishing expectations born in the particularly fertile imagination of Hugo Gernsback.

Ralph 124 *C* 41+, *the hero of this book, is one of the most learned men of his time. In fact, he is one of the ten men on the planet who has been given the right to add the sign* + *after his name.*

•

FROM the stores Ralph took his guests to the roof of an aerocab stand and they boarded a fast flyer.

"Take us about 10,000 feet up," Ralph instructed the driver.

"You haven't much time," the man answered, "at 12 o'clock all cabs must be out of the air."

"Why?"

"This is September 15, the night of the aerial carnival, and it's against the law to go up over New York until it's all over. You have 25 minutes left, however, if you wish to go up."

"I forgot all about this aerial carnival," said Ralph, "but 25 minutes will be time enough for us if you speed up your machine."

The aerial flyer rose quickly and silently. The objects below seemed to shrink in size and within three minutes the light became fainter.

In ten minutes an altitude of 12,000 feet had been reached, and as it became too cold, Ralph motioned to the driver not to rise further.

The spectacle below them was indescribably beautiful. As far as the eye could see was a broad expanse studded with lights, like a carpet embroidered with diamonds. Thousands of aerial craft, their powerful searchlights sweeping the skies, moved silently through the night, and once in a while an immense transatlantic aerial liner would swish by at a tremendous speed.

Signalizers

Most beautiful of all, as well as wonderful, were the Signalizers. Ralph pointed them out to his guests, saying: "In the first period of aerial navigation large electric lamps forming figures and letters were placed on housetops and in openfields so that the aerial craft above might better find their destinations. To the traffic flying 5,000 feet or higher such signals were wholly inadequate, as they could not be correctly read at such a distance. Hence the signalizers.

"These are powerful searchlights of the most advanced type, mounted on special buildings. They are trained skyward and shoot a powerful shaft of light directly upward. No aerial craft is allowed to cross these light shafts.

"Each shaft gives a different signal; thus the signalizer in Herald Square is first white; in ten seconds it changes to red and in another ten seconds it becomes yellow. Even an aerial liner at sea can recognize the signal and steer directly into the Herald Square pier, without being obliged to hover over the city in search of it.

"Some signalizers have only one colour, flashing from time to time. Others more important use two searchlights at one time, like the one at Sandy Hook. . . ."

From on high Ralph's guests marvelled at these signalizers, which pierced the darkness all around them. It was a wonderful sight and the weird beauty of the coloured shafts thrilled Alice immeasurably.

"Oh, it is like a fairyland," she exclaimed. "I could watch it forever."

But presently, the aerocab was descending rapidly and in a few minutes the strong light from below had obliterated the light shafts. As the craft drew closer the streets could be seen extending for miles like white ribbons and the brilliantly lighted squares stood out prominently. They landed at the stroke of 12. Ralph suggested a light lunch before they retired for what remained of the night. The others agreed and Ralph led the way to the Bacillatorium.

Germ-Killer

The Bacillatorium, invented in 2,509 by the Swede I A 299, was a small room, the walls and bottom of which were composed of lead. On each of the four sides were large vacuum bulbs on pedestals. These tubes, a foot in height and about six inches thick and two feet in diameter, were each equipped with a large concave Radioarcaturium cathode. The glass of the tube in front of the cathode had a double wall, the space between being filled with helium gas.

The rays emanating from the cathode, when the tube was energized with high oscillatory currents, were called Arcturium Rays and would instantly destroy any bacilli exposed to them for a few seconds. Arcturium rays, like X-rays, pass through solid objects, and when they are used alone they burn the tissue of the human body. It was found, however, that by filtering arcturium rays through helium no burns would result, but any germ or bacillus in or on the body would be killed at once.

The Bacillatorium was prescribed by law and each citizen ordered to use it at least every other day, thus making it impossible for the human body to develop contagious diseases. As late as the 20th century more than half the mortality was directly

attributable to diseases communicated by germs or bacilli.

The Bacillatorium eradicated such diseases. The arcturium rays, moreover, had highly beneficial effect on animal tissue and the enforced use of the Bacillatorium extended the span of human life to between 120 and 140 years, where in former centuries three score and ten was the average.

A Newspaper

After having wished his guests good night, Ralph went, via the elevator, directly to his library, and asked for the evening news. His man handed him a tray on which lay a piece of material as large as a postage stamp, as transparent and flexible as celluloid.

"What edition is this?" he asked.

"The midnight New York News, sir."

Ralph took the News and placed it in a metal holder which was part of the hinged door of a small box. He closed the door and turned on a switch on the side of the box. Immediately there appeared on the opposite white wall of the room, a twelve column page of the New York News and the scientist, leaning back in his chair, proceeded to read.

The New York News was simply a microscopic reduction of a page which, when enlarged by a powerful lens, became plainly visible.

Moreover, each paper had eight pages, in separate sheets, as was the fashion centuries ago, but eight pages literally on top of each other. The printing process was eletrolytic, no ink whatsoever being used in the manufacture of the newspaper. This process was invented in 1910 by an Englishman, and improved by the American 64 L 52 in 2031, who made it possible to print in one operation eight different subjects, one on top of another.

These eight impressions could be made visible only by subjecting the paper to different colours, the colour rays bringing out the different prints. The seven colours of the rainbow were used, while white light was employed to show illustrations in their natural colours. With this method it was possible to print a newspaper, fully ten times as large in volume as any newspaper of the 21st century, on a piece of film the size of a postage stamp.

The Menograph

Each paper published an edition every 30 minutes, and if one did not possess a projector, one could read the paper by inserting the News in a holder beneath a powerful lens which one carried in one's pocket, folded when not in use. To read the eight different pages, a revolving colour screen was placed directly underneath the lens, to bring out the different colours necessary to read the paper,

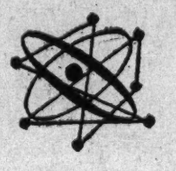
Ralph soon had read all that interested him and he began to write his lecture: "On the prolongation of animal life by rays."

He attached a double leather headband to his head. At each end of the band was attached a round metal disc that pressed closely on the temples. From each metal disc an insulated wire led to a small square box, the Menograph, or mind-writer.

He then pressed a button and a low humming was heard; simultaneously two small bulbs began to glow with a soft green fluorescent light. Grasping a button connected with a flexible cord to the Menograph, he leaned back in his chair.

After a few minutes reflection he pressed the button, and at once a wave line, traced in ink, appeared on a narrow white fabric bank, the latter resembling a telegraph recorder tape.

The band which moved rapidly, was unrolled from one reel and rolled up on another. Whenever the inventor



wished to write down his thoughts, he would press the button, which started the mechanism as well as the recording tracer.

The Menograph was one of Ralph 124 C 41+'s earliest inventions, and entirely superseded the pen and pencil. It was only necessary to press the button when an idea was to be recorded and to release the button when one reflected and did not wish the thought-words recorded.

Instead of writing a letter, one sent the recorded Menotape, and inasmuch as the Menolphabet was universal and could be read by anyone—children being taught it at an early age—it was considered that this invention of Ralph's was one of his greatest gifts to humanity: 20 times as much work could be done by the means of the Menograph as could be done by the old-fashioned writing, which required considerable physical effort. Typewriters soon disappeared after its invention. Nor was there any use for stenographers, as the thoughts were written down direct on the tape, which was sent out as a letter was sent centuries ago.

The Hypnobioscope

Before he fell asleep he attached to his head a double leather headband with metal temple plates, similar to the one used in connection with the Menograph.

He then called for his man, Peter, and told him to put on Homer's Odyssey for the night.

Peter went down to the library on the 15th floor, and took down from a shelf a narrow box, labeled Odyssey, Homer. From this he extracted a large but thin reel on which was wound a long narrow film. This film was entirely black but for a white transparent waveline running through the centre of it.

Returning to Ralph's bedroom, Peter placed the reel containing the film in a rack and introduced the end of the film into the Hypnobioscope. This wonderful instrument, invented by Ralph, transmitted the impulses of the waveline direct to the brain of the sleeping inventor, who thus was made to dream the Odyssey.

It had been known for centuries that the brain could be affected during sleep by certain processes. Thus one could be forced to dream that a heavy object was lying on one's chest, if such an object was placed on the sleeper's chest. Or one could be forced to dream that one's hand was being burned, or frozen, simply by heating or cooling the sleeper's hand.

It remained to Ralph, however, to perfect the Hypnobioscope, which transmitted words direct to the sleeping brain, in such a manner that everything could be remembered in detail the next morning.

This was made possible by having the impulses act directly and steadily on the brain. In other words, it was the Menograph reversed, with certain additions.

Thus, while in a passive state, the mind absorbed the impressions quite readily and mechanically and a story read by means of the Hypnobioscope left a much stronger impression than if the same story had been read while conscious.

For thousands of years humanity had wasted half of its life during sleep—the negative life. Since Ralph's invention, all this was changed. Not one night was lost by anyone wherever conditions permitted using the Hypnobioscope. All books were read while one slept. Most of the studying was done while one slept. Some people mastered ten languages, during their sleep-life. Children who could not be taught successfully in school during their hours of consciousness, became good scholars if the lessons were repeated during their sleep-life.

The morning newspapers were transmitted to the sleeping subscribers by wire at about 5 a.m. The great newspaper offices had hundreds of Hypnobioscopes in operation, the subscriber's wire leading to them. The newspaper office, notified by each subscriber what kind of news is desirable, furnished only such news. Consequently, when the subscriber woke up for breakfast he already knew the latest news, and could discuss it with his family, the members of which were also connected with the newspaper Hypnobioscope.

The Strategy of Calamity

•

By CLAUDE MORGAN

•

PARIS

EACH day, in our suburban train, an acquaintance of mine — a very good chap — puts up the following argument: "The discovery of Thermonuclear weapons makes war impossible from now on. The results are so horrible that no one would dare to use them."

And when I express my astonishment that he himself should hold such an opinion, he replies that it is held by such and such a well-known person. Then he adds: "That was why gas was not used during the second world war."

He adds this question: "Do you really think that the head of a government would be as stupid as to deliberately bring about the end of the world?"

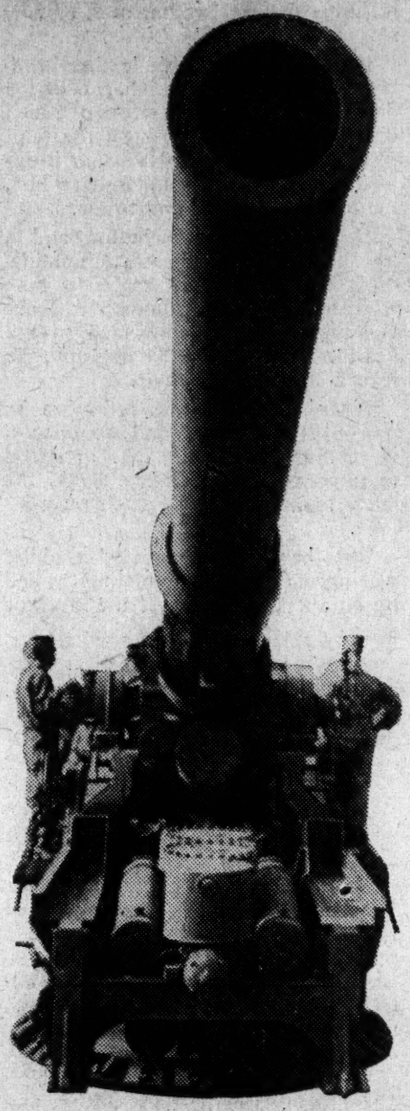
REAL OPTIMISM

This is a catch question that has been widely spread these last few months. And, like many such phrases, it is a dangerous over-simplification. If any government whatsoever embarked on nuclear war, it is clear that it would count on beating its adversary by the shock of surprise or by the superiority of its own atomic weapons, without itself being wiped out. But things can work out quite differently. The universal anger that such a crime would evoke, including in the aggressor's own country, could bring it to account.

Unless, says my friend, jumping from optimism to the deepest pessimism unless we all disappear in a cosmic catastrophe.

Now that we are nearing our 2,000th year, it would be curious if mankind was once again to be caught up in the terrors of the year 1,000 — a date our ancestors believed marked the end of the world.

The world can only come to ruin if we accept this as inevitable. It is not optimism to say that the discovery of atomic weapons makes war impossible. It is blindness.



THE ATOMIC CANNON IS READY

But it is being optimistic to say that the action of all the inhabitants of the world can prevent the unleashing of atomic war and that if, unhappily, a criminal should embark on such a road, outraged humanity will punish him.

Naturally, we should not minimize the effects of atomic war. Such a war would wipe out millions of human beings as well as peerless treasures of culture. It would throw humanity far into backwardness. Neither can there be any doubt of the painful fact that today certain governments foresee and actively prepare such a war.

PREVENTIVE WAR

When, even before the end of the last world conflict, the United States had the first A-bombs at their disposal, this fact determined their foreign policy. They increased their military bases from which, when the moment came, heavy bombers could take off. And when, in 1949, the Soviet Union possessed the A-bomb, U.S. strategy was not immediately altered, for in official U.S. circles the opinion prevailed that their country had a comfortable start in the nuclear field.

Nevertheless, certain circles began to dream of a preventive war, that is, a war aimed at wiping out the alleged adversary before he could develop his full strength.

While the first policy could be dubbed a policy of intimidation and included within the framework of the cold war, the second policy was one of the hot war based on unleashing an atomic conflict. Admiral Radford, General MacArthur and others in the United States were ardent supporters of this policy. The vigilance of the peoples, and particularly the prolonged and wide-spread effects of the Stolkholm signature campaign, blocked this plan.

THE H-BOMB

Then in 1952, the United States detonated a hydrogen device (a thousand times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb). But in 1953, the Soviet Union produced an H-bomb which was more easily handled and which marked some progress over the U.S. H-bomb. It was clear that the Soviet Union was in no way behind, as certain people believed.

We could have hoped that, in such conditions, agreement could be reached to outlaw atomic weapons and to destroy the existing stocks built up by both sides, as the Soviet Union proposed once more at that time.

Nothing of the sort. On the contrary, the atomic arms race was whipped up. After the injuries to the fishermen drew attention to the 1954 Bikini explosion, a breath of panic swept through the United States, fanned by sensational revelations in the press and on the radio. They were speaking of decentralizing industry in order to reduce the vulnerability of the big towns, of evacuating the population, of building underground factories, and so on and so forth.

In the collective hysteria there was even a note of burlesque. Civil defense headquarters published a recommendation to the population of big cities which ran as follows: "In case of attack, take refuge in your car with all the windows shut. This is your best shelter."

This campaign resulted in intensifying and speeding up the United States' efforts to ensure atomic supremacy. Heated controversies arose between military leaders over the most effective way of carrying out such a war. Large sums were allocated to strengthen the strategic air force and to make it capable of straight away threatening both the vital centres and the rear of the adversary. The idea of preventive war became an obsession for certain leaders, and its supporters no longer counted on the start

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

they had had, but on the advantages which the attacker would possess.

The orientation was switched to research on new guided weapons, atomic robots which render anti-aircraft organization useless.

'TACTICAL' WEAPONS

However, it became clearer that the atomic weapon capable of wiping out whole populations was not sufficient to win a war, and that land armies could not be dispensed with. The Atlantic Council regarded German rearmament as being more essential than ever.

Once they had perfected the so-called "tactical" atomic weapons (which are, in reality, nothing less than weapons of mass destruction — capable of wiping out a town for the purpose of smashing a bridge or cutting a railwayline), the NATO Council decided, during its meeting last December, to adopt them in Europe.

The communique published after the meeting does not contain the words "atomic weapons". It speaks only of new material which is now being assigned to forces in Europe. Yet statements made by the heads of the participating states, like Mr. Dulles, Sir Anthony Eden and M. Spaak, leave no doubt that in reality this new material consists of atomic weapons.

"The decision taken," declared Mr. Spaak, "are in complete accord with the wishes of the military chiefs by authorizing them to prepare for atomic war."

The decision of NATO marks a new stage in atomic strategy. Until this moment, in the conception of the military chiefs, nuclear war was essentially an air war, the A-bombs or H-bombs being carried by bombers or teleguided missiles. Land forces would only play the role of occupation forces.

But now that they have embarked on the manufacture of special atomic guns which can project A-bombs 19 to 25 miles, land forces will also have to play their part in atomic strategy.

At the same time, Britain and West European countries are putting their armies through new training. Now they do nothing but talk of "adapting the armed forces to the atomic age" so that right from the beginning of a war they would possess extremely mobile units trained to handle nuclear weapons.

The whole structure of these armies will be changed.

GERMANY AND THE BOMB

Consequently, those who imagined that at a last moment, if war broke out, it would not be atomic war, are making a big mistake. It would become impossible for the nations which had prepared it to launch any other kind of war. The new structure of their armies would chain them to atomic warfare.

Thus the decision of the NATO Council, which is bound up with the ratification of the Paris agreements, can be seen in all its seriousness. These agreements authorize Germany from the beginning — and Germany will not stop half-way along such a promising road — to have military forces of 50,000 men. This is more than France has at the moment, even counting the forces stationed in North Africa which are very large. In this way, through the Paris agreements, German military forces will be the dominating forces in Europe, equipped — according to the decision of the NATO Council — with atomic weapons.

On the other hand, it is no secret that Germany has allocated vast credits to nuclear research. Her industrial capacity will enable her to produce the new weapons in a very short time and at a rapid speed, becoming the dominating atomic power in Western Europe.

ASIA AND ALL COUNTRIES

These very concrete preparations for a nuclear war are an extremely grave danger hanging over the continent of Europe and over the whole world. Events follow one after the other with distressing rapidity. In a recent speech Sir Winston Churchill openly raised the question of an atomic world war. Britain's decision and the intentions expressed by certain French circles to play their part in producing A-bombs and H-bombs can only increase international tension and the vulnerability of these two countries.*

If we look at the development of the international situation we can see that it is bound up with the possibility of atomic war. The events in Formosa, the signing of new military pacts in the Middle East and the Far East, the establishment of the chain of bases sown more thickly than ever from the Arctic to Formosa, from Spain and Morocco to Pakistan and Thailand, which daily heighten people's anxiety, only take on their full meaning when considered from the standpoint of nuclear strategy.

In Asia, as in Europe, atomic war is being prepared. It threatens all continents and all countries . . . no matter whether they are industrially developed or under-developed. Even the Sahara desert cannot escape, for there, too, it is planned to build nuclear plants.

The universal will for peace which inspires men and women today won through in the wars of Korea and Indochina. But the tiniest spark which may fly up tomorrow from some spot on the globe would this time bear with it the risk of setting alight an atomic war.

Thus the most effective way of protecting this incomparable treasure that is human life, lies today in doing everything possible to make this war impossible. And what other method is there but to come to a mutual agreement to ban nuclear weapons?

Certain people say: "It is not the bomb that must be banned, but war." This is putting the cart before the horse. Naturally, the abolition of war is our aim. But how can we abolish war as long as atomic strategy feeds international tension, making it still sharper and filling us with anxiety?

The banning of atomic weapons, the destruction of existing stocks, international control of the ban and of the destruction of stocks, would, on the contrary, immediately result in lessening international tension.

All this would be the first step, an essential step on the road to general disarmament and, consequently, to peace. This is the real import of the campaign which is being launched to outlaw nuclear weapons and those who seek to use them.

After this, mankind can enter the true atomic age which is that of heightened creation and life.

*Since these lines were written the French government has refused to make atomic weapons, perhaps a first fruit of the present world campaign—ED.

SICKNESS IN HIROSHIMA

(Continued from Page 5)

of cancer and sarcoma are reported. In addition to these symptoms, there are those patients whom we can only call "patients suffering from lack of vitality." And it is still impossible for us to discover where the trouble really lies.

It is impossible to deal at greater length with the problem of genetic disturbances in such a short report.

It is supposed that when the atomic bombs exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the external radiation of the radioactivity was only of short duration and the internal radiation was not so heavy. However, in the case of the Bikini H-bomb explosion, things were quite different. The combined external and internal radiation affected the victims very seriously.

What if Many Bombs Are Dropped?

Even in the case of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, where the residual radioactivity was weak, a number of cases of leukemia have been reported among people who only visited the cities after the explosions. I regret to say that our present medical knowledge and achievements can do very little to cope with such diseases and disturbances.

I have so far reported on "the effect of the radioactivity generated by a single atomic bomb" dropped over Hiroshima, but the problem we have to face is not now the effect of a single atomic bomb, but rather the effect of atomic warfare on humanity as a whole. I earnestly hope that such a short report as this will be of some help to people investigating this problem which is becoming ever more serious.

PARLIAMENT HILL

SILENCE ON SWITCHOVER

Nobody Is Talking About the Big Decision

Our strategists contemplate using atomic weapons, which Red China may also possess. And in the present "climate of world opinion", the first belligerent to use them will let loose a hostile uproar throughout the world.

—Dorothy Thompson in the Globe and Mail, 28-3-55.

By BRUCE MICKLEBURGH

OTTAWA

Mr. Pearson is not quite sure about this bomb business, and that, in a sense, is good.

Last year he compared the spectacle of two sides confronting each other, each armed with H-bombs, to "two scorpions in a bottle", each able to sting the other to death.

At the moment he seems to be under the influence of Churchill's "defense through deterrents" theory, but he also seems to have some second thoughts about it.

A most important debate on external affairs has started in the House of Commons as we go to press. Today that once mysterious subject of external affairs means whether a number of Canadian cities and most of our population can continue to exist or not—and whether, before today's school children grow up, we shall enjoy the golden benefits of atomic energy for peace.

What is the basis of peace, according to Minister Pearson? He gave his answer: "a balance of terror," and gave Churchill credit for the thought.

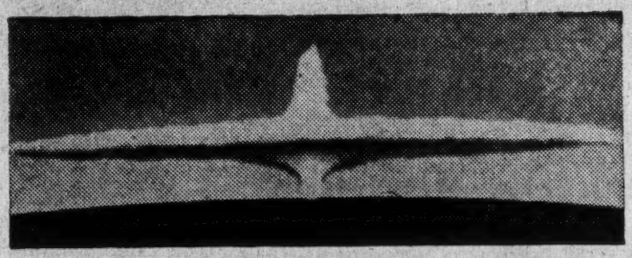
He explained, "that in one sense it is true that the greatest deterrent against a general war, although not against a limited one, is the certainty of nuclear retaliation."

He thought that might give time to solve world problems.

But he almost looked back over his shoulder when he quoted Indian Prime Minister Nehru's description of what dependence on the big bombs (in the absence of solutions) would mean: "Mankind would be doomed to hover indefinitely on the brink of catastrophe."

There is an unsolved mystery in what Mr. Pearson did say, and, even more, in what he did not say.

Is it not strange that in his report which started the debate Mr. Pearson still said nothing about the most important decision the Canadian government has ever made? That this decision has not yet (up till the time of the Easter recess) been reported to parliament or people?

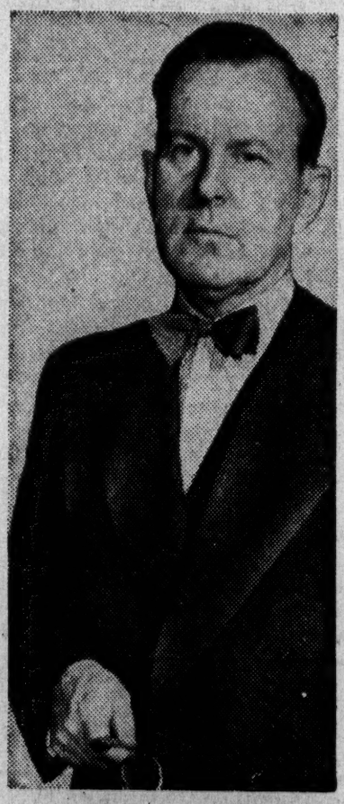


• Size of the cloud of radioactive particles thrown up by the H-bomb may be judged in this picture. It was snapped from such distance and height that the curve you see on the horizon is the curve of the earth's surface.

I refer to the decision of the NATO Council in Paris last December to actively prepare for atomic war. There the Canadian government joined the other NATO powers in approving a report from the military which unalterably transforms the nature of warfare.

The NATO forces are to be equipped with so-called "tactical" atomic weapons. They are to be trained and readied to use them. Presumably this is happening in the forces of other countries too.

We wonder if it is possible that Mr. Pearson has not reported this major decision because he has not grasped its significance. Has he not realized that, among the many NATO meetings he has attended, this one is different? We find it hard to believe.



HON. L. B. PEARSON
A new look?

Yet, in the words quoted above, Mr. Pearson says the H-bomb may be "the greatest deterrent against a general war, although not against a limited war."

The point is that the NATO decision, when carried through, makes it all but *impossible* any longer to fight a limited war. A war like that in Korea or Indochina would be out of the question.

For once armies, navies and air forces are equipped, trained and organized to fight nuclear war, *they cannot fight any other kind of war, even if they want to.*

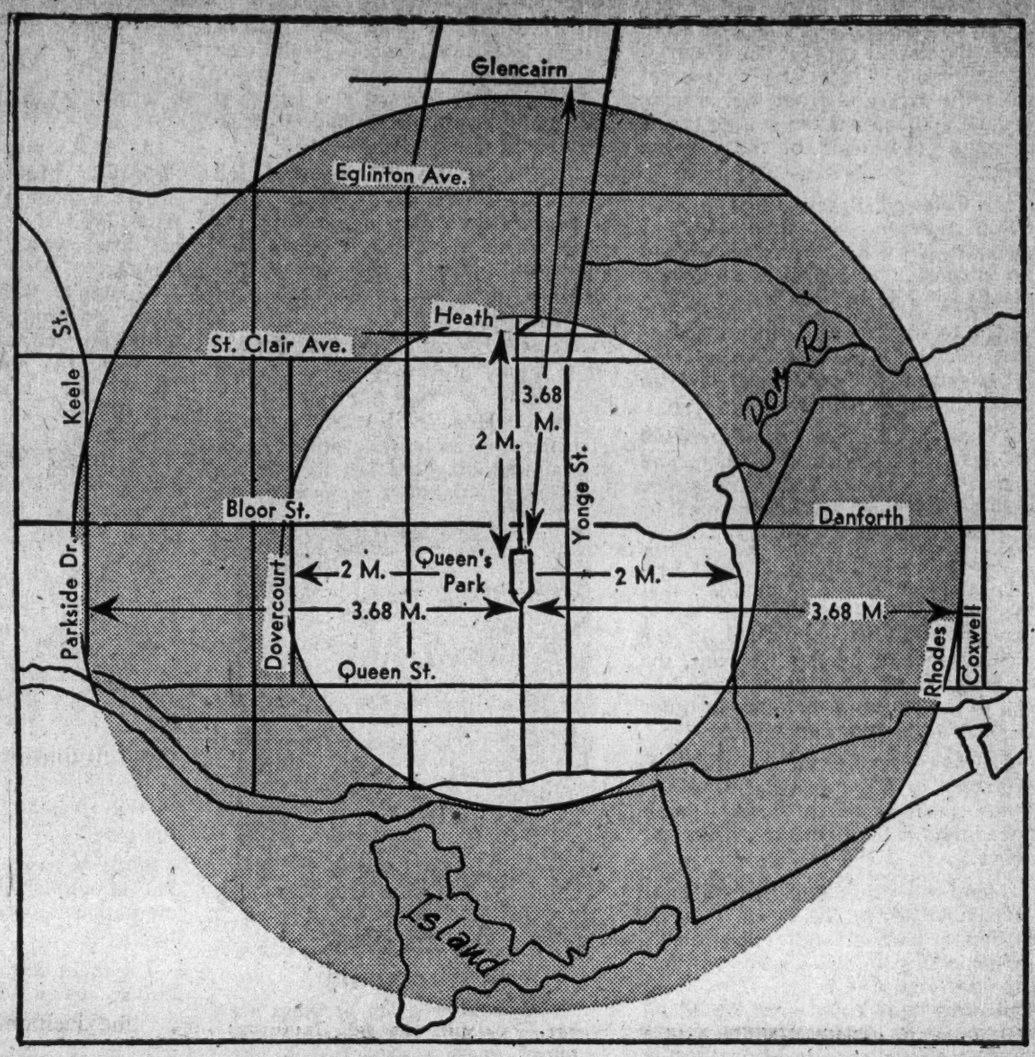
This is something for Mr. Pearson (and Defense Minister Campney) to explain after Easter. Surely the Opposition has noticed this vital matter.

If Canada is to remain rivetted into the system of rival atomic blocs then we have less security than we have ever known. The first shot from an atomic cannon anywhere in the world (Quemoy, Matsu, Germany or wherever) pulls the trigger for the powers to try to "git there fustest with the mostest" death and torture. We are in the middle.

Last spring when the country was anxious over the Bikini H-bomb test Mr. Pearson said perhaps we should approach disarmament with a greater sense of urgency. Since then Canada's Hon. Paul Martin was able to move a resolution, which was unanimously adopted at the UN Assembly, to bring Canada, the Soviet Union, the U.S., the U.K. and France back into session on how to achieve under control the banning of atomic weapons and the reduction of conventional armaments.

The decision to prepare for atomic warfare is in contradiction to this. It

● Here is what a plain old-fashioned A-bomb would do if dropped over Queen's Park in Toronto: all buildings in 2-mile radius obliterated (12 square miles) and serious damage to all those in 3.68-mile radius. External Affairs Minister Pearson says if an H-bomb bust near the earth at Ottawa the city would be wiped out and the fall-out would endanger all those exposed in Montreal. If the winds turned out to be blowing with exceptional speed at 80,000 feet, the area of lethal contamination would be larger.



threatens to singe the earth's surface before the discussions are over, with quick death and death slow and lingering. The unborn are threatened.

Thus it is to be welcomed that Mr. Pearson now says, "the introduction of the H-bomb into these discussions has really brought in a new element, and it may be that all of us will have to take a new look at this problem."

Several members have spoken in the debate to insist on a new look at a lot of problems.

Conservative John Diefenbaker produced the interesting statistic that every minute $165,000 is being spent on armaments in the world and wondered whether much of what had been spent since 1945 had been realistic. However he felt the need for more. On the other hand he argued strongly for an exchange of parliamentary delegations with the Soviet Union, and urged increased economic aid to under-developed countries. He also asserted that "all is not as well as the propaganda agencies would have us believe when it comes to our defense against the potential danger of the H-bomb and atomic warfare."

CCF leader M. J. Coldwell warned that, "We are told by atomic scientists, as outstanding as those who deny the truth of the charges . . . that these (H and A-bombs) explosions may endanger the future welfare of mankind, indeed, the future continuance on earth of mankind. It seems to me we must pay some attention as a country to these experiments and use our influence wherever we can to prevent this danger becoming more and more imminent."

He accused Mr. Pearson of assuring our support should the U.S. be involved in a major war with China and insisted that, "the Canadian people want our government to state forthrightly and without equivocation that we will do everything we possibly can to ensure that Canada's influence and Canada's policy, especially in its relations with the United States, will be directed towards the avoidance of conflict, political and economic."

He said, "I have no use for a communist government, but I do not want to see this country dragged into a war by the policies that are being pursued by the secretary of state of the United States . . .

"To use precision projectiles of atomic power against the mainland is one which, if put into effect, would forever destroy any effort of support of the democratic cause in which we should be interested, by the masses of the whole continent of Asia."

He wanted Mr. Pearson "to state categorically that we shall have no part in U.S. adventures on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek," whose cohorts he dubbed "bloodthirsty warlords."

Though he felt that Taiwan (Formosa), which is Chinese territory,

(Continued Next Page)

HON. PAUL MARTIN
Carried the ball last fall but not enough facts now for Mr. Knowles.

could be "neutralized," he also said, "Canada should support the removal of (nationalist) Chinese representatives from the UN and from the security council and support the seating of the effective government of the Chinese people."

Mr. Coldwell suggested that "a four-power conference should be called immediatey if for no other purpose than to endeavour to negotiate an agreement regarding nuclear weapons."

The CCF, of course, maintained its long-standing pressure for an increase in technical and economic aid to under-developed countries.

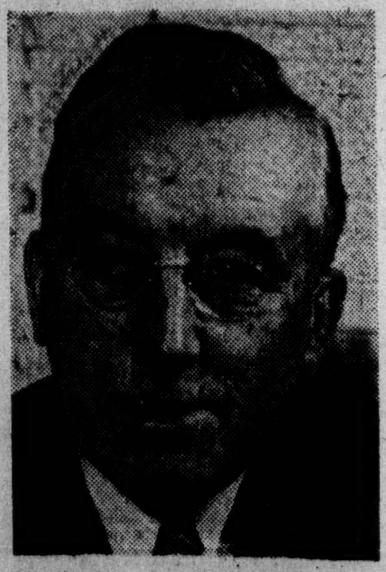
"Canada," he said, "could perform a very useful service in publicly and explicitly taking the lead in calling for such a conference (on disarmament as part of a general settlement) . . .

"In spite of what the minister said this afternoon I still think . . . that the solution of the present world problems will not be found in the development of nuclear weapons, the building of strategic bases from one end to the world to the other in order to contain communism."

He was disappointed that the U.S. Secretary of State had acted in Ottawa "rather as a war minister" than one interested in matters like the above.

There was considerable pressure for Canada to accept the Soviet offer to exchange parliamentary delegations. In the course of this discussion, Apposition leader George Drew said something that could well be taken as a motto by the forthcoming World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki: "At this time what we need more than anything else is some meeting between the people who themselves in the end will decide whether there is to be peace or war."

Conservative and Social Credit spokesmen pressed Mr. Pearson for more specific commitments to Mr. Dulles' policy but A. M. Nicholson of the CCF said, "I think the Canadian people just cannot be sold on the idea that Quemoy, at the mouth of one of China's main harbours, and less than five miles from the mainland, is necessary to the defense of the U.S."



M. J. COLDWELL
Canada must speak plainly

CCF whip Stanley Knowles felt that both Britain and Canada "have a tremendous stake in avoiding the outbreak of war of any kind because our two countries know that if that happens there will be devastation of our lands."

He asked Mr. Pearson "to take another look" at U.S. policy in which we are "just another pawn."

He felt Hon. Paul Martin's earlier statement on radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere "did not answer the fundamental question as to what the level of radioactivity now is as a result of these test explosions, and how far away that level is from the level that could do damage to the human race."

PANDIT NEHRU
He and other Asian premiers are meeting at Bandung to seek to establish a vast area of peace and independence for two thirds of mankind.

Harold Winch effectively compared the complacent statements of 1937 with the complacent statements of today and asked, "Because of our status and our influence among the nations, although a nation of only 15 million people, can we not give consideration now to providing a lead in matters of policy and program in this trying age and these troubled times resulting from the development of thermonuclear weapons?"

Despite the serious thoughts which have begun to be expressed, there is an air of unreality about the debate. One might judge from listening to it that this is another question which will take many, many years to solve.

This is not to be critical of patience.

It is to insist that there is no matter of public business more urgent than getting rid of the big bombs and the conditions in which they could start to go off.

When two scorpions are in a bottle the inclination is to get in the first sting.

Steadily as some statesmen insist that H-bombs are a "deterrent", the temptation to strike first is mounting.

The main deterrent now is that 500 million people have pledged their signed support to the World Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War, insisting on the destruction of the bombs to make the earth safe for people to live and parliaments to debate.

A great deterrent is the World Assembly for Peace, to open May 22 in Helsinki. Peaceful solutions may be found in that unofficial but potent consultation.

The statements of the Pope, the World Council of Churches and Walter Reuther are deterrents.

The prospect of an Austrian peace treaty may break a diplomatic log jam, and the Bandung conference may well create a vast area of disentanglement in Asia.

And all this, each signature gathered and delegate sent to Helsinki, will help our parliament to find the way.

Not Any Government

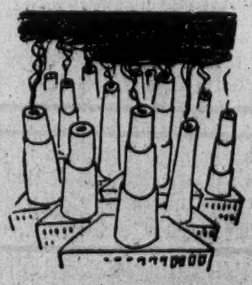
A U.S. war with China over "Formosa" would be "not our war," British Labour Party leader Clement Attlee said during his brief visit to Canada.

"I don't think any government would take part in a war of that kind," he said, underlining the word "any."

He urged that China be allowed to assume her seat in the Security Council of the United Nations.

If a Labour government is elected, he said, he "definitely" will seek "a parley at the summit."

On China, he said, "there has been an armistice since the Korea war, and added, "You have to recognize realities."



$165,000 a minute for what?

Two Poems for Mother's Day

TO MY DAUGHTER

Daughter sleeping, daughter
Distant in sleep, daughter
Dearer then the widening smile of northern spring,
I gave you birth.

May my work for peace
Be a ladder you may climb laughing
With many others
To grasp that fruit in its fragrance
In the orchards of peace.

THOUGHTS OF A MOTHER

My heart could break
As I watch my sleeping sons,
For if war comes there are no more lucky ones.

And these two laughing
Thoughtful cherished boys
Will be tossed on history's junk pile
Like smashed toys.

II.

I watched the beautiful set of
My daughter's head as she went by.
Her grey eyes sparkled
Over the sweetness of her mouth.
Life was in every gesture
Proud, untutored and head strong.
But to-day the very air
Is radioactive deadly.

My child, my child,
We must make the world a nest of peace
For you to grow in,
A wide warm nest
Where no child can be smirched or maimed
Or blotted out by war.

Louise Harvey (April 6, 1955)

WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING

NOT ANGELS AND DEVILS BUT MEN WHO ARE FELLOWS

At a time when mankind, according to Sir Winston Churchill, is "roaming and peering around on the rim of hell," some wise and cultured words have been spoken by Professor Donald Creighton of the Department of History, University of Toronto. In the course of an address at a conference of the Humanities Research Council in Ottawa, Professor Creighton urged a renewal of faith in the study of the humanities (languages, literature, history, philosophy).

Among other things he reminded us that, "The humanities constantly serve to remind us that our culture is not a creed which we are divinely justified in imposing by force on others, nor yet a set of techniques by which we can more quickly satisfy our animal urge for destruction."

PROF. CREIGHTON

He warned that men "cannot afford to behave like primitive deities, flinging hydrogen bombs, like thunderbolts, around in all directions, and they cannot permit themselves to degenerate into savages for whom the only significant part of their culture is its fiendish technical ingenuity."

He deplored the idea of a "world divided into two armed camps, two strategic empires, one of which, called the 'West' is inhabited, we are told, by uniformly virtuous democrats, and the other, called the 'East', by uniformly deplorable communists. These militaristic fictions are the product of what might be called the diplomacy of advertisement and the politics of promotion. The physical and biological sciences, as well as the social sciences, all help, in their different ways, to explode these inhuman abstractions. But the humanities stand opposed to them in even more implacable contradiction.

The humanities are concerned not with angels and devils but with men, with what they have suffered and achieved, in a world of their fellows."

ALL CATTLE ALREADY INJURED, CANADIAN CLIMATE AFFECTED?

Dr. James G. Foulks, professor of pharmacology at the University of British Columbia is reported in the Toronto Star as calling for a moratorium on the "big bomb" tests because of possible mounting radiation effects of cancer, human mutations, aging and premature death. He warns of long-range, "build-up" effects.

Dr. Foulks says there is a report "that the thyroidal radio-iodine content of cattle all over the world appears to have been significantly increased by the contamination to date.

"Conceivably, grazing animals may concentrate the radioactivity falling out over a considerable area, and over a substantial period of time. The possible role of the edible fish in the Pacific area has also been widely publicized."

Canadian Chemical Processing magazine, which published Dr. Foulks' article, also published a cabled appeal from British Nobel laureate Prof. Frederick Soddy, stating: "As co-discoverer with Rutherford of atomic energy, I beg Canadian scientists to demand a moratorium, forbidding its further mass liberation. Even so-called peaceful applications pollute the atmosphere and may change climates, endangering the economy of neighbouring nations."

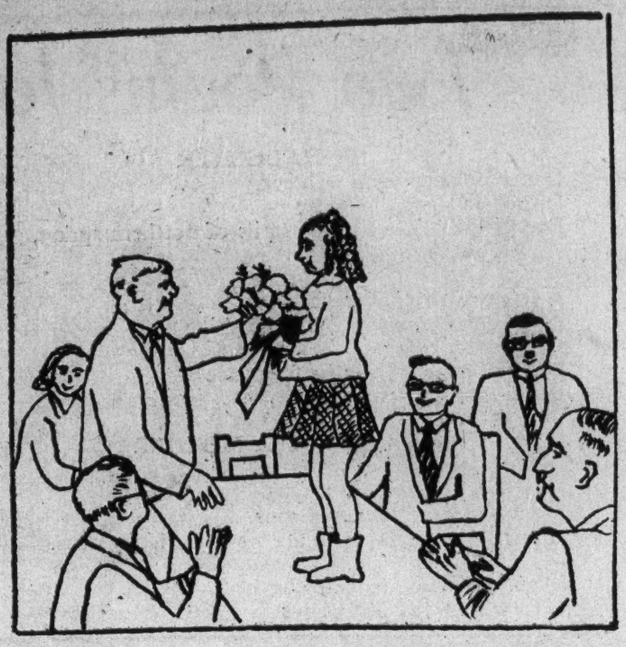
RHEE AND CHIANG WANT A BIG WAR

"Syngman Rhee would welcome any opportunity to start a conflict, since he realizes this is his one chance of unifying Korea before he dies. Likewise Chiang Kai-shek sees that solely through war can he hope to return to the mainland. And such a war would have to be massive. For only if the Communist regime is smashed can he hope to regain control . . .

"Chiang's adept propaganda is now trying to stir our emotions over Matsu and Quemoy which he would like to use as a fuse to major war. The alarmist pebbles he has been casting into the Pacific from Formosa have reverberated in astonishingly high waves at Washington."

—C. L. SULZBERGER in The New York Times (11-4-55).

Little Judy Johnston of Saskatoon is lifted on table to present flowers to Tom Johnston, Speaker of Saskatchewan Legislature, during the Saskatchewan Peace Lobby.



Legislature of Saskatchewan Asks for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

REGINA

Fourteen Saskatchewan MLA's including several cabinet ministers signed the World Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War during the peace lobby recently conducted by the Saskatchewan Peace Council. Two hundred delegates from 17 centres all over the province came to the Legislative Building in Regina to talk to their MLA's.

Highpoint was a meeting in the legislative committee room attended by Premier Douglas, several cabinet ministers and many MLA's. The meeting heard a brief read by Dorothy Morrison, secretary of the Saskatchewan Peace Council.

Premier's Four Points

Premier T. C. Douglas spoke to the meeting of the importance of mobilizing public opinion in all countries of the world to ask governments to agree to the following four points:

(1) international agreement not to use atomic weapons.

(2) nations should agree to discontinue manufacture of atomic weapons.

(3) nations should agree to international control and inspection and under that control all existing stocks of atomic bombs should be destroyed.

(4) A disarmament conference to set up a program for the reduction of other weapons.

The Premier declared that any campaign designed to get people to think about this problem was all to the good.

The many speakers all endorsed the idea of a negotiated settlement of world problems. Two cabinet ministers spoke favourably of the idea of sending a Saskatchewan delegation to the forthcoming peace assembly in Helsinki.

The meeting was chaired by R. H. Wooff, MLA for Turtleford and the peace lobby was led by Mabel B. Hanway, chairman of the Saskatchewan Peace Council.

Youth Asks Less for War

Winnie Horkoff of Kamsack spoke for the youth of Saskatchewan. She pointed out how educational and cultural programmes could be improved if less money were spent for war.

Making a presentation to the Speaker of the Saskatchewan Legislature, Joan Konkin of Kamsack said it was being made on behalf of the children and young people of the province in appreciation of the action for peace already taken by the Saskatchewan Legislature.

In reply Mr. Johnson said, "We will do all we can to further the interests of peace." He pointed out that war can no longer be localized. He commended all those who work for peace.

Mr. A. H. McDonald, House Leader of the Saskatchewan Liberals, told the meeting he felt that heads of governments should negotiate for peace.

A call for the abolition of all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and for the peaceful use of atomic energy, was unanimously adopted by the Saskatchewan Legislature shortly afterwards. (See text on this page.)

Supporting the resolution, the Hon. I. C. Nollett, Minister of Agriculture, condemned what he described as "the hysteria of hate" and emphasized that the possession of nuclear weapons did not provide security.

The mover of the resolution, Arnold Feusi (CCF-Pelley), contrasted the 41.9 percent of Canada's budget spent on defense with the 1.8 percent allocated for health and welfare. War, he said, was never a permanent solution to any problem.

The ordinary people who had seen the "devastation and butchery" of past wars wanted no part of modern weapons, Harry Gibbs (CCF-Swift Current) declared. Condemning passivity, he said, "we don't know what these infernal weapons are capable of doing."

Full Text of the Resolution

THAT THIS ASSEMBLY URGES the government of Canada to intensify its efforts to achieve world disarmament by mutual consent, together with abolition of the use, possession and manufacture not only of all nuclear weapons but also of all other weapons of mass destruction to the end that the marvellous new forces made available to man may be used for welfare not warfare and the peace may be based on the solid foundation of mutual understanding and cooperation.

Doukhobours Say Ban A and H-Bomb

"A good slogan for the celebration of Saskatchewan's Golden Jubilee would be 'Peace and Brotherhood'," stated a brief from the Doukhobour Society of Veregin presented during the peace lobby. The brief, read by George Bloodoff, pointed out that many nationalities live together peacefully in Canada, and continued, "It is our belief that all problems confronting all nations can be successfully solved through the medium of peaceful conferences . . .

"We urge upon you as our representatives to voice an energetic protest against all preparations for a horrible atom-hydrogen war that can destroy all living things . . . that God created for the happiness of all."

ARTS

RARE EXPERIENCE

• **EL BRUTO, by Leopold Mendez (from the exhibit in Canada).**

During March, in the Print Room of Hart House and in the large, open-shelf room of the Central Circulating Library of Toronto, the public had an opportunity to see a collection of engravings, lithographs and posters that speak in a most eloquent manner of the work accomplished by the members of the Workshop for Popular Graphic Art, Mexico (Taller de Grafica Popular—TGP).

This organization was founded in 1937 by a group of artists, including Pablo O'Higgins, Leopold Mendez and Luis Arenal. In the February issue of Peace Review an article by Luis Arenal tells of the ideals that brought this group together to work collectively in spreading enlightenment, hope and beauty — through their art — among the great masses of Mexican people.

The prints under review were sent to the Canadian Peace Congress by the Taller de Grafica Popular as an expression of unity of purpose with the peace movement and to further the understanding of Mexican life and work in Canada.

The fresh, vigorous and profoundly educational aspect of the prints exhibited in Hart House and the Circulating Library cannot be overlooked by even the most casual observer.

Black and white engravings predominate (there were only a few with colour) although linoleum is used as a base, the sharp, clear lines of the engravings would lead one to believe that either wood or metal had been used. The TGP member's mastery of technique in the use of linoleum is unique. The subjects are executed with conviction and communicate in a most direct way the various truths of living.

The dignity of labour finds expression in Seed Time by Leopoldo Mendez; the proud and confident beauty of their women, in Tzeltal Women by Lorenzo Jiminez; the quiet, pleading voice of their children's innocence and fragile beauty in No School for Me by Marianne Yampolsky; and the Right to Eat by Elizabeth Catlett. The engravings are characterized by short, staccato lines that impart a living and dynamic rhythm to the compositions.

There are several splendid lithographs, with all the freedom of drawing that is possible in this medium, including three by the well known Pablo O'Higgins and one by Fanny Rabel called In the Street which shows a young girl carrying a child in her arms. Through the soft pencil quality of the lithograph the artist has created faces of warm tenderness and exquisite sensitivity, which speak their own message through wide-open, half-questioning and half-bewildered eyes.

The brutal injustice that has characterized the treatment of miners in Mexico is portrayed with the power of truth in the engraving by Francisco Mora — Homage to the Miners. A woman with desperately sobbing face dominates the centre of the composition with clenched hands raised in enraged protest, while the body of a miner lies prostrate before her.

Every print deserves to be seen, for each one covers some vital aspect of life, and although each print deserves special attention in this review it is impossible to give it in such short space. However, one cannot omit at least a mention of the Two Spains and Mother against war by Andrea Gomez. The themes of Gomez are self-evident in their dramatic, human content — the bejewelled bishop and bemedalled generalissimo contrasting with the grim wan faces of the barefooted woman who represent the bleeding heart of present-day Spain; the mother fiercely guarding her child against danger speaks for all women protecting life from destruction.

There were also several fine posters displayed in the Library, the subjects dealing with anniversaries and festivals in honor of past and present heroes and artists of the Mexican people.

The World Council of Peace is encouraging such exchanges among the countries of their cultural treasures.

This exhibit is now to be shown in Montreal and Sudbury. It is to be hoped that many thousands of people in all parts of Canada will be able to enjoy the rarely exciting experience of viewing it.

To be able to do this is to gain something new in one's life, for which gratitude is due mainly to the TGP and also to the Cultural Committee of the Peace Congress. (C.K.)

PERISCOPE on the United States

By OBSERVER

LOUD and threatening noises continue to come out of Washington directed, as one correspondent said, "towards letting the Chinese know the U.S. is not fooling this time." (Was Washington fooling before?)

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles says it is "up to the Communists," whether the U.S. forces use tactical atomic weapons in the straits of Taiwan. This, of course, is like blaming a man for being shot if he moves when held up for robbery.

The danger of a world nuclear war is involved.

Most people have heard these loud noises. But what about the people of the United States, who more than once have had the final say?

Politicians in Ottawa are fond of excusing the hair-raising statements made in Washington by saying, "After all, they have to reckon with domestic public opinion."

President and Congress have to reckon with public opinion alright, but it is public opinion that checks Washington bellicosity, and not vice versa.

It is a mistake to identify "as public opinion" the narrow special interests before whom contending groups in Washington compete with truculent statements. In fact, some of the shifting currents of peace currently apparent in Washington are due to the fact that the time is approaching when elected representatives have to reckon with the electors.

Though the danger of mass deception by an international "frame-up" is all too present, the fact remains that the electorate does not want war in China, war in Germany or elsewhere—least of all does it want war with H-bombs.

Thus every effort at restraint exercised by Canada meets an important response from the U.S. public, which, in general, exercises a similar restraining influence. This is a fact of major significance. Its full recognition will encourage a good deal more "restraint."

All very well for some Washington Senators last spring to fulminate and rave at Britain for not being prepared to follow the U.S. into a disastrous adventure in Indochina. But nobody should have taken that completely at face value. If Sir Anthony Eden were not sought out as the scapegoat, or some other alleged weak-kneed target found by these paragons of courage and principle, then they would have had to face up to the fact that an unprecedented and instantaneous flood of mail from all parts of the United States had forbidden them to commit U.S. strength to even greater dangers than those discovered in Korea.

★ ★ ★

What then is the present temperature of U.S. public opinion? How does the man in the street view the Congressional authorization for the government to go to war with China? Does he think like the press thinks?

No, says the New York correspondent of the conservative Canadian journal, Saturday Night, Mr. Anthony West.

Anthony West made it his business to go about New York and find out. By no stretch of the imagination can Mr. West be considered unfriendly to the U.S. Here are some extracts from his report:—

First of all he sought impressions on the case of the U.S. fliers convicted of espionage and imprisoned in China (remember the recent headlines about the torrent of indignation said to be flowing through the U.S.)?

Mr. West found a vast disparity and public comment: "I found that very few people felt that the prestige or the usefulness of the United Nations was involved."

What's the matter with the Chinese? Why don't they let us neutralize their island? Don't they think the United Nations is fair to them?

The Saturday Night correspondent examined another issue: "A glimpse of the real nature of New York opinion . . . was afforded by the Cyprus question, which embarrassingly got on the UN agenda a little while ago and then was hustled out of sight in deference to British sensibilities."

Noting, that the Cypriot demand for Enosis (union with Greece) "conflicts with the necessities of Anglo-American strategy, Mr. West said, "The plain fact remains that four-fifths of the population apparently feel that they are Greeks and seem to want Greek nationality."

Using this point to illustrate what he discovered about Taiwan, which he calls Formosa, Mr. West said, "The President's declaration is a reasonable piece of soldier's thought. But the fact that it is a Chinese island remains, and a very large number of Americans think it is the dominant fact."

After discussion whether Chiang Kai-shek could win an election in Taiwan, he said, "The soldiers and the preventive war group may say that" the U.S. "has to fight" on the "thus far and no farther line" regardless of "all other considerations."

"But," he says, "these groups said the same thing about China."

"If Saigon goes, they said, all Southeast Asia goes, and they wanted to fight before Dienbienphu fell. The fact remained that the American public would not stand for a war to preserve French Colonialism.

Similarly, in the days after the war, when hearty voices were calling for the Marine Corps to march in and settle The Mess in China, there was no possibility of getting American popular support for such a move."

Mr West outlines his strong feeling that the U.S. public has had "a good look" at the President's declaration" and have seen that it is the end product of the last ten years of propaganda by the China Lobby, the preventive war crowd, and the soldiers.

"The American public seems to have decided that the beguiling voices of these groups apparently calling on it to put the interests of America ahead of the interests of the United Nations have at last produced a plain statement of what they are calling for—the commitment of United States power to the defense of an untenable position in an unjust cause."

★ ★ ★

There are other witnesses. Mr. J. B. McGeachy, conservative commentator on the Canadian national radio network, not long ago made a coast-to-coast broadcast criticizing Washington's Taiwan policy. Picking up a U.S. slang expression, he said this policy is "screwy."

Three weeks leter he said he had received more letters about this broadcast than any other broadcast he had made in five years, that the replies were 25 to one in favour of his position, and that "all the letters from the United States were friendly."

Mr. McGeachy went on to say that standing with fixed bayonets at various points on the Asian perimeter cannot be the best way to live at peace with the people of Asia. He felt negotiation and economic aid was the way.

Many U.S. citizens listen to Canadian radio stations to get a more

accurate picture of what is happening in the world.

★ ★ ★

The disturbance of U.S. public opinion has begun to make itself felt. A resolution was introduced in the Senate to limit the President's discretion re Quemoy and Matsu.

Fourteen of the most influential Protestant spokesmen in the U.S. (including three bishops and six church editors) have just issued a long statement denouncing in angry terms "the current drift in Washington toward war."

They tell the President they "are shocked" that he is being advised "to consent to all-out war and the use of atomic bombs. Such an irresponsible policy would expose the United States Government and the American people before the whole world as wanton aggressors . . .

Why "shall we start all-out war against the Chinese mainland . . . There are millions of upright Americans whose Christian conscience would never tolerate such an action.

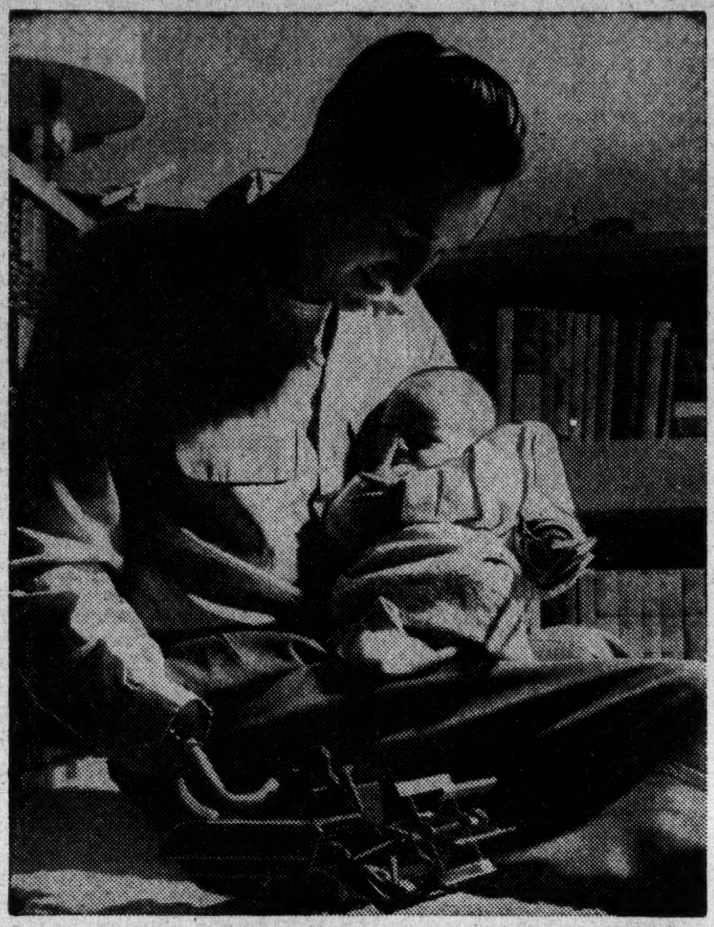
"We think that to risk world-wide atomic war for the prestige of Chiang Kai-shek would not only be a folly, but a crime of the first magnitude."

Noting the statements that the U.S. is "honor bound" to defend Quemoy and Matsu, the churchmen ask, "Why should Russia, also 'honor bound' by treaty, stand idly by and see her ally destroyed by atomic war?"

They quote the New York Times which said it would be "a vast tragedy" if the U.S. should "stumble into war against the intentions and wishes of the majority of our people and our Allies."

The churchmen recall that, "In years we negotiated the Berlin Blockade, the thorny question of Trieste, the Korean war, and the jungle war in Indochina. Shall we now plunge mankind into the abyss for the tiny islands of Quemoy and Matsu? These islands are a part of the Chinese mainland and we should evacuate them."

On Taiwan (which they too call Formosa), they are not so clear. Yet they do not favour holding it come what may: "We must negotiate either on the basis of the 'two-China' concept or as a neutralized sanctuary for Chiang Kai-shek under the trusteeship of the United Nations."



This picture was taken shortly after the end of the Korean war. It shows Robert Smith, first quadruple amputee to return from the Korean war. He is shown cuddling his son, Don Eugene, only a few weeks old at that time. Who could imagine that the mothers of the United States, any more than the mothers of any other country, wish to see their sons become "amps"—and worse?

Perhaps the higher in society one lives, the more rarified the atmosphere. This is different from the man-in-the-street's position reported by Anthony West: Formosa is Chinese, that's what counts.

★ ★ ★

And the sharpest reaction at the moment is coming against the idea of hostilities over Quemoy and Matsu. That seems to most people in the U.S. to be the imminently dangerous situation, with Taiwan a question not quite so urgent. The realization is not yet so widespread that it will be difficult to offer the Chinese something which is theirs already (Quemoy and Matsu) for something that is also theirs (Taiwan). We shall see if the man in the street gains the day.

Perhaps the most significant development in the U.S. is this: The Defense Department has admitted that four of its personnel received injuries — two possibly permanent — in atomic tests held in Nevada in 1952 and 1955. It was the press that forced this admission, which came after a handbook issued jointly by the Atomic Energy Commission, the Defense Department and the Civil Defense Administration had said that there had been no injuries in the Neveda tests.

What does this make of all the reassuring official pap designed to accustom people to the idea they might survive nuclear war intact (at lease some of them)? Three official sources have lied, and been caught at it.

No people in the world fears nuclear war more than the people of the U.S. The world campaign against the preparations for atomic war, and the World Assembly for Peace, will help the people of the U.S. too to find the road to peace.

10,000 Times More Energy Ready

WHAT WILL MAN DO WITH HIS FORTUNE IN URANIUM? IS IT TO BE COLD WAR OR PEACEFUL COMPETITION?

By MICHAEL HINCKER

LORD Salisbury, Lord President of the Council, recently made an historic announcement in London. "The more we need uranium," he declared, "the more we find it." A fortnight later, Professor G. Petrovsky wrote in Soviet Weekly that a recent estimate of uranium resources revealed that there was a supply of energy which was 10,000 times greater than that of the known reserves of petrol and coal.

But what is going to be done with this fortune? Supposing it is not used to destroy the world, but to make life more pleasant, that it is not stocked in the form of bombs, but expended to lighten man's toil, how could it be distributed and consumed? This problem is in the minds of a great many people.

War or peace?

Peaceful coexistence or international tension?

Poverty or comfort for the people of under-developed countries?

These are the questions which take on a new look in this year of 1955.

The most advanced countries can, from now on, speedily help the poorer ones to have at their disposal easily produced energy on a large-scale, help them to build a nation that is prosperous and peaceful. But will they do this, and how will they do it? The future of peace seems so full of marvels that one does not want to question it.

AN ATOMIC MARSHALL PLAN

Since the beginning of the year three plans have been put forward. The first, in chronological order, is a United States plan, of private origin but approved, it appears, by President Eisenhower. On January 17 the Soviet government published its communique on "scientific, technical and industrial aid," which it offered to other states. Finally, a White Paper was published in London on February 15.

Last September eleven electric companies of the north-east part of the United States formed a company to build atomic power stations with private capital. The Edison group has announced that a factory is being built which would have a power output of over 100,000 kilowatts. Considering the international connections of this group, it may be guessed that the atomic energy produced will not be just for New York and New England.

Another company, unknown to the public, is concerned with worldwide atom plans of the U.S. Formed recently, it has expanded rapidly: already in 1953 its turnover was over a billion dollars. It is the General Atomic Corporation, a creation of the main corporations of the U.S. electric-engineering, electronic, aviation, oil and armaments industries.

Until now this group, which aspires to be the General Motors and the General Electric of the atomic era, has shown little interest in industrial energy. Its business has been primarily military—submarines, rockets, bomb-parts and so on. When its Chairman, Mr. John Jay Hopkins, put before the last Congress of American Industry the idea of an "Atomic Marshall Plan" he was heard with great attention. It is known that he spoke with the government's agreement.

This plan would run for one hundred years. Its official aim: to improve living conditions in the under-developed regions. Its method: to finance and construct atomic reactors in countries poor in energy. Its status: a government initiative carried out by private enterprise, the "friendly countries" being invited to take part both in the initiative and in its realization.

Mr. Hopkins outlined the following stages:—

(1) The construction of experimental reactors (training for technicians and production of radioactive isotopes);

(2) The construction of pre-fabricated reactors for delivery to regions where access is difficult;

(3) The construction of industrial reactors (100,000 kilowatts or more);

(4) The construction of "breeder reactors", that is, reactors which would produce their own combustion material.

The chairman of the General Atomic Corporation even went so far as to suggest a selling price for the third stage: 250 dollars for every kilowatt of power of the installation.

SOVIET TECHNICAL HELP

There have been many reports that one or more reactors are already supplying industrial energy to the Soviet distribution network (in the United States "atomic current" will be on the market sometime next summer). It is also known that the use of radio active elements in the metal industry is becoming current practice in the Soviet Union. The government decision of January 17 is thus no surprise from the technical point of view. It is in the political and economic field that it has dumbfounded some western circles.

The U.S.S.R. offered systematic help to several people's democracies or people's republics (China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Eastern Germany) both for the production and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. What is more, "the question of increasing the number of countries to which the U.S.S.R. could also give her help and her assistance" was studied in Moscow. The Soviet proposal is very precise:

It deals with atomic furnaces of 5,000 kilowatts which could be used industrially, but which would be more or less experimental with the aim of creating the scientific bases for work with a view to the peaceful use of atomic energy.

The Soviet Union would supply these countries with fissionable material for use in the furnaces and would receive from these countries "the corresponding raw materials."

Soviet laboratories would be opened to research workers and engineers from the countries to whom such aid was given.

In London some references were made to the relatively small power of the furnaces, whereas larger reactors are being built in Britain. But faced with evidence that the technical advance of the Soviet Union shown in the production of model small range power stations, is also likely in the development of other categories of reactors, this position had to be abandoned.

Indeed, it has been announced by Professor Petrovsky that the most recent type of Soviet reactor is the size of an ordinary car and is almost as powerful as the Kuibyshev hydro-electric station being built on the Volga. In other words it is capable of developing about two million kilowatts.

BRITAIN AND ATOMIC EXPORTS

Great Britain has just fixed her atomic power target at two million kilowatts for 1965 and 15 million kilowatts by 1975). This ambitious programme which is quite feasible from the technical point of view, was published on February 15 in the White Paper. In the next ten years, Britain hopes to spend 1.2 billion pounds on new coal and petrol power stations, a quarter of this being reserved to finance the 12 atomic power stations which will cost progressively less and less, falling from 400 pounds per kilowatt of power to less than a hundred at the end of the plan — estimates which can be compared with Mr. Hopkins 250 dollars.

But what interests us here is what Mr. Geoffrey Lloyd, British Minister of Fuel and Power, called the "delicate question" of the government plans, that is, the export of reactors. The White Book is discrete on this, declaring that the moment should also be foreseen when Britain can establish an important export trade.

Asked to comment and particularly to reply to the question: "Will you export your technical knowledge in the matter?" the head of the Atomic Office, Sir Edwin Plowden, replied rather vaguely: "The British Government has approved the Eisenhower plan for an international atomic pool."

In reality, observers believe that British electro-atomic material will be exported, but to the Commonwealth countries, and that only when private companies will be producing sufficient quantities.

THREE DIFFERENCES IN THE SOVIET AND WESTERN PLANS FOR AID

There is a great chasm between these two plans. First, from the practical point of view, the Soviet Union presents a firm offer, while the United States announces a plan for the future and the British reply with a vague statement of principle. In the present stage of atomic development, the use of a furnace of 5,000 kilowatts is worth more than the promise of a reactor of 60,000, especially since the latter can be manufactured from the former without waiting for ten or twenty years and paying a high price to get a nicely packaged reactor from the General Atomic Corporation.

Another technical difference which also has political consequences concerns the supply of fissionable material. According to the British White Book, a reactor has to be "refuelled" every three or five years, and the cost of this refuelling for a power station of 60,000 kilowatts is about five million pounds sterling.

Thus, it is not enough to help a country to build an atomic power station. Its supplies of fissionable material must also be ensured in a satisfactory way, at least until all countries possess "breeder" reactors. The Soviet contract envisages these supplies on the basis of an exchange of raw materials for processed products, but the British and U.S. statements do not mention the question at all.

This is a very important aspect of the problem. If the terms of the aid are not clear, the countries to whom the reactors are offered risk becoming dependent on the good will of a foreign power for maintaining their nuclear supplies (even if they themselves are rich in radioactive minerals) for the West these minerals are already in the hands of the mining trusts of the great industrial countries.

It has been extremely difficult for the Swiss financial groups which want to build an experimental power station, to get the U.S. companies to promise to deliver fissionable material to them, and it is not known what this cost the Swiss Republic, either politically or financially. And what will it cost the Sudan, Indonesia, Bolivia, Pakistan, Spain or Egypt?

The third technical question which is extremely serious for the countries who will be given atomic aid is: what will this cost? The Soviet proposal does not mention the price, but if we look at the usual trading methods of this country we can suppose that this aid will not mean an exchange of currency.

Prices have been estimated by the Western side, and the British have suggested that the atomic kilowatt-hour would cost 0.6 of a penny, compared with 0.7 of a penny for the coal or oil power stations. But in fact all these figures mean very little. There are a number of elements which will modify them in the years to come and they leave out of the picture one essential element: private industry is to dominate all the western atomic market and thus we can expect it to demand royalties on its patents.

RIVALRY OR PEACEFUL COMPETITION

However, the fundamental difference between these proposals of atomic aid goes deeper. The Soviet Union has offered her atomic aid not only to the socialist countries but also to other countries" (and it is thought in the West that Yugoslavia and India will want to accept), while the western comments centre around the British and American plans which only speak of "friendly countries."

● Atomic energy could transform life for these children in poverty — stricken, war-ravaged Malaya.

We should thoroughly understand the point of view of the Western countries who for years have been bringing up plans of plenty for the under-developed countries, such as Point Four, and the Marshall Plan.

Up to June 1953, they criticized the Soviet Union in the United Nations because she could not at that moment "aid" the poor countries.

But today, the U.S.S.R. is building a steel plant in India on a financial basis advantageous to India, the German Democratic Republic is sending a sugar refinery to Indonesia, and so on.

The Western criticism now runs along different lines because, they say, "the Soviet bloc has increased its offers of technical and economic aid to various nations, particularly to the under-developed countries of the Near East, the Middle East and the Far East," and because "the offers to provide technicians, engineers and scientists have been made to some 16 countries," and because "this kind of assistance covers all fields," we are supposed to draw the conclusion that "the cold war between Russia and the West in the technical and economic field was greatly intensified during 1954."

These declarations were made on February 21 in Washington by Mr. D. A. Fitzgerald, the administrator of the Foreign Operations Administration.

What then does the West consider this economic aid

SCIENCE

DISCOVERIES OF THE MONTH

EAT CHLORELLA

Science has found a quick and simple way to put the sun's rays to work and produce food from a test tube. The recipe calls for chlorella, an alga which looks like tiny green confetti.

The "confetti" is immersed in warm water and carbonic acid is added. When exposed to the sun's rays it develops rapidly and turns the water and carbonic acid into sugar and protein.

Chlorella is cultivated in plexiglass tubes. Large scale tests are planned in France, Japan and Israel.

NEW USE FOR ULTRA-SOUNDS

The Soviet engineer, A. Berezhnoi, has used ultra-sounds in a new gadget called the "defectoscope". This instrument can in many cases detect structural weaknesses in different pieces of machinery on board ship. This can be done without dismantling the machinery. The gadget is merely applied to one end of the part to be tested.

The "defectoscope" gives warning of the weakness long before any failure takes place.

MACHINE TO MAKE YOU SLEEP

A number of clinics in Paris are experimenting with a machine for making people sleep, to be used in sleeping cures. A continuous electrical current passes through the patient's body between two electrodes on the brow and a lower limb. It is a very weak current — about four volts at a twentieth of an ampere. It causes no discomfort, but rather induces a feeling of well-being.

AND TO KEEP YOU AWAKE

It is dangerous for a stratospheric pilot to fall asleep at the controls. But that is what he is prone to do, especially if a defect in pressurization reduces the amount of oxygen. An American engineer has brought out a gadget with a dial lighting up at regular intervals. The dial says, Are You Asleep? The pilot answers by pressing a button. If he doesn't, a siren screams into his ear. If he still doesn't react, he is automatically ejected, with his seat, on the end of a parachute.

TEN THOUSAND TIMES MORE

(Continued from previous page)

to be, in which they include their atomic aid? In a study published last January by The Banker, their aim is quite clearly outlined, as follows: The White House seeks to stem the communist advance in the poorer countries of Asia by increasing the flow of U.S. capital being invested in these countries and by increasing technical aid.

The same definition was used in a recent leading article in the French big business review, l'Usine Nouvelle, which said, "it would not be any more difficult to direct . . . export mainly to those zones where the economy should be built up both in our own interest and to strengthen the security of the free world."

A NEW WORLD ATOMIC STRATEGY

What is necessary now, wrote The Banker once more, is acceleration of the flow of capital and a sharper sense of urgency. . . . The plan should catch the imagination of the peoples both in the creditor countries and in the benefitting countries. Drums and trumpets should be part of the game. An atmosphere of urgency should be created. . . . Whatever the name given to the plan, the stake for which it is launched is immense. For it is probably in Asia and not in Europe that the contest between communism and liberty will finally be settled.

Although Great Britain prefers to go her own way with her Colombo Plan and restrict the export of nuclear reactors to the Commonwealth countries, Holland replied in the affirmative to Mr. Stassen.

In France big business circles, terrified by the defeat they suffered in Indochina, tend to support the American program on the following conditions: (1) that each nation shall contribute a proportion of its national revenue; (2) that the national industries of the western countries should be able to find a place in the scheme proportionate to the financial assistance given by their governments.

This is the beginning, this is the opening of atomic competition.

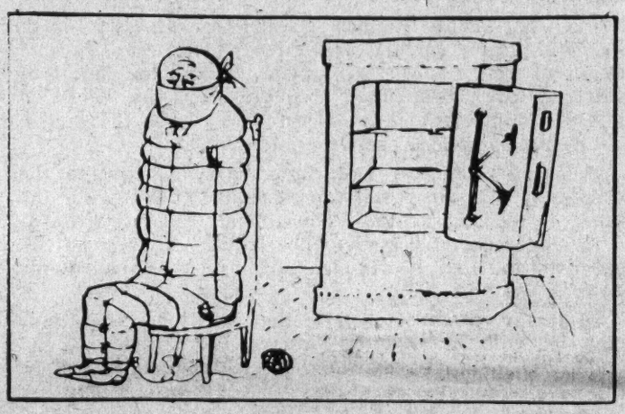
Let us hope that this contest, with the help of the peoples who are given aid, can remain a peaceful match whose results will be full of bright promise, corresponding to the infinite energy of the atom.

The real state of urgency, proclaimed for so many centuries by the trumpets of human conscience, is that of the hunger and dependence in which hundreds of millions of men languish.

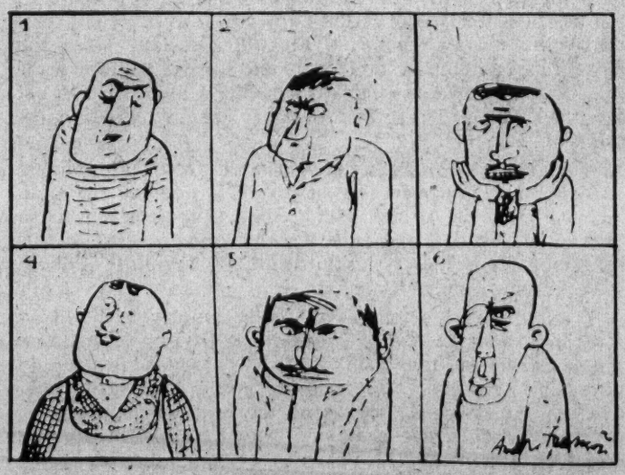
Today atomic aid can put an end to this state of urgency and eliminate from human speech the sad words: under-developed countries. But this atomic aid must be peaceful aid, serving the freedom of the peoples.

A Mystery Puzzle

By ANDRE FRANCOIS



Who robbed the jeweler (above)? All the clues are in the picture and all the suspects are below. The reader who first sends the correct answer and explanation will receive a beautiful Chinese wood block water colour print. Who is first will be judged by the postmark on the envelope.



LAST MONTH'S WINNER: Mrs. B. Baxter of Toronto won last month's prize with this answer: "The mayor sat on a tack and jumped up suddenly, causing the nail sticking down through the bust above his chair to pierce his skull . . . I think the billiard player did it, he's used to bouncing things around (called a carem shot by 'pool' players)."

Peace Mail

A Reply to Mr Yalowega's Challenge

A Stamp Collector

NAGOYA, JAPAN

I am a stamp collector who lives in Japan. I would like to correspond with someone living in your country in order to further international friendship through personal contact. I would also like to exchange stamps but as I have no friends overseas I wonder if your paper could help me get in touch with someone.

I graduated from high school this last spring and am now helping in the cleaning and laundry store which is our family business. My home is situated in the centre of Nagoya, which is one of Japan's three largest cities. Its population is about 1,200,000 and it has a very fine transportation system.

I hope that we shall be able to establish some kind of contact in the future. My address is: 28 Ikeda-cho, Naka-ku, Nagoya.

Ninakawa Arata

Parliamentary Exchange?

TORONTO

We are gratified to learn that the Parliament of Canada has received an invitation from the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. to undertake an exchange of delegations between the parliaments of the two countries. The statement of the Hon. L. B. Pearson, to the effect that the invitation is being seriously studied, will be welcomed by the great majority of Canadians, who heartily support any moves leading to the lessening of international tensions and to the improvement of relations between Canada and the U.S.S.R.

However, as has been pointed out by a number of newspapers, Mr. Pearson's reaction to the invitation is one of extreme caution . . .

There is no doubt that an exchange of delegations would only serve to strengthen still further the bonds of understanding and friendship between our two great countries.

Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society

A Peace Worker in Mexico

VALLE DE BRAVO, MEXICO

I have fallen in love with Mexico — with the climate, the beauty of everything, with the people, especially the latter. Now I at once qualify the extent that I speak of "Mexico," since all I have seen of it is the little 100 mile strip between its capital and Valle which is as though I spoke of Canada having say travelled only from Toronto to Montreal; and I haven't been here much more than two months.

I have had the dry season and may change my tune when the rains begin, or I'm told I may. Others say the rains are not much, they come in quick tropical storms with sunshine right until the drops start coming down and sunshine once more as soon as the rain is over—no long cloudy spells as feature B.C.'s climate.

Coming from our climate, the country amazes me. For instance, I was asked to a house-warming near-by a couple of weeks ago. One of the amusements was combing the peach trees for ripe peaches. Now picture that—winter here is just over, these peaches, oranges, lemons, avocodoes ripening now have been maturing to that all winter, which to me makes things just topsy-turvy.

Just in case a Peace Review reader might visit the country, and how tickled I would be if a fellow peace worker showed up in Valle, I give two hints. The days are warm to very warm, but the nights are always chilly. One can stand woollen clothes in the evenings at least. I made a big mistake and suffered for it, in leaving my winter outfit in B.C. I needed it here badly in January—Valle is 550 feet elevation.

And, if possible, it is a good idea to learn a little Spanish, just those phrases necessary to a traveller, if no more. I find it very true that the people here like visitors to use the Mexican language when in Mexico, and will go to a lot of trouble to help visitors pronounce words the right way.

I expect to visit the Mexican committee for peace when in Mexico City as I am lonely for the company of peace workers.

A. R. Mundy

Mothers of the Whole World

TORONTO

"In the name of the life we give, let us unite to save our children," is the theme of an Appeal for a World Congress of Mothers to be held in July, 1955. The theme is adopted by the Canadian Preparatory Committee in its appeal to "Mothers of Canada" now in circulation.

Endorsed by the Congress of Canadian Women, the appeal is directed to every Canadian woman, particularly mothers, but also to all interested in the future of our Canadian children. Mrs. Rae Luckock, national president of the CCW, is taking the initiative in inviting representation from all women's organizations on the Canadian Preparatory Committee.

Congress of Canadian Women

Appeals for Help

TORONTO, ONT.

I read in your good little paper that Mr. Yalowega had donated fifty dollars to the peace movement. It shows a good example to the rest of the people in Canada.

Perhaps everyone cannot afford so much. A poor man as myself I give ten dollars and hope it may help a little. If everyone who would like to live a few years more would give as much or a little less, then the Peace Congress could proceed with its work faster and without worry.

I appeal to everyone who would like to see our children and old people enjoy life now and in the future, to help and help now because tomorrow may be too late.

Perhaps some Ukrainian paper might also publish this appeal.

C.T.

PEACE CAN BE WON

Day after day, hour after hour
Radio, screen and press,
Tell of the war that is bound to come,
Tell of the world in a mess . . .

Repeating again that the bomb must fall
Trying to deafen us to hope's call.

The call that something can be done,
The fact that Peace can be won.

Listen! the people are talking back
Rising in wrath at the threat of attack
Signing the pledge to destroy the bomb
And make life safe for people . . .

That is something that can be done,
That is how Peace is won.

What have we done to swell the cry,
That never again shall our sons die
Never again shall the skies rain fire
Destroying millions in a funeral pyre,

Have we let the papers tie our hands
With their tales of woe and gloom
Or are we part of the world wide cry
That will save the world from doom?

Harken, there's something than can be done
There is a way that Peace is won!

Out to the streets with the World Appeal,
Urge all to sign, sign, sign,
Then will our hearts rise high when we feel
The warm sun of Peace and the freedom from fear,

When we know that together when we are as one
The people have shown that Peace can be won.

Helen McMaster, Toronto.

Truth Essential

MISSION CITY, B.C.

Enclosed you will find a money-order for six dollars. One dollar is for the renewal of my subscription; the other five is a donation to help you continue your fine publication.

I would like here to congratulate you on the good work that you are doing. Truth is the most essential factor in bringing about peace and understanding among the peoples of the world, and, by making the truth known through "Peace Review," you are doing a job of utmost importance.

Thanking you for the many fine editions which I have received in the past, and wishing you the very best in the future, I remain,

N.J.

Gain in Single Copy Sales

We gained 669 in bundle sales last month over the previous month. Bravo. But we broke even on subscriptions. Well, that checked the previous month's decline of 21. Subscriptions are a permanent gain. Will you find one or more new subscribers as a way to help the May 22 World Assembly for peace? Donations real welcome too.

	April subs	Gain	Total Now	April Bundle Sales
B. C.	702	1	703	590
Alberta	99	—3	96	92
Saskatchewan	235	—1	234	417
Manitoba	66	3	69	150
Ontario	120	7	127	345
Toronto	390	—7	383	1008
Quebec	51	1	52	267
Maritimes	20	....	20	49
Miscellaneous	192	—1	191	596
NWT & Yukon	3		3	
	1878	....	1878	3514

t Mon grams

IT'S NO SECRET. were working on d many other coun- them.

PLES are known. is a certain amount a certain level of ment, a certain tech- certain amount of

EXPLAIN the prin-

JE, and in at least es, world authorities of the atomic age.

S ARE A HAND- commend that you eference. They will re useful in the re- ead.

UT last month — many, many more

TING AN EXTRA TITY of this issue issues.

A FIRST-TIME be glad to know d don't like in our

DERS we say: one things you can do mb and for peace w to Peace Review already a subscriber EAST one new sub- n.

UD of the work our e in helping Peace modest but import- ing the shooting in hina, in seeking a in Germany, in urable negotiations, ment, world trade anges.

th a Wallop

00 for each of the

cription for one year.

a subscription (name attached)

pies of Peace Review friends.

each of this issue wo issues to each of s and addresses on heet.

OUR READERS

Next Month We Will Publish Diagrams of A and H Bombs

AFTER ALL IT'S NO SECRET. Hitler's scientists were working on them. Canada and many other countries could make them.

THE PRINCIPLES are known. What is needed is a certain amount of raw materials, a certain level of scientific development, a certain technical level, a certain amount of wealth.

SO WE WILL EXPLAIN the principles.

IN THIS ISSUE, and in at least the next two issues, world authorities paint the picture of the atomic age.

THESE ISSUES ARE A HANDBOOK. We recommend that you keep them for reference. They will be more and more useful in the remarkable time ahead.

WE SOLD OUT last month — could have used many, many more copies.

WE ARE PRINTING AN EXTRA LARGE QUANTITY of this issue and the next two issues.

ARE YOU A FIRST-TIME READER? We'd be glad to know what you like and don't like in our magazine.

TO ALL READERS we say: one of the most solid things you can do against the H-bomb and for peace is to subscribe now to Peace Review or — if you are already a subscriber — to find AT LEAST one new subscriber this month.

WE ARE PROUD of the work our readers have done in helping Peace Review to play a modest but important role in stopping the shooting in Korea and Indochina, in seeking a peaceful solution in Germany, in pressing for honourable negotiations, security, disarmament, world trade and cultural exchanges.

Coupon with a Wallop

To Peace Review,
25 Cumberland St.,
Toronto 5.

I ENCLOSE $1.00 for each of the items ticked below:

- ☐ Send me a subscription for one year.
- ☐ Send my friend a subscription (name and address attached)
- ☐ Send me 17 copies of Peace Review to sell to my friends.
- ☐ Send one copy each of this issue and the next two issues to each of the four names and addresses on the attached sheet.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

THE NEXT EDITIONS will include the following features:

WHAT WE MUST KNOW FROM NOW ON, by Prof. F. Joliot-Curie, Nobel Prize—a full, simple outline of the structure and splitting of the atom showing how atomic energy is liberated.

A BLACK DAY FOR ALBERT EINSTEIN by Antonina Vallentin.

THERE ARE NO 'TACTICAL' A-WEAPONS by Prof. Eric Burhop.

WHAT CIVIL DEFENSE? By Frank Beswick, MP.

ATOMIC SECRETS IN THE SKY, by Jean Verdier.

EINSTEIN'S MESSAGE TO THE ITALIAN SCIENTISTS, published in memory of the great scientist who has now passed on.

DISARMAMENT TALKS TO DATE.

INSPECTION AND CONTROL, by Prof. C. F. Powell, Nobel Prize.

THE ATOM: 'OPEN SESAME' OF THE FUTURE, by Charles-Noel Martin.

IN THE HANFORD ATOMIC PLANT.

CANADA ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE ATOMIC AGE.

ATOMIC POWER PLANT IN THE U.S.S.R. AND ATOMIC SUBMARINE IN THE U.S.

ATOMIC TRACERS AGAINST DISEASE.

WHEN INDIA HAS ATOMIC POWER STATIONS, by Prof. D. Kosambi.

PLANT LIFE WILL SOON HAVE NO MORE SECRETS, by Prof. Toptchelev.

1980—THE DOMESTICATED ATOM.

JERRY, THE FIRST COSMIC TRAVELLER.

AND THAT'S NOT ALL. We think this selection contains what everybody now will want to know.

As we go to press we learn with sadness of the death of Prof. Albert Einstein, great scientist who unlocked secrets of plenty for all mankind, and who never ceased to lament the misuse to which his discoveries have been put. Next month we will publish as a memorial one of his most significant messages.

MANY, MANY MORE READERS are urgently needed. Will you help to find them?

A BIG WALLOP is packed by the little coupon below — a wallop against the bomb and for the peaceful use of atomic energy — if you clip it out, take your choice of its offers, and mail it to us with one dollar (or more).

PUT THIS MAGAZINE IN A SAFE before you let that coupon go into the waste-basket where it won't do anybody any good.

PLEASE HELP NOW. If you don't clip it today you likely never will. Please?

One reader who subscribes is worth two.

Peace Review

Most of the material in Peace Review is provided through the exclusive worldwide copyright facilities of the world peace review, Horizons, published in Paris. These materials are reproduced in 13 languages and 25 countries. All reproduction, even partial, must carry credit.

EDITORIAL COUNCIL OF HORIZONS

DR. ATAL: Professor, India
JOSE BERGAMIN: Spanish Catholic author
MME. ISABELLE BLUME: Belgian Socialist MP
GORDON SCHAFFER: British journalist
GEORGE BRANTING: Swedish Social-Democratic MP
PIERRE COT: Former cabinet minister, French MP
MAO DUN: President of the Chinese Writers' Association
ILYA EHRENBURG: Soviet author
GENERAL JARA: Former cabinet minister, Mexico
MH. MAHDI JAWAHIRI: Poet, Iraq
LEON KRUCZKOWSKI: Chairman of the Polish Writers' Association
CLAUDE MORGAN: French journalist
MME. CESA NABARAOUI: Egytian journalist
PIETRO NENNI: Italian Socialist MP, former cabinet minister
MME. MARIA-ROSA OLIVER: Argentine author
LUIGI RUSSO: Italian critic
ARNOLD ZWEIG: German novelist

HONOURARY EDITORIAL BOARD OF PEACE REVIEW

The following is the Honourary Editorial Board of Peace Review: Mrs. Eva Sanderson (Toronto) chairman, Lorne Dietrich (Matador Farm Co-op), Henry Wellsch (Kyle, Sask.) Mrs. Grace Knight (Edmonton), Mrs. Sheila Young, Ray Gardner (Vancouver), Gilbert McWhirter (London), Rev. I. G. Perkins, Hugh McIntyre, F. W. Park, Mrs. Mary Endicott, Mrs. Libbie Park, Mary Jennison, Mrs. Jean Stewart, Bruce Mickleburgh.

Peace Review is published at 25 Cumberland St., Toronto 5, phone WA. 2-0965). It is authorized as second class mail, Post Office Department, Ottawa. All contributed articles do not necessarily reflect our editorial viewpoint.

Subscription rates: $1.00 for 12 issues. Single copies: 10 cents each. Bundle rates are available to organizations and newsagents on request.

Donations welcome and needed. Help to save peace. Win new readers for our review.

EDITOR: Bruce Mickleburgh.
MANAGER: Jean Stewart.

Preliminary Outline

CAUSES OF SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION and Human Distress

A Few of the Importa nt "Social Physicians" Included Among Writers, Film Directors, Teachers, Artists, Scientists, Editors, etc.

Also Some Members of the World Institute of Social Reform

Meanings of SYMBOLS Used

- ↓ examining the cause
- ↑ prescribing the cure
- * belonging to both groups (↓ and ↑)
- † the following are deceased
- ° Scandinavians

Nature and Man

Industrial rape of nature, deforestation, soil-depletion and erosion followed by floods, forest fires, air- and water-pollution, insect pests and plant diseases. Extreme overpopulation. Worldwide extinction of wild life as for example the death of sea-birds by oil-pollution. In the wake of H-bomb experiments we get radioactive rain, fish, grass, change of weather and unknown after-effects on future generations. Simultaneous destruction of man's inner nature and of his environmental nature. Cruel hunting, vivisection, bull-fighting. Mechanical interruption of natural processes. Organic components being scorched in engines and converted by machines, thus reverting to physical elements. In trying to conquer nature, man has himself succumbed to the machine, making it his master instead of this tool.

↓ *Fairfield Osborn*, Georg Borgstrøm*°, Josue de Castro, William Vogt*, Tolley Hartwick, Robert Jungk, Christian Gierløff°, Einar Skjæraasen°, Jan Magnus Bruheim°, † A. O. Vinje°, Thurman Arnold, Ernst Jünger, Carlyle, John Ruskin, Georgius Agricola*

↑ *Albert Einstein, Niels Bohr, Harold Urey†, Robert Oppenheimer, Lecompte de Noüy*, Arne Sucksdorff°, Robert Flaherty, Lord Boyd Orr*, Richard Calder, Henry Bailey Stevens, Peter Madsen*°, Geoffrey Judd*, Hanworth Walker*, Albert Howard, Louis Hlavacek, St. Barbe Baker.*
† William D. Thoreau, Knut Hamsun°, Olav Aukrust°, Brentano, Th. Kittelsen°, Jeppe Aakjær°, Flaischlen, Obstfelder°, Lenau, Victor Hugo, Henrik Wergeland°, Wordsworth, Novalis, Rousseau*, Asian painters, poets and philosophers — Charles Darwin, R. Mayer, Lavoisier, Lomonosov, Kant-Laplace, Karl Linné°, Mendel, Giordano Bruno, Galileo, Kepler, Kopernikus*

Others:

.....

SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The 20. century — the most warlike and bloody century of all ages. While three fourths of humanity are undernourished, race of armaments continue. Everybody fighting somebody. Violation of social contracts; treaties hardly worth the sheets on which they are written. Crisis affecting science, art, philosophy, morals, habits and all the different aspects of civilization. Attempts to make societies function like machines; fixed boundaries, static formal systems and conventions take the place of natural organic patterns and add to social discord. Hopeless moves to «win the peace» and to stop Hell-bomb experiments; all efforts to «save the world» seem fruitless. Economic, political, cultural, educational, mental, religious and sexual problems are all tied up in a Gordian knot which cannot be untied as long as their inter-relationship is not understood. The Cobolt-bomb holds the lead in the race between technical and social development. Man has to «pull his mind together» or perish.

↓ *Pitirim Sorokin*, Lewis Mumford, Arnold Toynbee, Alexis Carrell*, Arthur W. Gladstone*, A. den Doolaard, Gutorm Gjessing°, Birket-Smith°, Ralph Linton, Wilhelm Förster, J. C. Bennett, Quinzy Wright, W. Kwetzinsky°, Robert Red Field, Erik Rinde°*
† Nikolaj Berdjajev, Malinowski, Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, Herbert Spencer*, Thomas Nixon Carver, Tambs Lyche°, Fustel de Coulanges, Erneste Renan, H. G. Wells, Shaftesbury*

↑ *Tolley Hartwick*, Ulf Christensen°, B. Dybwad Brochmann*, Wilfred Wellock*, Herberth Holdridge*, A. Litherland*, George Woodcock, H. P. Dietrich*, Guy Aldred*
† August Compte, Krapotkin*, Elisée Reclus, Tucker, Malatesta, Joseph Conrad, Leo Tolstoy*, P. J. Proudhon, Wilhelm Weitling, Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, St. Simon, Fichte, David Hume — Jesus Christ, Gautama Buddha, Asoka, Lao-Tse, Confucius, Plato, Pythagoras, Amos, Ezekiel, Pharaoh Aknathon*

Others:

.....

.....

.....

.....

Note: The names of people listed are placed where the author believes their social merits have been of the greatest benefit for mankind.

Mentality

The intense social pressure and the drive for efficiency and haste cause apathy, insecurity, restlessness, impatience, hysteria, tension, frustration, anxiety, rootlessness, emptiness and despair - the mental climate for war. People resort to daydreaming as they do to alcohol, narcotics, sleep, or diversion, excitement, sensation, speed and other forms of escapism. Standardized education and the monotony of mechanized life produce stereotyped characters, who are quite susceptible to propaganda and mass suggestion, who copy each other and are afraid of being themselves. Impersonal relationships cause intense feelings of loneliness. Fear-hate complex engender individual suspicion, egotism, aloofness, arrogance, snobbishness, greed, recklessness, hypocrisy, dishonesty — and collective antagonism, intolerance, isolationism, scapegoatism and discrimination, all permeated and nurtured with a false philosophy of contradictions between peoples, races, sexes, religious creeds, classes, political ideologies and social positions, undermining the recognition of the sanctity of the human person.

↓ *Erich Fromm*, Esther Harding, Alf Ahlberg°, Geoffrey Gorer, Hermann Hesse, Jean Paul Sartre*, Frantz Kafka, Albert Camus, Thomas Wolfe, S. Howard Moore, Aldous Huxley*, Johan Johansen°, Martin A. Hansen°, Ole Sarvig°, Ragnar Rommetveit°*
† George Orwell, Karin Boye°, Karel Čapek, D. W. Griffith, Edward Carpenter, Young, Adler, Freud, Henrik Ibsen°, Jacob Wassermann, Fjodor Dostojevski, Thackeray, Schopenhauer, Nietsche, Shakespeare, Æsop*

↑ *Pitirim Sorokin*, Swami Sivananda, Krishnamurti*, Aldo Capitini, Paul Tournier, Karen Horney, Julian Huxley, Peter-Petrik, Rudolf Alexander Schröder, Martin Heidegger, Pär Lagerkvist*°, Gabriel Scott*°, Hager Olsson*°, Lin-Yu-Tang, Martin Buber, Erik Rostbøll°, Piet Hein°, Jørgen Steen° Karsten Thorsen°, Karl J. Larsen°, Dale Carnegie*
† Gandhi, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Fridtjof Nansen*°, Wilhelm Grønbech*°, Bjørnson°, Chr. Collin°, Henry Drummond, Rudolf Steiner, Tagore, Swami Vivekanada, Walt Whitman, Goethe, Inayat Khan, Socrates, Lao-Tse and the great harmonizers among composers and artists*

Others:

.....

.....

.....

Let us Organize A Preventive War Against the Causes of War

All causes of international and social unrest are knit together, but with the aim of expediating direct world-wide coöperation and promoting studies, we must elaborate a basic classification. In the outline on this page I have divided the causes into fifteen main classes. Under each class I have listed two groups of «social physicians», i.e. persons who devote a great part of their lives to the solution of social problems:

A. Those who examine conditions leading to crisis and disaster (Marked with an arrow pointing down), and
B. Those who promote healing ideas, plans or projects (Marked with an arrow pointing upwards).

Everywhere we run across very able, often publicly unknown, individuals with knowledge and constructive ideas for a world-wide renaissance. We must bring about the coöperation between these people by listing them in an international «Who's who». The handbook should include all relevant addresses and also references to books, films, institutions and journals which deal positively with social relations. Thus it should aid all who want to collaborate across frontiers to emancipate humanity. I hope that among the selected persons to whom I am mailing this first outline, there may at least be one who can stir the interest of a great sponsor or institution under whose auspices we may achieve this practical step. Useful references and suggestions, as well as criticisms and corrections for the next edition of this outline, will always be appreciated. Those who return this issue with their comments will receive additional copies.

To make certain of being on my mailing list, please send a note or some printed matter. But do not expect individual answers to all letters. I am hammering many irons on my anvil, I work slowly and I have no office or organization.

Yours faithfully,

Ulf Christensen, Bygdøy allé 26, Oslo - Norway.

Personal Development

People who are degraded to purely mechanical functions are restricted to the development of some highly specialized dexterity at the cost of a world of productive impulses and faculties. Schools and universities, «educational factories», walled off from the living world, serving established system rather than human happiness. Over-specialization stifling personal development. Mass training instead of individual tuition. Over-emphasis on theoretical knowledge, textbook-tyranny, uniform curricula and limited means of expression — frustrate abilities and creative desires, impoverish emotional life, impede the freedom to develop, kill children's tremendous urge for knowledge and lead to: levelling of personalities, careerist ambitions, honour-seeking in education, competitive-mindedness, anti-social behavior, professional idiotism combined with ignorance, the whole «learner system» whereby people are graded according to book-knowledge, exams and titles while more important qualities are overlooked such as intuition, open-mindedness, grace, warmth, kindness, sincerity, sensitivity, self-expression, sense of humour, harmonious character and integrated personality. Threats, dishonesty, coaxing and punishment in upbringing corrupt the growing soul, cause neurosis and disturb the abilites to think logically or to concentrate.

↓ *Erik Homburger, Erikson*, Robert M. Hutchins, J. Dollard, S. Rosenzweig, N. R. Maier, Francis Boyer, Sam Beskow°, Broby Johansen*°, Harald Ruhe*°, Mimi Sverdrup Lunden°*
† Bernhard Shaw, Friedrich Schlegel, Erling Winsnes°

↑ *G. Gurdjieff*, Jiddu Krishnamurti*, Alexander Neill*, Tolman, Hull, Minsjinskaia, Ernst Simeon, Freinét, Knut Brodin°, Anne Marie Nørrevig°, John Nihlen°, Olav Storstein°, Gunnar Beskow°, H. Hermelin Grønbech°, Harald Alm°, Fred G. Wale, Benjamin Spock*
† Maria Montessori, Stanislavski, Anne Frank, Gorki, Elsa Köhler°, Per Henrik Ling°, Victor Rydberg°, Dewey, Kofoed°, Friedrich Fröbel, Decroly, Pestalozzi, Grundtvig°, Rudolf Steiner, John Locke, John Amos Comenius°, Montaigne, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Plato.

Others:

Comprehension and Expression

The tyranny of words - words of intellectual confusion and blind agitation, demagogy, abused phraseology and empty verbosity. A lot of illusions, abstract notions which are confused with reality. Unclear religious and political symbols. Distorted news. Cramming of same ideals into millions of minds, oversimplification, overstressed principles, extremist «black and white» thinking. Hard and fast definitions instead of artistic expression. So many think in terms of such rigid categories that relationships between things escape them. Little understanding of the process of learning, the laws of thought and elementary semantics. Division between theory and practice, between reason and emotion. Dishonesty against oneself and others. People react shallowly, do not have time to use their mental abilities, fail to think for themselves and to use independent judgement. Feeling of hopeless isolation when natural abilities of expression and contact have been inhibited and crippled. International language still in the embryo form.

↓ *Stuart Chase, G. E. Moore, Ewing, John Nibb, Arne Næss*°*
† Korzybski, A. L. Guerard, Kant*, David Hume*

↑ *Susan Langer*, Eric Fromm, H. C. Sandbeck°, Morten Grindal°, Sixten Flach°, Erwin Buck, J. Norman Glaister, Gustav Strømberg°, Charles W. Russell, Marcello Haugen°, Ouspenski, Jeremi Wasiutynski°*
† Ernst Cassirer, Bykov, Pavlov, Henri Bergson, Hans Larson°, Francis Bacon, Esaias Tegnér°, L. L. Zamenhof, Hegel, J. G. von Herder, Wilhelm von Humholts, Spinoza, Plotin, Heraklettos*

Others:

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

In industry and the public services: Too many employed in unproductive work. A chaos of areas, of authorites and of rates. Too much red tape, manipulation of responsibility, domination in administration instead of team-work, diciplinarianism instead of encouragement. Lack of consideration going on from owners to directors, to managers until it reaches the very least member of the staff. Isolated management and absentee- or state ownership instead of part-ownership, profit-sharing, incentive management and rational division of responsibilites.

In organizations: Mechanical, centralized, pyramidal formations and fixed policies which lead to: detrimental pressure upon the individual mind, regimentation, restrictive and exclusive practices, lack of flexibility, social climbing, string pulling, antagonism, formation of factions, cliques and sects — instead of lateral association and central liason, which would inspire unity in diversity, harmony in variety and promote richness of initiative.

↓ *Talcott Pearsons, Robert Merton, Ralph Courtney, W. Fred Cottrell, Reinhold Niebuhr, Krishnamurti*, Karl J. Larsen°, (Industrial): Folke Fridell°, Charlie Chaplin,*
† Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Oscar Wilde, Emile Durkheim*

↑ *Ismail W. Jezierski*, Karl Jasper*, Albert Bofman, Henry A. Martin (Industrial:) James Lincoln, Knud Lauritzen°, Scott Bader, Hyacinthe Debreulix, V. Tandberg°, Ole Kirkvaag°, Arne Montan°, Knut Isachsen°, Preben Dal°*
† Mahatma Gandhi, Bert Taylor*, Frederich W. Taylor, Robert Owen*

Others:

.....

.....

Economics

Money for money's sake, omnivorous business-mentality, investments for the Golden Calf and not for general welfare lead to: Waste of natural and human resources, products «heavy with human tears», monopolistic practices, trade wars, manipulation of credit, financial interest in soaring armament budgets to secure profits out of public treasury. The debt-interest-dividend system thrives on under-consumption and causes: housing shortage, poverty, misery, bribery, theft, larceny, dirty speculation, tricks in all trades, deceptive and excessive advertising, superfluous middlemen, economic short-circuits, hard times, unnecessary class-warfare between the «have-nots» and those who have, mass labour strikes, unemployment instead of «technical disemployment». Unsatisfactory alternatives to «conservatives poverty» are «socialist restrictions»: Check on industry, imports, production and trade, regulations and controls everywhere, abolition of free enterprise, nationalization instead of direct co-ownership, the ordeal of bureaucratic mismanagement, taxation far exceeding the amount of governmental services given in return — still making people dependent on the very services which they are taxed to provide.

↓ *Scott Nearing*, Wendell Berge, Glyn Thomas, Stuart Chase*, J. C. Guillet*, Whitney Slocomb*, Fenner Brockway, C. D. H. Cole, Eugen Varga, Johan Vogt°, Ragnar Frisch°, Evald Bosse°, Erhard Fliesberg°, V. Bretteville°, Orson Welles, Garson Kanin, Upton Sinclair, Frank Capra.*
† Karl Marx, I. Lenin, Henry George, Thorstein Veblen, Bernhard Shaw, O'Duffy, Hannigen Engelbrecht°, L. J. Sømme°, G. Szmak°, Frantz Oppenheimer, van Eeden, Simonde de Sismondi.

↑ *Tolley Hartwick*, Bjørn Sjøvall°, Ethel Manning, Islay McDonald, W. M. Brown°, Wilfred Wellock°, Colin Unwin°, Gladys Bing, W. Beveridge, Hjalmar Schacht, K. Engelbrecht Kristiansen*°, Peter Hoff*°, Johan Jacobsen*°, Arnold Lund°, O. Byrge Sørensen*°, G. E. Bonde*°, Hans Bauge*°, B. Dybwad Brochmann*°*
† The Late Duke of Bedford, Silvio Gesell, Cobden, John Bright, Adam Smith.*

Others:

.....

.....

.....

.....

Government Power

The state as a means of domination instead of an agency of service. False authority based on power and prestige, destroying freedom — instead of genuine authority based on understanding and insight, which would increase freedom. Ballot-systems, party-systems, communistic and capitalistic orders are all blueprints of the machine, imposed upon society, making people tools of established systems and leading to: Centralization of power, an unscrupulous tug-of-war for positions, usurpation, party-political prestige, nationalism and chauvinism, billions of words of frothy debating, failing international negotiations, armies of wealth-squandering politicians in office, tax-exploitation of producers driving them to waste human and natural resources, all kinds of political chicanery — instead of true sociology and scientific government. A wide chasm between governments and peoples: Man versus the state.

↓ *Maurice Duverger, R. McKenzie, Upton Sinclair, Hermann Rauschning, M. T. Vaerting, Wilhelm Moberg°, Arthur Koestler, Ignazio Silone, Giovanni Guareschi, Romano Guardini, Fenner Brockway, Cedric Belfrage, George Seldes, I. F. Stone, Albert Kahn, Corliss Lamont, C. P. Bradley, Scott Nearing, Robert Penn Warren, Thurman W. Arnold, Irwin Shaw, Stefan Hein, Virgil Georgiu, Henry Hazlitt, Albert J. Nock, Frank Capra, Elia Kazan, Julien Vivier, Henri Starck, Johan Scharffenberg°, Asbjørn Mathiesen°, Johanne Gjermoe°, P. Hoff°, Jørgen Steen*°, Rudolf Holmø°, B. D. Brochmann*°, Anders Lange°, Sverre Hartmann°, J. B. Priestley, Bertrand Russell, Pitirim Sorokin*
† Robert Michels, Ostrogorski, Ellen Hørup°, Nordahl Grieg°, Torgny Segerstedt°, Fr. Nansen°, Jack London, Herberth Spencer°, A. O. Vinje°, Arne Garborg°, Strindberg°, Friedrich Schiller, Ludvig Holberg°, Voltaire, Heraklit, Socrates.

↑ *Tolley Hartwick*, Ulf Christensen°, Colin Unwin°, E. C. Backus°, Mordecai Johnson, Henrik Jensen°, Sigurd Jacobsen°, Chr. Thule Hansen°,*
† Gandhi, P. Alexejevittsj Krapotkin°, Chaim Weizmann, Christian Michelsen°, Heinrich Heine, Max Stirner, Gustav Landauer, Fichte, Jeremy Bentham, Bruno Wille, Conrad Englert Faye, P. J. Proudhon, J. Mackay — Hans Jæger°, Søren Jaabæk°, Ivar Mortensson Egnund°, — R. W. Emerson°, John Stuart Mill, Lao-Tse.

Others:

Please Assist Me

in distributing «Think for Yourself» and this Supplement by sending them to your friends.

For each seven kroners or seven shillings, or for each dollar of equivalent in other currency,

I will remit, by third class mail, 100 copies of «Think for Yourself» or 25 Supplements. Larger and smaller quantities available at proportionate prices.

I Norge, bruk postgiro 156 04, "Tenk Selv"

Ulf Christensen
B. A. 26 — Oslo.
Norway

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

General Principles of

Future Government

IT IS BETTER TO LIGHT A CANDLE THAN TO CURSE THE DARKNESS

(Chinese Proverb)

Man's free thought is his most important tool. When the surgeons decide on operation, when the fire-men attack the flames, they do not use lobby agreements or diplomatic chess moves, but experience and insight. In order to master the problems of society that surge up in front of our generation, we must stand so independently that we do not let our approach to the facts be destroyed by party politics, back stage intrigues or opportunism. Knowledge is something objective that binds us together in the same way. Therefore people with professional experience usually reach an understanding in the course of their discussion. In the World Health Organization, FAO, ILO, The World Postal Union and the Meteorologic World Organization, where professional people lead the work, the problems are greatly mastered. But from the UN, the Security Council and other political assemblies, the press and radio incessantly report about negotiations that come to a standstill or fail. Most political news does not give great hope for those directly concerned. The politicians are captured in a wilderness. They fail because they let their ideologies, religions, personal motives or matters of prestige interfere with their understanding of the facts. They also fail because they are compelled to decide in so many and differing matters that it becomes totally impossible for them to judge each case conscientiously.

Let us put a spotlight on the conditions under which the party-politicians work. The individual member of a political assembly is often forced to demonstrate his ignorance. One day he must take a decision about one of the state industries, the next day about NATO and German Rearmament, next day about for instance the Witch-Craft Act, about prices and trade restrictions etc. etc. To orientate himself he receives bundles of papers that not even the most voracious reader would be capable of ploughing through. In some cases the debates and votes show real knowledge, but often they expose striking incompetance. When insight fails, the politician toes the party line and gives far-fetched reasons. A veil of secrecy is readily used to hide deficiencies that otherwise would have been too obvious. In many cases any society of housewives, farmers or high school pupils would have come to better conclusions than the national assemblies. When professional people prepare excellent committee-reports, they are often vitiated by the tug-of-war between the members of political bodies. Well administered public institutions are also run by professional people; the good results are rather achieved in spite of the parties than because of them. When leading professional people avoid participating in political life, it may be due to fear of the majority of politicians who are ill-informed or who see the problems through coloured glasses. It must be rather depressing when a good professional effort is voted down because of ignorance, power-complexes or prestige. All politicians can never become qualified as encyclopedists. Therefore, the only solution is to establish an organization which can solve local, regional and international problems in a far more rational way than the present assemblies of politicians.

This organization or institution should concentrate on all problems which cry for a solution, but which the political bodies have failed to solve. With this in mind, we divide the causes of social disintegration and human unhappiness into groups (see other page). At the same time we enlist those men and women who most clearly diagnose the ills of society and explain how to heal them. By analyzing all kinds of social literature one may deduce many fields of work and study for those who attack the causes of international and social unrest. In this paper fifteen main fields are delineated. In this connection it can be mentioned that large modern hospitals are generally divided into fifteen departments. The division below may be improved and further divided into subdivisions. The main point is that we achieve a practical division of labour. People who devote themselves to the general welfare of mankind might be organized rationally by coming to an agreement on these special fields of work:

1. Man and nature. 2. Social integration. 3. Mentality. 4. Comprehension and expression. 5. Personal development and education. 6. Organization and administration. 7. Economics. 8. Social and public security. 9. Government, power. 10. Violence, non-violence. 11. Sex. 12. Health. 13. Material civilization. 14. Cultural life, art — and 15. Religion.

For each of these fields we need local discussion forums and professional teams, regular regional congresses and international scientific councils («Brains Trust»). The teams should work along the same principle as scientific teams, where they first define the problems and then cooperate to solve them. To awaken popular interest in the scheme, and to engage top-ranking professional people in all countries, further teams of organizers would be needed. These assistants might also be coordinated by means of a directory (see other page). Partly they could be grouped according to language area and geographical area, partly according to personal possibilities. One must experiment in order to trace the best division of labour. In the meanwhile one may consider the following division into groups:

A. Contact groups for local registration and exchange of contacts in connection with the international work. B. Assistants within all political parties, as well as independent representatives who work upon political assemblies, departments, official committees and municipal councils. C. Contacts within press and radio to keep the public informed about all matters that are taken up. D. Groups of people who provide economic means to begin the scheme (The money which is needed to launch the plan is equal only to the cost of world military expences in the time that it took to read this sentence.) E. Linguists, illustrators, commercial artists, photographers, film producers, actors and composers who give the new solutions such inspiring expressions that they carry the people with them.

The suggested scheme would signify that all proposals for social reform might be raised at open discussion meetings, and then be dealt with by professional teams and congresses. Through the press and radio the public would be kept informed so that anybody might participate with criticism and suggestions. When presented for the political assemblies, the solutions would be so thoroughly contemplated and prepared that all irrelevant objections would be dropped. In this way the function of the national assemblies would be limited to their original main task: to act as popular organs of control. We would take the step from illusory to rational democracy. The «government of the people, by the people and for the people» would at any time consist of the most able in each field. The best in present thinking and learning would be given a chance instead of hindered. Thus civilization may find itself.

If a situation is vacant as conductor of an orchestra, a factory manager or a theater director, the election among the candidates is carried without any voting-system. The right people are engaged in view of the recognition bestowed upon them by earlier achievements, and the position they have won in the esteem of their fellow men. The national voting-systems with four or five lists of a few persons nominated in each district every few years give greater possibilities for framed elections than genuine selection. In future society such formal elections will appear not only irrational, but impossible as a means to select the most able social leadership. If persons like Gandhi, Nansen, Michael Scott or Lord Boyd Orr personally could organize social teams, get their work financed and receive as much publicity as the politicians do today — we would no more feel the necessity of political governments. We would achieve a social order where no one would feel the domination of a hierarchy. Such factors as threats and suppression, servility and fear of authority would be out of date. The pilot on the ship does not need the cold hand of law to defend his authority. All passengers and crew rely on his responsibility and knowledge about the shoals, and all are equally interested in getting the ship well into the harbour.

Since 1950 a «third way» in foreign policy has been suggested. A world community of societies presupposes also a third way for the social order. Many people have set their wits to work to find an advanced alternative to eastern Socialism and western Capitalism. The solution presented here signifies that social awareness and responsibility can replace imposed authority. The orchestra of democracy can be properly tuned by rationalizing the whole public administration. Insight and understanding can be placed in the high seat. Only knowledge can be power. After an eventful development Parliaments and Governments can silently slide into the background and at last only be conserved as social antiques like palaces and royal houses. This is how I presently believe we can win the peace. U. C.

PRELIMINARY OUTLINE – CONTINUED FROM OTHER PAGE

Public and Social Security

Crime, larceny, theft, juvenile delinquency, prostitution etc. resulting from unjust economy, social insecurity, frustrations in homes, schools, the forces etc. Victims of social injustice need aid but are treated with seclusion and austerity. Roman law is still being practised. In many countries political opponents and blunted criminals end in the same prisons. The first ones should go free, the others cured or re-educated for life in special schools, psychopatic and psychiatric institutions and asylums. The legal system, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, the cold hand of law, myriads of decrees and regulations, often sustained with forced labour, police spies, witch hunts and judicial crimes are all used to safeguard obsolete systems, political despotism, militarism, social and economic injustice, deceptive notions of property.

Rigid legislation undermines people's sense of personal responsibility and promotes legal trickery. The result of the cases may depend on the lawyers' fees. Human rights are ignored by most governments. Nine years since the war there are still whole populations of displaced persons. Care for old people is generally inadequate. Too much life in institutions, both for old people and children.

André Cayatte, Vittorio de Sica, Frederic Bastiat, Stanley Cramer, John Ford, Edward Dmytryk, Carol Reed, Chaplin, Lattuada, Basil Wright - Upton Sinclair, John Steinbeck, Richard Wright, Allan Paton, Paul Robeson, Lillian Smith, B. Traven, Cr. Bowen, C. Spaak, Pablo Neruda, Ethel Manning, Ivar Lo Johanson°, Torborg Nedergaard°, Wilhelm Moberg°, Clarence Darrow, Jørgen Trolle°, W. Aubert°, Nils Christie°, Toralv Fanebust°,
† Albert Engstrøm°, Martin Andersen Nexø°, John Reed, Maxim Gorki, Lu Hsun, Emile Zola, Honoré de Balzac, Daumiér, J. Repin, Christian Krogh°, John MacLean, Sir C. Macklin, Arbuthnot.

L'Abbé Pierre, Karl Schlyter°°, Viggo Starcke°°, Kristen Andersen°, William Douglas, Bodil Koch°, Fyke Farmer°, Wm. Patterson°, W. Beveridge, Francis Silver (International:) Stringfellow Barr°, John Nibb, Aksel Middelthon°, Walter Lippmann, Emery Reeves, Guiseppe Borgese, Vera Robert Akesson°, Walter T. Nef°, Louis Hlavacek.
† Severin Christensen°, Johan Castberg°, Mariano Ruiz-Funes, William Booth, William D. Thoreau°, Abraham Lincoln, Th. Jefferson, Lombroso, Spinoza, Rousseau, Hobbes, Wilhelm de Grote.

SEX

Discrimination against women who are paid less and not admitted to all jobs. Sexual frustration resulting from prejudices and puritanical church morals, which together with the hard momentum of regimented life stint vitality and sensitiveness. Cold-hearted, intellectual love-making stimulated by cheap press, advertising and fourth class movies. Lack of knowledge of contraceptives and sterile periods, impeded rights to birth control, fifty per cent of all children are born against the desire of their parents. Lack of suitable social amenities frequently render it impossible to contact the right partners. Individualized love. Many false marriages that are preserved by means of formalities instead of love. Exaggerated monogamy, even combined with artificial insemination. Loss of possibility — or ability — to love without fear. Widespread frigidity and impotence lead to: Aggressive aversion to the natural, humane and pristine ways of life, perversion, rape, sadism, the cult of violence, men seeking outlet for their repressed impulses in militarism, using revolvers, guns etc. as unconscious phallic symbols. Sex conflicts, complexes and frustrations probably bottle up enough energy to create a completely new world.

Alfred Kinsey, Bertrand Russell°, Margaret Mead, Karen Horney, Wilhelm Reich, Ben B. Lindsay, Nic Waal°.
† Edward Carpenter°, Westermarck, Wilhelm Stekel, Freud.

René Guyon°, Esther Harding°, Marie Stopes, Kirsten Anken°°, Karl Evang°, Bengt Danielsson°, Thorleif Schjelderup°°, Edwin Hirsch°, Ingmar Bergman°, Arne Mattson°, Erik Balling°, Claude Autant-Lara, Colette, Abbé Prevost, Erskine Caldwell, André Bierke°, Trygve Soelberg°, Birgit Tenggroth°, Leiken Schjelderup°.
† Th. Lawrence°, Johannes W. Jensen°, Hans Jæger°, Frøding°, Olaf Bull°, Havelock Ellis, Heine, Rosetti, Camilla Collett°, George Sand, Boccaccio, Dante, Petrarca, Salomon — Theodor van de Velde, B. Malinowski

Others:

Material Civilization

Separation of material life from art, «art for art's sake» while daily life is surrounded by ugliness; drab and dingy human beehives where unattractiveness is the dominant note, disorderly urban districts, «jerry-building» and «ribbon developements», slums, stereotyped clothing, neglect of aesthetic values. The oppressive dullness of buildings without character, with identical stairs and flats, no play of light and shadow, cold and warm colors, reflexes, proportions, no accordance with environment and nature — sap vitality, kill the imagination. Large industrial areas looking like neurotic volcanic eruptions. Gadgets complicating life rather than making it easier. Quantity before quality in mass-production. Old houses and constructions of cultural value are not maintained, but rot away. Vast expanses of bomb-ruins remain while there is lack of vision in rebuilding. Mania for grandour marked by mediocrity. Abnormal expansion of cities. Continuous world-wide housing shortage, war on want not yet declared while science is still applied for destructive purposes. Conspicious waste.

Lewis Mumford, Charlie Chaplin, Stuart Chase, Harold Rugg, Alfred Ewing, Krabbe°, l'Abbe Pierre † Gandhi, Karel Capek, Walter Rathenau, Oswald Spengler, Emile Zola, Leopardi, Eilert Sundt°, Thomas Hood, Ruskin, Carlyle, Tolstoi.

Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier), Maxwell Fry, José Louis Sert°, Ralph Tubbs, Walter Dorwin Teague, Louis Sullivan, Gropius, Geddes, Anton Zischka.
† Henry Ford, Kristian Birkeland°, Th. A. Edison, Marconi, Maxwell, Bell, Faraday, Planck, H. C. Ørsted, Leibnitz, Descartes, D. Lilienthal, Johan Ericson°, Benjamin Franklin, Stephenson, Watt, Isaac Newton, Leonardo da Vinci, Pi Sheng, Azachel, Archimedes, Euclid.

Others:

Violence, Non-violence

Acceptance of violence between peoples as a means to settle disputes between groups of politicians in office. The whole burden of violent assault is put upon impressionable youths; by means of conscription they are paralyzed into fearing commands rather than to trust their own personal judgement — and forged into smooth running cogs in the political and military machine. The power of weapons that do not kill is not yet properly realized. Uniformed forces are occupying the whole world, while the burden of defense budgets destroys the economy of most societies. Arms industries, financially interested in enormous national expenditures on modern means of annihilation, propagate international insecurity. Vast expenditure on obsolete methods of warfare continue and in many countries conscientious objectors are punished, although there is no defence against Hell-bombs.

Erich Maria Remarque, Norman Mailer, John Hersey, Lord Russell of Liverpool, James Jones, Hans Hellmut Kirst, Yasusi Nishiwaki, Beverley Nichols, Fred Zimmerman, McLaren, S. J. Cadoux, Bert Brecht, Elin Wägner, J. Cain, Stanley Jones°, Cobb, Harald Ofstad°, Eiling Tjønneland°, Ragnar Forbech°, Sigrid Larsen°.
† Norman Angell, Olaf Kullmann°, Ellen Hørup°, Stig Dagerman°, Knut Wernwick°, Ossietzky, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, Bertha von Suttner, Karl Liebknecht, Werner Sombart, Oswald Spengler, Sorel, Viggo Hørup°, Henri Barbusse, Immanuel Kant, Francisko Göya.

Health

People whose lives are chained to rigid time-tables and methodical movements suffer from: Persistent fatigue, jangling nerves, ulcers, inability to relax, excessive use of drugs. Degenerative diseases resulting from distress, wrong eating habits, over- or undernutrition, wrong composition of diet, lack of vitamins, minerals, etc. Tooth cavities, poignant symptom of industrialized food provision, over-refining of flour, sugar etc. Belches of smoke, a layer of poisonous fumes and smog that stains lungs and clothes and kills vegetation. Dangerous pollution of streams and rivers. Inorganic farming, excessive use of chemical fertilizers and poison sprays devitalize crops, take away good old flavour, undermine health. Diseases of civilization spreading in pace with industrialization such as cancer, diabetes, polio, multiple sclerosis and lesions, deformities and abnormities caused by radio-activity. Caricature of sports: Watching the game instead of participating. Cruel boxing.

Johan Galtung°, Arne D. E. Næss°, Alan Skinner°, Stuart Morris°, A. J. Muste°, K. J. Kenafick°, Heinz Kraschutzki°, Siegmund Schultze, Karl Ehrlich, K. Shridharani, Pandit Nehru, Louis Fisher, R. B. Gregg, G. R. Bannerjee, George M. Li Davies, Ruth Fry, Niels Lundberg°, Gammelgaard Jacobsen°, Henrik Jensen°
† Mahatma Gandhi°, Vladimir Solovjeff, Leo Tolstoi°, Spinoza

Others:

Henry E. Sigerist, Jarl Wagner Smitt°°, Charles Bell Taylor, C. A. Winslow, R. G. Wilborn, V. Vallberg°
† Trygve Bråtøy°°, Dr. Lawson Tait, M. Beddow Bailey.

Fr. Alexander, Paul Tournier°, Frank Slaughter, Dr. Benjamin, Aldous Huxley, Walter Fleming, Bess Mensendieck, Rebecca Beard, Henr. Seyffart°, Lily Loat, Geoffrey Rudd, Albert Howard, Bircher-Benner, Ralph Bircher, Erik Holm°, Are Waerland°°, Hans Boringvad°, James C. Thompson, Helge Myhre°°, Rajvaidya Kalidas, R. G. Jackson, Arvid Pickelner°.
† Ehrenfried Pfeiffer, Rudolf Steiner, Madame Curie, Röntgen, Metcnikoff, Leeuwenhoeck, Ambroise Paré, Galen, Hippocrates.

Others:

RELIGION

Wide chasm between teaching and practice. Worship and hypocrisy instead of beneficial advice for living. Churches linked up with states, powerful organizations or big business. Clericalism and ritualism. Preachers scaring congregations with hell to maintain own status. Even convinced atheists believe in evil as a diabolic possession — instead of analyzing its causes. Worship of symbols and false authorities: «big» politicians, «fuehrers», national anthems, uniforms, flags (as most children are taught to do), states, organizations (as party-politicians do, their temples are the state capitols), prominence, positions, wealth (as the bourgeois do), the Golden Calf, Mammon, gilt-edged securities, bank-notes, money (as businessmen do, their temples are the banks), and other idols and abstract symbols — — instead of Nature, Universal Laws and Christ in Man. Theorizing and systematizing scripturist simply cannot conceive the artistic and occult language of the Bible, Talmud, the Koran, the Vedas, the Bhagavad Gita, Avesta, Dhammapada, etc.

Max Weber, Tawney, B. Dybwad Brochmann°°, Morten Grindal°, G. von Frankenberg, Max Brod, Sven Lønborg°, G. Bradlough Bonner, Bruce Marshall, William James ,Gabriel Chevalier, Helge Krog°, Gabriel Langfeldt°, Johannes André°, Georg Bøden°
† Alexander Kielland°, G. K. Chesterton, Carl Heath, Matthew Arnold, Søren Kierkegaard°°, Ludvig Feuerbach, Friedrich Strauss, Sebastian Franck, Helvétius, Xenojanes.

Albert Schweitzer, Kagawa, Michael Scott, Aldo Capitini, Stanley Jones, Emil Brunner, Leonard Stark, Gabriel Scott°, Nakano, Jacques Maritain, Kristian Schjelderup°, Martin Niemöller, Hans Bauge°, Algot Englesson°, Erling Gabrielsen°, Leif Rovsing°
† Ronald Fangen°, Kaj Munk°, Vladimir Solovjeff, Sadhu Sundar Singh, Nikolas Zernov, Chr. Collin°, Kristoffer Janson°, Conrad Noël, Schleiermacher, Eberhard Arnold, Baha'ullah, William Booth, John Bunyen, George Fox, William Penn, Blaise Pascal, Frans of Assisi, Thomas of Aquinas, Martin Luther, Erasmus Rotterodamus, Mohammed, Jesus Christ, Gautama Buddha, Zoroaster, Moses

Others:

CULTURAL LIFE, ART, SENSE OF BEAUTY

Old rural culture, folklore, folk songs, work songs, folk dances, dialects, handicrafts and traditions are dying out, while our minds are stuffed with advertisments, flimsy magazines, sensational headlines, noise, juke-boxes, hoarse propaganda, the cult of fashions, uninspired textbooks and banal programmes. Sense of beauty is broken down. Further disruption of cultural life through political interference. Lack of knowledge about other lands and peoples. When creative cultural activity is confined to over-crowded cities, the cleavage between town and countryside is accentuated. Days & events move with an ever increasing momentum, we are enslaved to the hours, minutes and seconds and do not have time to «have time». We become robot-minded and end up despising culture, freedom, love, beauty, nature and life itself.

Arnold Toynbee, Broby Johansen°°, Egon Fridell, Pitirim Sorokin, Albert Schweitzer, Erik Blomberg°, Paul la Cour°, Arthur Lundkvist°, John Patrick, Edmond Taylor, Susan Langer, J. Medbøe°, Hendrik Willem van Loon.
† Tor Jonsson°, Ortega y Gasset, Paul Valéry, H. G. Wells, Johan Freud, H. C. Brandes°°, Friedrich Nietzsche

Walt Disney, Eisenstein, René Clair, Fritz Lang, W. Pabst, C. Th. Dreyer°, Katherine Dunham, Stanislavski, Louis Armstrong, Igor Stravinsky, Skrjabin , Prokojev, Poul Hindemith, Arnold Schöneberg, Eivind Groven°, Bjørn Fongård°, Ram Gopal, Hi Si Chi, Arne Ekeland°, Picasso, Nanny Nygren Birø° — Herberth Read°, Harold Laski°, Peter Goffin°.
† Matisse, Cezanne, Chagal, Vigeland°, Edward Munch°, Kittelsen°, Paul Klee, Wilhelm Grønbech°°, Ervin Piscator, Anna Pavlova, Feodor Sjallapin, V. Mayerhold, H. C. Andersen°, Rodin, van Gogh, Rembrandt, El Greco, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, Phidias, Praxiteles — Gershwin, Debussy, Sibelius, Chopin, Tschaikowski, Mozart, Wagner, Bach, Beethoven

Others:

Price of this

"Think for Yourself"

Supplement

25 øre — 3 pence — 5 cents

if it is convenient for you to pay.

Purpose of Life

FUTURE SOCIETY

No common conception of the purpose of Life. It is not yet realized that the ultimate goal of all great religions and ideologies represents the common yearning of every human being.

Hans Christian Sandbeck°, Hans Luihn°, Robert M. Hutchins, Ethel Mannin, Charles Ellwood, Anna Kingsford, J. Philips, Eduard Pfeiffer, Emanuel Lasker
† Bert Taylor, George Santayana, Edward Bellamy, Theodor Hertzka, Inanyat Khan, Herberth Spencer, Thomas More, Aristotele

Others:

Printed by Oppland Arbeiderblad
Gjøvik - Norway

United States R

A Monthly Review of the American Sc

VOL. I No. 2 MAY 1955

Peace and Freedom

Mid-April saw two noteworthy developments in the United States in the interlocked spheres of peace and freedom. One was the sudden creation, and equally sudden damping-down of the April 15 Formosa war scare; the other was the holding in New York on April 16 of a crucial civil liberties conference calling for a "rebirth of freedom".

At the beginning of the month a statement attributed variously to Adml. Carney, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations (who later denied it), and to unnamed officials in the Pentagon, the American War Office, said there was evidence the Chinese were going to attack Matsu about the middle of the month. Some reports went so far as to name the exact date—April 15. And it was suggested that the American Government was giving serious thought to the advisability of taking "defensive action" before that date.

President Eisenhower at once made it clear that the Government had no evidence of any such intention of the Chinese to attack, administered a firm rebuke intended, apparently, primarily for Adml. Carney, and generally deprecated "war talk". He was supported by John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State. But the question remained, how did the "scare" begin?

The President indicated that steps would be taken to discourage public speculation by military leaders and officials on the likelihood of war, and James Reston, writing in the *New York Times* on April 3, referred to the "unco-ordinated press sections of the various departments", and to the public relations failure. But it was also hinted that the reports had been a form of kite-flying to test U.S. public reaction to the prospects of war over the off-shore islands.

Staged leaks

In this connection a particularly significant comment was made in the Conservative British *Daily Telegraph*, where, in the post-strike supplement of April 21, Peregrine Worsthorne wrote:

"Staged leaks by American Service leaders, prophesying early atomic war over the off-shore islands, have jolted the Administration into a tentative re-appraisal of its Formosan policy . . . The various accretions which Service leaders and certain Republican Senators attempted to graft on to this policy have been rejected in forthright statements by both President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles.

"The reasons for the shift in American policy appear to be two-fold. First, public opinion has increasingly opposed the risk of world war over two islands which are generally regarded as having little or no strategic value.

"Second, there is alarm in Washington at the prospect of being involved in war with China without allies. Canada and Britain would not support America, but Moscow, it is feared, might well support China. The Democrats have been putting much pressure on the Administration to get itself off the Matsu and Quemoy hook."

Stevenson plea

Moreover, when Adlai Stevenson, who was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1952, called, in a nation-wide radio address for a general condemnation of the use of force in the Formosa Strait, Mr. Dulles immediately claimed this as

United States Report

45 Clarges Street, W.1.

Subscription rates 6s. per year, 3s. for six months, post free.

peace. The messages are heartening because they show that their authors have given serious thought to world disarmament and to how it can be achieved."

Role of Individual

Senator Everett M. Dirksen, Republican, Illinois, calling for "spiritual armour", and a recognition of the rôle of the individual in maintaning peace in the atomic era, said in New York on April 20 (*New York Times,* April 21):

> . . . if man could devise something to snuff out 100,000 lives, he could devise something to save 100,000 lives. [Senator Dirksen] asserted that just as scientists had gone back to the smallest unit of matter, the atom, so must mankind go back to the smallest unit—the individual man—for "our answer to the challenge of this hour."
>
> "All this imposes upon us as members of this great confraternity vast personal responsibilities," Mr. Dirksen continued. "The guided thought must be the answer to the guided missile. The spiritual slowdown is the antidote to sonic speeds. The human will is stronger than titanium or steel. With these moral weapons at our command we cannot fail in the search for spiritual fission as the one answer to the challenges of the nuclear age."
>
> What is needed, he said, is a "great chain reaction" of individual human resolve as the "one counterforce to the nuclear potential."

Freedom Rally

Appeal to Congress

The conference on freedom, which also marked the tenth anniversary of Roosevelt's death, was held in Carnegie Hall, New York, under the auspices of the U.S. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee The principal address was delivered by Senator William Langer, Republican, North Dakota, member of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Discussions were held on the following topics:

Orthodoxy, Heresy, and the Individual Conscience; Labour and Livelihood under Tyranny; Passports, the Right to Travel, and World Understanding; Conformity versus Creativity in Art and Education; and The Politics of Fear.

The various discussions were summed up in a symposium on "The people's right and duty to speak up." The conference endorsed the following appeal to Congress:

> We call upon the Judiciary Committee of the House and Senate to establish a joint committee to investigate abridgments of civil liberties throughout the land.
>
> We urge the joint committee to review all existing legislation that limits constitutional freedoms of belief, expression, and association.
>
> We urge the Sub-committee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee to conduct hearings regarding the goverment's use of paid informers,
>
> We urge Congress to adopt a code of fair procedures for its investigations.
>
> We urge Congress to strengthen present legislation forbidding wiretapping and protecting the privacy of the mails.

Proud and Happy

In its report of the conference the New York *Herald Tribune* said (April 18), in part:

> Before he spoke, Senator Langer was asked why he was willing to address an organization whose top leaders have been cited for contempt of the Congress in which he sits.
>
> "I've been addressing them for three years," he said. "I like them very much."
>
> Senator Langer told his audience of 1,000 persons about the question he had been asked before he spoke. and added: "I reiterate to the press that I am delighted and proud and happy to be here."
>
> He then spoke about his friendship for Mr. and Mrs. Corliss Lamont. Mr. Lamont, vice-chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and a lecturer in philosophy at Columbia University, has been cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the Senate Investigations sub-committee.
>
> The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee was formed in October, 1951, by some 150 clergymen, educators and professional men to aid persons and causes in cases involving Constitutional rights.

(*In view of the importance of this conference, summaries of and extracts from some of the principal statements and discussions will be published in the next issue of* UNITED STATES REPORT.)

I have no time . . .

I have no time for World Peace groups;
I am a mother.
My days are spent with cod-liver oil and baths in the sun—
So my son's sturdy limbs will better adorn
A barbed barricade
Somewhere afar, years to come, slain
By a lad like himself.

I have no time to write Congressmen
Urging neutrality,
Indeed no! I am too busy cooking dried prunes—
So the blood from his young brown chest
Will redder and richer run
Where he drops lifeless in some foreign land
Protecting investments.

I have no time to study why wars are;
I am raising a son,
Cleaning, polishing, ironing white rompers—
Then, hypnotized by fife and drum,
Stabbing with madness,
Ripping out hearts with a bright bayonet,
He will slaughter his brothers.
I have no time!

MARGARET TUESDALE GIBBS.
Oakland Tribune

The Cloud over Mankind

The U.S. Atomic Energy Commission reported to Congress on April 15 that investigations had "failed to show any harmful effects from atomic tests in Nevada. The experts of the A.E.C. which is primarily concerned with the production of atomic weapons, declared:

The radio-active fall-out from the Nevada tests had created "no recognizable health hazard".

The possibilities of any genetic effects or changes in hereditary factors that would cause difficulties in unborn generations were remote.

Long-term Dangers

Growing concern in the United States as well as in other parts of the world over the actual, potential, and long-term dangers of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests was not greatly allayed last month by the A.E.C. scientists' assurances. For example Philip Morrison, one of America's outstanding nuclear physicists, in an article which underlined a recent request by the Federation of American Scientists for a disinterested United Nations' examination of the problem, wrote:

Are the tests, which are in no way scientific experiments, but wholly military in design and purpose, really necessary?

That they are yet a grave hazard seems unlikely; that they have the seeds of general danger is certain; that by chance at least some unsuspecting people will be affected by a test sooner or later is very possible . . . The Los Alamos Laboratory itself has published a manual for radiation workers which carries the sound admonition: "Any unnecessary exposure to radiation is too much".

If Tests go on . . .

And here are other authoritative American comments:

It should be clear that future accelerated H-bomb test programmes by several atomic Powers will ultimately reach a level which can be shown to be a serious threat to the genetic safety of all people of the world . . .

—Federation of American Scientists' proposal for a U.N. study of radiation effects.

It is inexcusable to state, as has been done, that no hazard exists . . . If the world's fall-out rate continues as it did last year, nuclear tests should cause one deleterious mutation (physical or mental deformity) in each 50,000 conceptions. In the entire world the present fall-out will cause 1,800 deleterious mutations each year among the 90 million births . . . I have made every effort to be conservative . . . (it) could possibly be 100 times greater.

—Dr. Alfred H. Sturtevant, Professor of Genetics at California Institute of Technology and Member of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences.

Flimsy Evidence

We may have to wait years or generations to determine the full effects of radiation on the human body . . . The 'no danger' reports are based on the sheerest, most flimsy evidence . . .

—Dr. Theodore Puck, head of the Biophysics Dept., and Dr. Ray R. Lanier, head of the Medical School Radiology Dept., Colorado University.

Leukemia [a degenerative disease of the blood] is one of the great dangers. Some people are much more likely to get leukemia than others. A small extra amount of radiation may push them over the threshold.

—Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winner in Chemistry, calling for an end to atomic tests.

Future Generations

Hidden mutations in the second generation and after can lower the average vigor and health of a population for hundreds or thousands of years after a single exposure, according to Dr. H. J. Muller, Nobel prize-winner for his work on the effect of X-rays on fruit flies, who wrote before the H-bomb was perfected: "Even an atomic explosion like that of Hiroshima probably results in the death of more people of future generations, all told, than those killed now, and in the handicapping of many more".

—New York Times, March 27.

The duty of the Intellectual

Prof. Einstein's warning

Prof. Albert Einstein, whose death on April 18 deprived the world not only of one of the greatest scientists it has ever known, but also of one of its noblest workers for peace, humanitarianism, and civil rights, gave the following answers to questions on academic freedom put to him last year by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in America;

Q.—What is the essential nature of academic freedom and why is it necessary for the pursuit of truth?

A.—By academic freedom I understand the right to search for truth and to publish and teach what one holds to be true. This right implies also a duty; one must not conceal any part of what one has recognised to be true.

It is evident that any restriction of academic freedom acts in such a way as to hamper the dissemination of knowledge among the people and thereby impedes rational judgment and action.

Q.—What threats to academic freedom do you see at this time?

A.—The threat to academic freedom in our time must be seen in the fact that, because of the alleged external danger to our country, freedom of teaching, mutual exchange of opinions, and freedom of press and other media of communication are encroached upon or obstructed.

This is done by creating a situation in which people feel their economic positions endangered. Consequently, more and more people avoid expressing their opinion freely, even in their private social life. This is a state of affairs which a democratic government cannot survive in the long run.

Q.—What in your view are the particular responsibilities of a citizen at this time in the defence of our traditional freedoms as expressed in our Bill of Rights?

A.—The strength of the Constitution lies entirely in the determination of each citizen to defend it. Only if every single citizen feels duty bound to do his share in this defence are the constitutional rights secure.

Q.—What in your opinion are the special obligations of an intellectual in a democratic society?

(Continued at foot of col. 3 overleaf)

The Informer's Trade

The confessions of Harvey Matusow (United States Report, April), have drawn world-wide attention to the use of paid informers by U.S. Government agencies in the prosecution of every kind of radical or non-conformist or militant trade unionist who can, with or without justification, be labelled "Leftist". But the problem so dramatically floodlit by Matusow is not new. A year ago the Nation, the American liberal weekly wrote:

"Today scores of political informers, most of them ex-Communists, have become circuit-riding witnesses, appearing again and again in Smith Act and similar prosecutions, deportation proceedings and before legislative committees . . . Almost every day their testimony is helping to send someone to jail or ruining someone's reputation, or disrupting a home by bringing about the deportation of some member of a family.

"The demand for the services of political informers is fed by the frequently sensational stories they tell on the witness stand. The more they talk, the more they are in demand; and the more they are in demand, the more they talk."

Matusow has implicated other professional witnesses. When asked whether he would be willing to plead guilty to a perjury charge, he indicated he was not willing to be made a "scapegoat" for the other informers he says have lied. He named Elizabeth Bentley, Louis Budenz, Whittaker Chambers, Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson, Matthew Cvetic and Herbert Philbrick.

Profitable Side-lines

The political informer is, generally well paid not only as a witness but for all kinds of profitable side-lines. Usually he gets a full time or half time job as an "adviser" or "consultant" on subversive organisations either to a government organisation or some private corporation.

There are lectures, radio talks, television appearances and, of course, confessions and autobiographies. Budenz wrote three books that brought him 17,000 dollars in royalties. He was given a Professorship at Fordham University. He also earned 20,000 dollars for magazine articles and 24,000 for lectures. All this was in addition to his fees as a witness.

Matthew Cvetic received 12,500 dollars for the film rights of his material and 6,500 dollars for a magazine article based on his experiences as an informer. He is reputed to earn between 10,000 and 15,000 dollars a year from his activities.

"Imaginative Powers"

Religious Freedom News, published by the American Religious Freedom Committee, wrote recently:

> Last summer when publicity was given to discrepancies in the testimony of Paul Crouch, Attorney General Brownell promised an investigation of Crouch's reliability.
>
> [Crouch once said in an interview with the Honolulu *Star Bulletin*: "I am in the habit of writing imaginary letters to my friends and imaginary persons, sometimes to kings and other foreign persons, in which I place myself in imaginary positions. I do that to develop my imaginative powers."]
>
> Brownell called a press conference to explain that he was asking a grand jury to look into the Matusow and other cases. A reporter asked if he planned to do anything about the over-a-year-old request of the United Nations that the Justice Department look into the false testimony of Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson against Ralph Bunche, prominent U.N. official who was unanimously cleared. Brownell replied he had never heard of this request.
>
> Matusow is only the latest paid informer to be exposed. Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson, David Brown—all these preceded Matusow as exposed or confessed perjurers. The same Patterson, Johnson and Crouch who testified against Ralph Bunche and others, testified in Pittsburgh against Steve Nelson and others. (See page 5)

"Contempt" charge

Matusow himself was released on 10,000 dollars bail from the El Paso, Texas, county jail on April 4. He was sentenced on March 19 to a three-year prison term for criminal contempt of court, after swearing that he gave false evidence in the trial of Clinton Jencks, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers' Union official. Matusow's sentence is being appealed against.

On April 22 Alexander Trachtenberg, aged 70, and George Black Charney, 50, serving a three-year sentence on charges of "conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the Government"—and convinced on the perjured testimony of Matusow—were granted a fresh trial. But Federal Judge Dimock held that the Government prosecutors were "in no way responsible for Matusow's lies".

(*New York Times, April* 23)

"Thinking must be stopped."

"Unreason and anti-intellectualism abominate thought. Thinking implies disagreement; and disagreement implies nonconformity; and nonconformity implies heresy; and heresy implies disloyalty—so, obviously, thinking must be stopped."

Adlai Stevenson.

"Insistence on the rights of the individual conscience seems to be the new communist line".

Thomas J. Flynn, urging, on behalf of a branch of the American Legion, the New York Board of Education to require public school teachers to be informers or be dismissed.

Prof. Einstein (from page 3.)

A.—In principle everybody is equally involved in defending the constitutional rights. The "intellectuals" in the widest sense of the word are, however, in a special position since they have, thanks to their special training, a particularly strong influence on the formation of public opinion. This is the reason why those who are about to lead us toward an authoritarian government are particularly concerned with intimidating and muzzling that group.

It is therefore in the present situation especially important for the intellectuals to do their duty. I see this duty in refusing to co-operate in any undertaking that violates the constitutional rights of the individual. This holds in particular for all inquisitions that are concerned with the private life and the political affiliations of the citizens. Whoever co-operates in such a case becomes an accessory to acts of violation or invalidation of the Constitution.

"Sedition" goes back to 1798

Of particular concern to liberals in the contemporary American scene is the number of "sedition" cases brought under State statutes, some of them stemming from panic security legislation immediately after the first World War, and many of them in conflict with both the spirit and the letter of the Federal Constitution and laws. Such cases are pending at present in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Kentucky, Florida Michigan and Pennsylvania.

The Nelson Case

Outstanding among these cases is that against Steve Nelson, former Lieutenant Colonel of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain. Nelson was convicted of "holding the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania up to contempt and ridicule" in 1952 and given 20 years in prison.

The "sedition" law under which he was sentenced was modelled on the Federal Sedition Law of 1798, which Thomas Jefferson consigned to oblivion in 1801. It is so vague that anything said or written which powerful interests decide "brings the government into 'hatred and contempt'" is considered "seditious".

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court reversed the Nelson case decision holding that the Federal Smith Act had superseded "sedition" laws.

The Attorney General of Pennsylvania thereupon appealed against the reversal to the U.S. Supreme Court and got 27 other State Attorneys General to support his petition. The Supreme Court has agreed to review the case.

This appeal is still pending in the Supreme Court. If it reaffirmed the conviction against Nelson it would not only send him to prison for 20 years (he is over 50) but would validate ancient sedition laws on the statute books of many States, and extend them to other States as well.

And this is what I. F. Stone, distinguished American liberal journalist, wrote about the Pennsylvania "treason" conviction:

"It would be difficult to find a more dangerously vague sedition statute or a more dangerously vague indictment than those under which Steve Nelson has been sentenced in Pittsburgh. The statute recalls the old English common law of seditious libel under which Seventeenth and Eighteenth century editors were often sent to jail.

"The flavour of the indictment may be gathered from one of its 12 counts. This alleges that Nelson 'did incite and encourage a certain person and persons whose name and names are to this inquest unknown, to commit an overt act and overt acts with a view to bringing the government of this State and of the United States into hatred and contempt . . .'

"When Nelson, who was deprived of the right to counsel, asked for a bill of particulars, so that he might know what persons he is alleged to have incited to what overt acts, the motion was denied."

Carl Braden

Trials in the Louisville, Kentucky, "sedition" case against Carl Braden and others were postponed last month to Nov. 16 or later, to await a decision, expected in the U.S. Supreme Court in the autumn, on the validity of state sedition laws in the Steve Nelson case. The seven Louisville defendants had been charged with "sedition" or "conspiracy to advocate" it following their defence of the right of a Negro to live in a "white" neighbourhood.

The case was summarised in the CHURCHMAN, *an independent journal of the U.S. Episcopal Church, on Feb. 1, as follows:—*

Was the Good Samaritan a communist? And if so was it subversive to receive his aid? These are problems which an ambitious Commonwealth's attorney in Louisville, Kentucky, has forced the people of that community to examine.

Brotherly love, by helping a Negro family live securely in a decent home, has caused seven white people to be indicted for sedition. Carl Braden, a journalist who was employed by the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, has been sentenced to fifteen years in jail for sedition and his bond has been set for 40,000 dollars.

Braden was approached in the winter of 1953-54, by Andrew Wade, a Negro electrician in Louisville, who asked for his help. Wade had tried to find a house outside the high-rent area in which most Louisville Negroes have to live. Every time he found one that he liked he was told that it could not be sold to a Negro. Wade asked Braden if he would buy a house and sell it to him. Braden agreed and did so.

Similar things had happened in the past in Louisville with some disturbance but with ultimate acceptance . . . Coincidentally, however, a few days after the Wades bought their house, the United States Supreme Court rendered its decision against [racial] segregation in the public schools. The resentment in some quarters against that decision emboldened the ku kluxers and their real estate backers throughout the south to form new anti-Negro groups.

A cross was burned on the lot next door to the Wade home. A rock broke his front window; rifle shots were fired through his kitchen door. His wife was pregnant and Wade called for help. A Wade Defence Committee was organized and a white truck-driver named Vernon Bown, who worked at night, agreed to stay at the Wade home during the day time to protect Mrs. Wade.

Miss Louise Gilbert, a social worker, leader of the Louisville branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, sent a letter to the white citizens of the community into which the Wades had moved, urging Christian tolerance and forbearance.

Just after midnight, in the early morning of June 27, dynamite exploded under the Wade house. Wade and his wife were on the front porch at the time and saw what looked like flashlight signals just before the bomb went off. Although it made a great deal of noise and caused tremendous damage to the house, no lights appeared in any of the houses of the white neighbours and they apparently took no notice of what had happened.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal*, although deploring the fact that the Bradens had helped the Wades buy a house in the white community, pressed the police officials to prosecute the guilty hoodlums. It was reliably reported that an ex-county policeman had confessed to the bombing, although no formal statement was made on the subject by the law enforcement officials. Subsequently, it was said that he had only confessed to burning the cross near the house . . .

After letting one grand jury go by without presentments, the Commonwealth attorney, under considerable local pressure, began action. But to the astonishment of practically everyone, he asked for indictments

against the white friends of the Wades, accusing them of helping the Negroes in order to stir up racial trouble. The *Courier-Journal* published a strong editorial on September 17 under the heading, "The Crime was Bombing, Not Beliefs", but a thirty-four-year-old state law against sedition was used to indict seven of the Wades' white friends.

They include Carl Braden's wife, Miss Gilbert and her friend Miss Spiker, and a man named Lewis Lubka, who was a member of the Wade Defence Committee.

Vernon Bown, the truck-driver who volunteered to protect Mrs. Wade, was in Wisconsin at the time of the bombing. This has not prevented his indictment not only for sedition but for the actual bombing. [He] has been in jail since September 24, 1954, without trial. He has not been able to raise 10,000 dollars bail.

Furthermore, Bown's room-mate, 79-year-old I. O. Ford, has been in jail since October 1. It appears that when the police searched Bown's apartment they found literature belonging to his room-mate which they considered subversive, so they arrested Ford too.

Carl Braden has asserted under oath that he is not and never has been a communist. The prosecuting attorney raided his home while Braden was in jail and produced some books which he contends prove that Braden is a communist. Some of the material produced, Braden asserts, was not in his home but was obtained elsewhere by the prosecutor. A woman who was convicted in 1952 of a morals charge but alleged that she had been working for the F.B.I. since 1951, was the only witness the county could produce to contest Braden's sworn statement.

Trials postponed

The trials have been postponed for Mrs. Anne Braden, Vernon Bown, Ford, Lewis Lubka, Louise Gilbert and Miss Spiker. Ford's bail was reduced from 10,000 to 3,000 dollars on April 6, and, after seven months in gaol, he became the last to be freed on bail before trial.

But although the State had officially recognized that the law is in question, the first of the seven victims, newspaperman Carl Braden, remains in La Grange reformatory, unable to raise the 40,000 dollar appeal bond set for him.

Miami Prosecutions

In Florida an extraordinary story of State "sedition" prosecutions began last year when the State Attorney, George A. Brautigam, issued subpœnas to more than 100 Miami residents for questioning before a grand jury and in his private office about their political beliefs and associations.

Thirty-one who pleaded the privilege against self-incrimination were convicted of contempt, and 30 were sentenced to one year in gaol. Of the 31, 29 were Jews, many of them associated with the Jewish Cultural Centre at Miami Beach.

Florida Supreme Court reversed the convictions on the grounds that the accused had the right to refuse to answer questions on "Communist ties" because the U.S. Supreme Court had decided that the Fifth Amendment could be invoked in cases "where the answers might provide a link in a chain of evidence" as well as in cases where they would be directly self-incriminating.

But the Florida court coupled its decision with a suggestion that State "anti-subversive" statutes should also ban mere membership of the Communist Party and "Communist-front" organisations. In February Brautigam issued a new batch of more than 40 subpœnas. The recipients included several of the 31 freed by the Supreme Court.

He said the same procedure would be followed as in the "contempt" cases: individuals would be questioned first in his private office; if they refused to answer, they would be called before the grand jury; if they refused to answer there, they would be subject to indictment. He added, "In the eyes of the law, once a Communist, always a Communist—unless they can prove otherwise." The 'proof' required was to 'co-operate' by supplying names and information which would allow similar proceedings to be taken against others.

Florida law provides that the State Attorney can bring indictments in any felony through a grand jury, but can prosecute only in capital crimes. All other felonies are prosecuted by the county solicitor, who may refuse to proceed with the cases for lack of evidence.

Brautigam caused the indictment of Sam Hirsch, former director of Miami Beach's Biltmore Playhouse, on eight counts of perjury (each carrying a 20-year sentence) for denying Communist Party membership. His only witness was a man who had been convicted 22 times in the previous five years for drunkenness, and had been tried twice for disorderly conduct and twice for assault. John Marsh, Dade County solicitor declined to take the case further. He said "I don't believe in investigating a man for belief in a theory."

Readers' views

To the Editor, United States Report:-

Sir,—I have just read your first issue. The foreword seemed full of promise but I don't think the contents measured up to it . . . I looked in vain for anything about the Negro people, the economic situation, recent and current legislation in Congress and what the people are doing. I trust that a "balanced study of U.S. government policy and public opinion" will find more expression in future issues.

F. J. BERRY.

Newton Grove, W.4.

Sir,—I agree there are "gaps in our knowledge of day to day life in America" but your No. 1 issue does not appear to attempt to cover more than *one* aspect of present-day American life . . . and not a word about all the good progressive things many Americans manage to do and publish. What we need in England is much more awareness of what Americans are doing to fight this victimisation, "security makers", etc., so that we can give these Americans our support.

Mrs. A. M. YOUNG.

Upper Berkeley Street, W.1.

(UNITED STATES REPORT *welcomes suggestions and comments from readers. The* REPORT *does not attempt, of course, to cover in any one eight-page issue the whole field under review. Readers with special interest in certain aspects of the American scene will find that these aspects are given prominence from time to time as news developments warrant. Some issues of the* REPORT *will deal in greater detail with one or two major problems of outstanding current importance.*—THE EDITOR.)

"The two biggest obstacles to democracy in the United States are first, the widespread delusion among the poor that we have a democracy, and second, the chronic terror among the rich lest we get it."

James H. McGill, Chairman,
McGill Manufacturing Co. Inc.,
Valparaiso, Indiana.

Her home for 48 years

Within three years more than 400 men and women have been arrested for deportation on political charges. Of these 90 per cent have lived in the United States for more than 20 years. Mr. Brownell, Attorney-General, has announced that he will seek to deport more than 10,000 non-citizens, and to de-naturalize 12,000 other people.

The Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, passed in 1952 over President Truman's veto and in spite of the opposition of major religious, labour, and civic organisations, provides that any non-citizen, no matter how long he has lived in the United States, may be deported for any of more than 100 offences, including failure to be possession of a registration card "at all times".

Membership of any one of hundreds of proscribed organisations, no matter how long ago, or for how short a time, is grounds for deportation. According to the law, deportation is not punishment, so there is no question of trial. Evidence is usually provided by paid informers, and to challenge the findings involves a costly appeal to the Federal courts. The law also provides for revocation of the citizenship of naturalized Americans, who then become liable to deportation.

Families Broken-up

Recent legislation provides for citizenship to be withdrawn from native-born Americans convicted under the Smith Act, which declares it a criminal offence to advocate, or to conspire to advocate, the overthrow of the government by force. Each case involves the breaking up of an American family, typical of millions founded by immigrants.

Many of these cases concern men and women born in Britain or otherwise possessing British citizenship. Here are some of them;

Mrs. Annie Hobson, who had her 71st birthday on April 29, was born in Netherthong, Huddersfield, Yorks., and emigrated with her husband to the United States in 1907—48 years ago. They have three children, two boys born in the United States, and a daughter born when her mother was on a visit to Victoria, British Columbia.

Last October Mrs. Hobson's daughter, Mrs. Peggy (Mignon) Wellman, 42, was ordered to be deported on charges that she is foreign-born, and holds nonconformist political views. At her deportation hearing in March, while her husband was in gaol on a conviction under the Smith Act, two paid informers said they had seen her at meetings of the Communist Party. That was enough for the Walter-McCarran law to work on.

Mrs. Hobson's testimony was sought by the immigration authorities to establish that her daughter was "foreign born". After refusing three times to testify against her daughter, Mrs. Hobson was finally prevailed upon to do so under threat of indefinite imprisonment for contempt of court. Now Mrs. Hobson is herself under orders to be deported to England.

John B. Williamson, 51, who was born in Scotland, has lived in the United States for over 40 years. He has an American wife and two young sons. His widowed mother, 79-year-old invalid, lives at 23 Montgomery Street, Eaglesham, Scotland.

Convicted, with eleven other leading members of the American Communist Party, on Smith Act charges in 1949, he was sentenced to five years in goal and a fine of 10.000 dollars. When he completed his term on March 1 last he was immediately arrested on a further charge under the Smith Act, that of membership of the Communist party while knowing its purpose as alleged in the conspiracy charge. He, too was subject to a deportation order and made arrangements to sail for Britain on May 4.

Citizenship Medal

Claudia Jones, who was born in Trinidad, British West Indies, is 38. She was brought to the United States by her parents in 1924, when she was nine. Educated in New York she received, in 1934, the highest award given by the city's Board of Education, the Theodore Roosevelt Medal for Good Citizenship. As a Negro Miss Jones dedicated herself to the constitutional struggle to end the discrimination suffered by her people in the United States.

As secretary of the Women's Commission of the U.S. Communist Party she was charged with others in the second Smith Act trial with "conspiring to advocate and teach the duty and necessity to overthrow the U.S. Government by force and violence", and with joining and helping to organise the Communist Party

'No Union can feel Safe'

The independent International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union figures prominently in U.S. labour and industrial news. Its Secretary-Treasurer Maurice E. Travis. was accused by the Precision-Scientific Co. of signing the Taft Hartley non-Communist affidavit while being "an admitted Communist", and the National Labour Relations Board ordered the withdrawal of the union's statutory facilities on Feb. 1. The Washington Court of Appeals reversed the NLRB ruling a few weeks later, but Travis, while denying the charges against him, resigned so as not to stand in the way of the union's right to protect itself against its enemies.

Another prominent union member, Clinton Jenks, was convicted on the false testimony of Harvey Matusow (United States Report, April), and is still seeking redress The following are extracts from the report presented to the union's Fiftieth Convention held at Spokane, Washington State, in March.

No union in America can feel safe as long as this law [the Brownc l-Butler so-called 'Communist Control' Act of 1954] is on the books. Meantime, the numbers of Americans indicted or convicted for so-called "political crimes" has increased tremendously.

Under the Smith Act, hundreds of Americans continue to be indicted and convicted for dissenting and unorthodox opinions. Speeches, hearsay evidence and quotations from books, some written a hundred years ago, are the basis for the government's case against these individuals.

In addition, our time-honoured rules of fair play for the alien are being set aside. Thousands of individuals who for all intents and purposes live and think as Americans are being threatened with deportation under the McCarran-Walter act. Many of these individuals have resided within our shores for as much as 40 or 50 years and have contributed immensely to the struggle in our country for a better life for all Americans.

Negroes' Rights

A great historic advance was made last year with the Supreme Court's outlawing—in principle—of segregation in schools. This climaxed a long legal and organizational battle by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, supported by many other organizations. A factor leading to the decision undoubtedly was the growing embarrassment in Washington over discredit brought on our country in world opinion by racial and national discrimination.

Atom Bomb peril

The news that disastrous fall-out effects would cover an area of 7,000 square miles after explosion of an atom bomb has been an eye-opener for millions of Americans.

I don't think there is an American living today who does not understand exactly what Ernest Weir, chairman of the National Steel Co., means when he says the world's people have only one real choice—to *live* together or to *die* together.

Co-existence

The new idea, "co-existence", is now getting full, serious discussion by common people everywhere. The idea is simple: that the Western capitalist nations *can* live on the same planet as the Eastern socialist countries—without going to war.

The general who some four years ago wanted to drop atom bombs on the Chinese side of the Yalu River today says "war has become a Frankenstein to destroy both sides." That man is General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who recently challenged the world to outlaw war.

Way to Prosperity

"It would not only remove fear and bring security," he said, "it would produce an economic wave of prosperity that would raise the world's standard of living beyond anything ever dreamed of by man . . . Sooner or later the world, if it is to survive, must reach this decision. We [the U.S.] should now proclaim our readiness to abolish war in concert with the great powers of the world."

United States Report

The following is an an extract from the statement of aims published in the first issue of United States Report last month,—

THE GREAT MAJORITY of the American people seek the things that we, too, cherish; the "unalienable rights" of the individual; freedom from fear and want; the protection, impartiality and incorruptibility of the law, and freedom of thought, speech, publication and discussion.

IT IS IN THE HOPE of serving these ideas and aims that we shall endeavour, month by month, to summarise from as wide a range of American sources as possible, those developments and trends which are of the greatest importance in a balanced study of U.S. Government policy and public opinion, but find little or no expression in the British Press.

Auto-workers' Programme

THE BASIC FREEDOMS

America's biggest union, the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.) last month called on labour, farm and other allied groups to meet in a national conference early next spring, before the Republican and Democratic Parties nominate their candidates, to organise united industrial action in the Presidential campaign.

This was one of the decisions in a political action programme voted by 3,000 U.A.W. delegates in conference in Cleveland. The U.A.W. delegates, who, in foreign affairs, gave general support to the U.S. Government line on Formosa, West German rearmament, and big Power negotiations "from strength", made the following recommendations:

Union members who avail themselves of the Constitutional safeguards of the Fifth Amendment must be protected from victimisation by employers.

Government prosecutions of individuals should be initiated only "for what they do, not for what they say".

The Internal Security Laws should be re-codified to repeal those sections which deny freedom of speech, association and political action.

Witnesses denounced

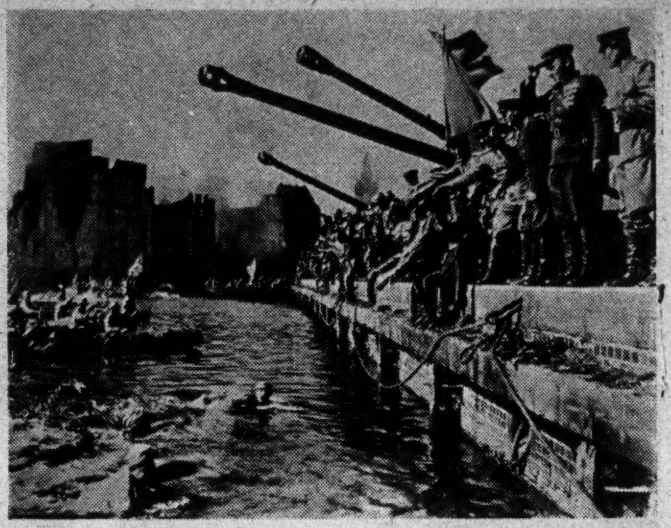
The convention condemned the use of the Smith Act and other ostensibly anti-Communist legislation as a "step towards Government control of the unions", and denounced the use of such witnesses as Harvey Matusow and Paul Crouch.

Walter Reuther, President of both the U.A.W. and the C.I.O. (and probable head of a new Council of Industrial Organisations under the C.I.O.-A.F.L. merger), said the struggle now beginning in the automobile industry for a Guaranteed Annual Wage ("a workman eats 52 weeks a year; he should be paid 52 weeks a year"), was attainable only in a world at peace.

"Nobody," he said "can win a war fought with atomic or H-bombs, and therefore what we need to realise is that we can win only if we can find a way to avoid a war".

Printed by
PRINT FOR PROGRESS at D.P.C. Works (T.U.) for
United States Report, 45 Clarges Street, W.1.

The Coming of Peace in 1945



THERE IS A PICTURE millions of us remember: The meeting of the Allies on the Elbe, when the Americans swam across the river to shake hands with the Russians. In those days TOSCANINI was conducting the New York Philharmonic Orchestra, and playing «The International», whilst «The Stars and Stripes» was heard in Moscow, under the rain of fire-works. Cheering crowds everywhere felt that the world was at last to be united.

General EISENHOWER declared: «American-Soviet friendship is one of the cornerstones on which the edifice of peace should be built.»

President TRUMAN said: «Nations which can plan and fight, shoulder to shoulder, in the face of such obstacles as distance, language and communication, can live and work together in the common task of the organization for world peace.»

STALIN had already decleared that, «the alliance between Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the United States is not founded on casual and temporary trends, but on lasting and vital common interests.»

Mrs. CHURCHILL started the fund in aid of Stalingrad and urged everyone to help.

9 Years

Have Passed Since Then

Now, every third working day in America is devoted to war preparations directed against their former allies. If we imagine a foreign army to have occupied USA, it would hardly have dared to make such demands upon the American people. In «communist» Czechoslovakia, posters showing the output of heavy industries have been defaced by workers writing across them such bitter remarks as: «Where do the goods go?» Continuous war budgets are crippling the economic life of people *everywhere,* whilst the ghost of the H-bomb haunts our modern civilized world. Today a handful of scared men could expose us to radio active fogs and titanic floods resulting in utter disruption, famine and sickness.

→

International Issue. First Edition. Analytical Criticism is Desired.

A VOICE FROM NORWAY:

Think for Yourself

NOBODY CAN DO IT FOR YOU

Please accept this as our answer to letters and printed matter which we have received from individuals and groups all over the world.

We want as many people as possible to know our fundamentals in order that they may help us to obtain the right connections. The task is to solve once and for all the problems which divide the world and soak it in blood.

It is our plan to create *a universal Brains Trust,* which by influencing public information and propaganda sources would contribute to the realization of an harmonious society.

We appeal especially to those who try to be open-minded, and whose reactions are independent of any political party. We are not going to stress any uniformity, but *unity in diversity.* Peace is indivisible and must give room for all.

The coming of peace in 1945: American and Russian boys were making friends with girls from the Red Army. Under portraits of Roosewelt and Stalin the bond of East-West friendship was forged, but later we lost the pervading sense of peace which might have brought harmony into our lives. When «big four», «big brass» or «big business» engage in conflicts, why do we accept their conflicts as ours?

The Mess of Politics

When men get absorbed in strategy and the policy of power, they lose their most important contacts with life. Some of them realize that they act irrationally and are fooled by each other, though they dare not admit this for fear of losing their prestige. *Shakespeare* saw through the quackery which men indulge in for the sake of formal standing:

Man, proud man!
Dressed in a little brief authority,
Plays such fantastic tricks before high heaven
As make the angels weep.

Pure interest in position entails, as *Einstein* put it, a «ruthless lack of responsibility.»

World Law No. 1: Our Human Rights

Man needs a consciousness — that he has basic rights which authority cannot violate. According to the *Nuremberg Trial,* individuals have human duties which transcend the duty of obedience to any state. No war-criminal can ever protect himself by relying solely upon national law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was the first step in safeguarding mankind against the abuse of power — by irresponsible politicians, financiers or generals.

THE THIRD WAY

Attlee admitted that «A better world order does not depend upon governments, but upon the People». It is now evident that some individuals are beginning to realize this; they are getting tired of the futile attempts to «govern» our world away from the precipice of war. It reminds us of an incident when the American *John Steinbeck* visited war-stricken Russia. At one of the meetings, a Georgian composer raised his glass and said: «To hell with politics!» Have we not reached the point where all who seek a third way should find a common denominator in the *oneness* of man?

Individual Autonomy

No power on earth can keep down a society, once individuals stop acting like mechanical cog wheels in a superimposed system. The concentration of power in the West and the East can only exist so long as individuals accept it. *Mahatma Gandhi* said of India: «It is not so much British guns that are responsible for our subjection, as our voluntary cooperation.» Your own freedom is also the freedom for others and for society. Dare to think — and act what you think — and you will free yourself from the domination of imposed authority. It is primarily as individuals we should serve our world.

Your Responsibility and Mine

The only thing which can save the world is that as many as possible will arise and shoulder their own responsibilities. Those who call for the *strong leader* can visualize their fellow men only as defined groups, i. e. classes, parties, friends or foes; whereas independent individuals are able to conceive each other as human beings. *Aldous Huxley* warns us against «.....tyrants who want to herd their subjects into crowds in which the individual is reduced to a state of intoxicated sub-humanity.»

Whatever You Do —

Justice *William Douglas* pointed out: «The most effective bases we can get in Asia are bases in the hearts of Asia's millions, not bases in their lands.» We must put plain human understanding above worship of money, systems, power and all the 'isms. When you follow the banners and giant portraits, remember that they also are the emblems of the war machine. Capitalists who are not at all concerned with the *service* of their fellow men, gear the economy to war and undermine their own security. Whatever you do—*and remember this in case of emergency:*

BE HUMAN!

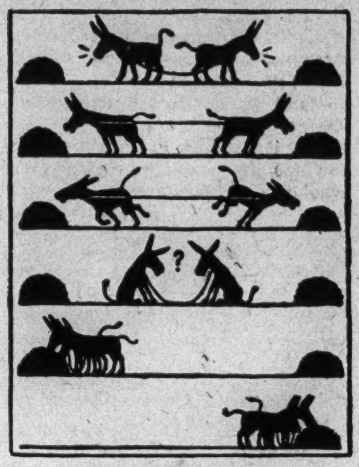
OUT OF UNIFORM

Heintz Kraschutzki, a Berlin citizen, reported of a Russian officer who had torn off all his distinctions, decorations and metal buttons. The Russian explained: «I've just been demobbed. I couldn't wait, I ripped off the buttons and distinctions and flung my decorations into a drawer. All this military nonsense has come to an end. I shall become a teacher again, and a happier man.»

The *purpose of life* is to develop individual minds, not regimented ones. All awareness in the world is individual awareness.

ALL HAVE THE SAME GOAL!

The goal of liberalism is *the greatest possible freedom.* The goal of socialism is *economic dignity for all.* The goal of conservatism is *to preserve the best we have.* The ultimate goal of communism is *a society where the authoritative state withers away.* The goal of anarchism is *to let men rule themselves.* The goal of Christianity is *Heaven on Earth.* Thus, all the ideals of the 'isms are only different expressions of the same yearning, in the heart of hearts of every human being.



The famous cartoon: **The Third Way.**

The Effort — Now!

Gift deliveries to the USSR during the war comprised almost 30 % of all shipments from USA ports. They sent 375 000 trucks, 52 000 jeeps, 14 700 airplanes, 11 000 railway wagons, 2 000 locomotives, mountains of foot-wear, rubber tires, cloth, 415 000 telephones and enough telephone wire to stretch around the globe five times.

Why do men seem to be less selfish in war-time than in peace-time? Why do we act more wholeheartedly and genuinely in the *shadow of death?* Are we afraid of the effort needed to live a full life in peace-time?

Unity through Understanding

The things which men have in common are greater than those things which separate them.

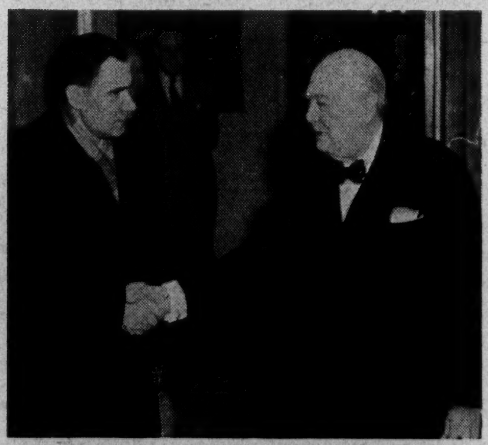
After the hell of 1939—45, we all agreed, that we now ought to build a lasting peace. In order to do this, we must smelt all iron curtains inside and outside ourselves with human warmth. *Thomas Paine* said: «The world is my country!» The fight for understanding *while the guns are silent* will decide whether we will have peace in which to live, or the peace of the grave.

WARS OF ILLUSIONS

War originates in men's minds because all of us, journalists, teachers, ideological leaders, no less than the rest — believe in imaginary conflicts and contradictions. We talk of decisions between this or that, within human and social fields, where there are *lots* of possibilities to be worked out. In politics we talk about different systems that cannot be merged, yet communism is the child of capitalism and the two have developed together as worldwide counterbalances. In economics we have been drilled into the private and acquisitive point of view, but still money, passing indiscriminately from hand to hand, is the most illustrative symbol of universal co-operation.

Have you observed how citizens of one nation take great care of visitors from another nation? How different points of view are necessary for fruitful discussion? How essential it is for a thriving enterprise that workers and management get along together? *There is no genuine reason* for frontiers and dividing lines, for organizing people of one opinion against people of another opinion, for class division or political parties.

Some accumulate a vast store around themselves, but happiness eludes them. Why? Because happiness is not a thing apart but a matter of inter-human relations — it is the smile on the face of others. Those who serve others, best serve them-



A ray of hope in 1953: Churchill thanked Gromyko for immediate Russian aid to the flood-ravaged districts in England. Why do the politicians need a catastrophe to ensure cooperation?

THE RAVAGING OF THE EARTH. **The cutting down of forests, the overgrazing of grassland and desperate soil-mining is bringing total ruin to land in North and South America, Africa, Asia and Southern Europe. In the United States alone top soil enough for 400 average Norwegian farms is washed or blown away every day. Is it not more sensible to ally ourselves against such catastrophes, rather than against each other? When will it be possible for us to direct our combined energies against the common enemies of man?**

selves . To make the interest of others your own interest is to be «intelligently selfish.»

Most of you know how morality is often stressed to the extent of obscenity; how injustice is inflicted by overemphasizing justice; how normal is considered abnormal because abnormal has become normal.

This is universal logic: Good and evil, left and right, radical or reactionary, are only shades of a greater composition, the moving and changing creation. That's how universe is — that's humanity — that's nature. A play of contrasts, but no real split, roles that are interchanged, extremes that approach, harmonies that suddenly break and convert into new harmonies.

We have been forced to broaden our comprehension. People are beginning to grasp the synthesis. They see how everything is linked up in an all-encompassing relationship. With the philosophy of integration, present antagonisms and conflicts will be lifted from our minds. The problems of the individuals and those of society will be solved together. The world will be one.

The last way to learn this, for the great industrialist as for the party communist, is through the medium of war. We have only a short respite in which to overcome the illusions.

Give us food!

Nearly four-fifths of the people of the entire world live on the brink of starvation, while food production is falling further and further behind the needs of the ever-growing world population. We need 150 to 200 per-cent more food production merely to keep the present world population healthy. We cannot get peace of mind before we declare an international war on want. Eisenhower proclaimed: «We pay for a single fighter plane with half a million bushels of wheat. Every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies—in the final sense—a theft from those who hunger and are not fed.»

Please enlarge upon this and introduce it to others who may become a link in the chain to avert a worldwide catastrophe. We communicate in Scandinavian, English, Russian, German, French, Spanish or Italian. Your response is essential to our continued effort, in particular as our funds are becoming exhausted with this issue. Send suggestions and criticisms to:

TENK SELV
(Ulf Christensen, ed.)
Bygdøy Allé 26 — *Oslo — Norway.*

Wholesale price 7 kr. ($ 1 or 7 sh.) per 100 "Think for Yourself", post free. — Larger or smaller quantities available at proportionate prices.

For this venture we are greatly indebted to the late Bert Taylor of the General Welfare movement, and our sponsors, **Owesen-Film.**

SPESIALTRYKK A/S - OSLO

Trine

News Magazine

Thursday 13th Jan. 1955

Vol. III No. 37

● Thursday
● Weekly
Price 15 Cts.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

Thursday January 13, 1955

NO GENERAL ELECTION?

WE believed Ceylon asked for Independence, or at least accepted it on a platter, as the men who guided Ceylon's destinies believed it would provide the avenues by which the nation would enjoy the fruits of true freedom. What do we enjoy today—the sight of a slowly disintegrating nation divided deliberately by the fostering of varied issue calculated to realise anything but peaceful co-existence. Hence the unconscionable humour implied when the Prime Minister on his return spoke thus: "Ceylon's re[illegible]tion as a pattern of a b[illegible]y and peace loving democ[illegible] ranked high everywhere I went." And now we have before us a plot to postpone the general elections in order that those who have entrenched themselves in the seats of power may continue to enjoy that power. Democracy means government by consent and not by coercion. Free elections are the basic fundamental of a democratic government. The last general elections were rigged. It seems the Premier is nervous to try rigging them this time thanks to the **Trine** exposures, for on the next occasion the nation will be on its guard. The forthcoming elections in 1957 are not to be regarded as merely ordinary elections for a state legislature. They are going to be of profound and epoch—making significance for the entire progressive movement of the country. It will be a first rate trial of strength between the forces of usury and reaction represented by the group in power and its hangers on and the forces that have fought consistently against this fascist, antinational, adventurist regime. Of course the usual betraying third force of opportunists may came out in their true colours as the vanguard of the extreme right wingers.

If the Premier is hoping to postpone the elections he may be well advised to cry halt lest he finds himself forcibly bundled out. In the meantime we advocate mobilisation and a broad coalition of all anti-reactionary forces, instead of their languishing in divided groups that damage the cause of freedom and ultimately merely serve to strengthen the pillars of reaction.

Another Pact to Sabotage China Pact

The country views with apprehension the scheme Premier Kotelawala brought back with him on his return of a proposed rice-rubber pact with Burma. It views with more apprehension the proposal to send Food Minister J. R. Jayawardena to Rangoon to clinch the deal.

The whole country knows the shabby part this Minister played in co-operation with America and Lake House to sabotage the China trade agreement and coerce Ceylon into accepting inequitable agreements imposed by the usurious powers that be. China displayed a spirit of generosity and fair dealing in this agreement in conformity with her accredited codes for the realization of international goodwill. While America tries to strangle and jeopardise by binding codes of unfair conduct the worlds' trading system, the Peoples Democracies, enter into pacts on terms of mutual benefit. The profits accruing from the China trade pact have gone to swell the national income of Ceylon. If this pact is abrogated the profits will find their way into American pockets via Rangoon. We have in this paper from time to time exposed the varied manoeuvres of this Minister to sabotage the pact. Mr. Dudley Senanayake last year very rightly put his foot down at a Parliamentary group meeting on the idea of this Minister going to Peking. We hope that both he and Mr. R. G. Senanayake will adopt the same attitude on his proposed trip to Rangoon. In any case it is the Minister for Commerce who has to negotiate in these matters and not the Food Minister.

Our memories are not so short as to forget how Burma too tried to exploit us on this issue. Even if there is a radical change in trade policy on Burma's part now, Ceylon need not be so ready to accomodate herself to Burma's overtures when the Chinese trade agreement is proceeding to satisfaction, and the national income is benefitting thereby. We strongly condemn this move to conform ourselves to the dictates of the American Battle Act.

Move to Postpone General Elections?

The Nation Has Its Reply Ready

ON the pretext of taking steps to enable Ceylon to be declared a Republic in May 1956 with the inauguration of the Sambuddha Jayanthi celebrations, the general elections, we understand, are to be postponed.

There is a so-called "progressive" bloc of the Government Parliamentary Group which very obligingly acts as the mouthpiece of the Premier when any step to march progressively backwards is contemplated. We would all desire Ceylon to be a Republic within the Commonwealth (or even without it,) but what the nation does not desire is that such a move need necessarily coincide with a purely religious event and be thereby made an issue to be exploited for the purpose of dodging the general elections.

The life of the present Parliament terminates in 1957. An attempt is now being made to extend the life of the Parliament on the pretext that a "few years" are needed to make provision for the necessary constitutional changes.

The nation can now see the last election malpractices in the true perspective, if it has hitherto been cajoled into the belief that Democracy had triumphed. We were all led to believe that by the end of the prescribed term of the present Parliament, a new world would have been sighted. So the new world we are about to sight is not the extermination of mass misery, the setting free of the productive forces of our country from the oppression of imperialism, enabling the national economy to advance along the road of Socialism according to plan, or raising the economic and cultural life of the nation, but a proposed Republic. The brave new world we have sighted so far is the shameless parading of opportunism, wooing foreign loans and racketing on them too, imposing more and more burdens on the people, resorting to deficit financing, ignoring the basic measures to be taken in order that material and human resources be mobilised for the task of national reconstrution and last but not least even an attempt to prostitute our legal system.

The crowning point will be reached when an attempt is made to postpone the elections. It is then that the the mighty outbreak of a long suffering people's protest against this oppressive regime will be given its amplest demonstration. The days when people could be deluded are over. Neither the holding out of hollow promises, threats nor repression can dam the wave of mass discontent which is daily mounting. The Government of charlatians will cease before long.

Must Economic Aid Provide "Cuts"?

THE Indian Government, it is reported, is considering the terms of economic aid offered by the Soviet Union. One of the projects under consideration is the construction of a million ton Steel Factory.

The Soviet terms are very favourable to India. They undertake to construct the Factory within 18 months on a differed payment basis. The Soviet Union undertakes to supply the Engineers and materials and the work is to be completed with the assistance of Indian Engineers and labour. They ask for no advances. Once the work has been completed and the staff trained to run the establishment the Soviet technicians will leave the country. Payment to the Soviet Union is to commence only after the factory starts producing. Payment is to be spread over a fifteen year period either in cash or kind. The Indian Government has the option of repaying the debt by supplying such goods as she has for export valued at the world market prices.

Ceylon Refused Offer

This is really and truly economic aid without strings. The Soviet Union does not seek India's support politically nor does she ask for military bases in India.

The Government of Czechoslovakia made similar offers to the Government of Ceylon in 1948. But the Ceylon Government accepted the American "economic aid". Gal Oya is a living memorial of the type of "aid" that comes from the U.S.

The terms on which the Government of Ceylon contracted with the American firm of Morrison Knudsen Inc. Co. is worthy of comparison. In brief, the American firm undertook to build a dam at Gal-Oya. A hypothetical figure of 10½ million dollars was agreed upon. But this figure was not binding on the firm. The Government of Ceylon agreed to pay the firm II per cent on their expenditure each month as the scheme progressed. Two Bank accounts were opened by the Government of Ceylon—one in California and the other in Ceylon. Vast sums of money were deposited in the respective banks. The American firm kept drawing on these accounts. When the accounts were running out the Government reimbursed them.

There was however a clause in the contract which made the Government liable to a further payment of a slice of the saving effected in the event of the contractors completing the scheme below the hypothetical figure of 10½ million dollars. But before the scheme ended the firm had exceeded the 10½ million dollars. However the firm had a way out. They also drew the bonus. Morrison Knudsen had, in addition to the specified work on the dam, undertaken to do any other work such as the construction of roads, buildings etc., on the same terms, namely, 11 per cent on expediture. They therefore opened an "Outside Contract" account. To this account they transferred vast sums of expenditure from the "Contract" account. They received their II per cent in any case on each of those accounts but by transferring from one account to the other they also made room for the bonus.

Wilful Waste

It was found later that the American firm had wilfully ordered excess machinery, foodstuffs, etc and paid high salaries to Americans. For example Rs. 3500 a month plus food and allowances was paid to truck drivers when Ceylonese could have been employed at less than one tenth the cost. It also transpired that they had paid prices on local purchases at much higher rates than the ruling market prices from mushroom firms that had sprung up overnight.

In other words the American "economic aid" bled us to the bone.

But the question is often asked why the Government was so shortsighted. They were not. They knew what was going on and a number of Government politicians benefited through sub contracts with their hangers on. The reason therefore why the present government prefers American "aid" of this type to the genuine "economic aid" as offered by Socialists countries is that American aid carries not only "strings" but also "cuts". Whereas Socialist aid gives no "cuts" and has no "strings."

The savings effected benefit the country instead of lining the pockets of the unscrupulous.

Doria Shafik Stresses on Sacrifice

Madame Doria Shafik founder president of the **Daughters of the Nile,** the Egyptian women's social and political organisation, was in Ceylon last week. A Sorbonne graduated doctor of philosophy, poetess and journalist, ardent fighter for the rights of women and children she stands eminent among the women of Egyyt.

We give below a resume of her speeches.

Politically backward

"We Egyptain women have enjoyed social, economic and cultural rights for a very long time, but were kept politically backward. One day I felt it was the greatest slur on our country and womanhood that we should number among the countries where women were denied political rights. We started in 1948 our women's movement—the **Daughters of the Nile.** In fact we were only continuing or recommencing the Egyptain women's fight started in 1919 against centuries-old oppression, suppression and tradition.

The Association had as its main objective the fight for full political rights for women. We could not demand without giving our services in return so the movement also commenced social service projects like adult education, sewing classes and child welfare. We have 50 schools for the education of adult women training 2000 women every 6 months to be members of our movement. As I felt that no country could be called progressive if it did not recognise the principle of equality of status for women and as I firmly believe that without the active cooperation of women no government can plan a full programme for a country we launched our struggle to win those rights. Men have only five senses, women have six—the extra sense being intuition which can find a solution to even the most knotty problems.

Storming Parliament

We won the sympathy of the press for our struggle and programme of work. We utilized the press as a means of making our purpose known to the country. Our efforts to storm the Parliament was kept a dead secret till all the women had assembled at a meeting. Once you tell a secret to men you know it is no secret. If you tell it to women also it no longer remains a secret. Once all had met together I unfolded our plan to get through the barred gates of the Constituent Assembly, once the guard opened them to admit the large cars of Parliamentarians during Farouks time (now the age of the large limousines is no more). Every woman agreed to follow the plan and 1000 members blocked the gates of the Constiuent Assembly and a forced entry was made into the House, when we extracted promises that our demands would be given consideration. The promises given by the government were not fulfilled.

I felt we had to change our methods. Perhaps violent demonstrations had also lost a certain amount of public sympathy for us. And women should know when to adopt tough methods, when to attempt to charm her way through and when to heed the final call of sacrifice.

Sacrifice and Non-Violence

I now came to the conclusion that the Gandhian technique of non-violence and sacrifice was the only way to achieve success. I decided to fast. I chose as my venue the press office of the President. He asked me whether I could not possibly find another place. I said I felt this was the best place. I commenced my fast alone in March last year, **but by evening by the time the news appeared in the Press scores of women in many parts of the country had gone on sympathy hunger strike.** Finally the doctor announced that if I continued for ten hours more I may not live. The principal of the school where my two girls study requested me to break the fast as my children were crying all the time. I felt at that time that I could not think of anyone else but the rights of my country women. **The loss of one life would not matter if thousands would win a new way of life from that sacrifice. A fight for freedom of any kind demands the greatest personal sacrifice. Without sacrifice there can be no faith in the purpose.**

When the verdict of the Doctors reached the ears of the President of the Constituent Assembly he promised me he would provide the women of Egypt will full constitutional rights in the new Constitution of Egypt. Our battle was won and I broke my fast. The President honoured his promise.

Very soon many of us will be contesting elections to the Egyptain parliament.

We women are wedded to peace and democracy. For the sake of women and children we must fight the menace of the atom bomb.

We have met with opposition. But we are undaunted. We have got our rights recognised and women must attain an important position in the political and social hierarchy of the country. We love a fight in a good cause and I am very happy to see women engaged in the same struggles. Women must play their part in making laws for the people because only women can understand the magnanimity of the problems facing women and children. We are fighting polygamy and easy divorce. Our activities are not against Islam but against superstitions. The Koran says polygamy is acceptable only if a man can treat all women without differentiation and this is very difficult. 4% of the population in Egypt practice polygamy. We shall fight hard against it. The dowry system is degrading. It is the other way about in Egypt—the husband gives the wife a dowry which is equally degrading.

The final message I have to give to my fellow workers in the world is that service and sacrifice are closely linked.

Mr. Dulles Call For Vigilance

The capital is this morning brooding over the French vote yesterday on rearming western Germany. Outwardly officials appear pleased, but it is possible to detect an atmosphere of reserve in the State Department, and this feeling is reflected to some extent in to-day's editorial comment.

The *Baltimore Sun* says that rarely had a nation's assent been more reluctantly given and that the narrowness of the margin was "not flattering to France's allies. Nor ... do they speak well for the firmness of French intentions." The *New York Times* is a little kinder. The closeness of the vote, it says, shows what an agonizing decision it was for France to rearm the traditional foe, and that she was to come to this decision reflected to "the sound heart and clear mind of her people." But Mr. Reston in the same paper observes that the associates of Mr. Dulles are really "sick at heart about the political instability of France and full of doubts about her reliability as an ally."

How far Mr. Reston's observations are reflected in Mr. Dulles's mood this morning when he addressed the Press is a matter of opinion, but his face did not appear happy when he read a prepared statement on the political credits and deficits of his department for the year.

Manila Pact

His only reference to the Paris vote was that French approval had been made in the teeth of "unparalleled pressure from the Soviet Communist *bloc.*" Earlier he had talked about the defeat in France of E.D.C. and the setback in Indo-China. However, he grew more cheerful when he spoke of the Manila pact, which, if it was carried out adequately, "could limit the scope and consequence of the loss." He announced his intention of going to the first meeting of the "Manila nations" at Bangkok in February, at which they would consider *inter alia* how to use the Mobile striking force on which they must rely. Did that mean, asked one journalist, that Anglo-American and French naval and military forces were intended for the area? Mr. Dulles thought this was the general idea, but ways and means had to be explored. One of the main problems that the Manila nations had to consider was an effective way to combat subversion in the area. Was there to be a permanent rotation for a secretariat? Mr. Dulles did not think so at the moment. The Manila pact was not like N.A.T.O and other countries might have different ideas, but no pact like this was effective unless there was an organization behind it.

He was then asked what importance he attached to the Afro-Asian conference in Indonesia and whether it clashed with the Manila pact? Mr. Dulles spoke carefully, if not coldly, about it. The meeting did not directly involve the United States, he said, as this was not "an Afro-Asian country." He did not seem to take kindly to the idea in reports reaching here to-day of the offer by the Prime Minister of Ceylon to help if Mr. Hammarskjold's mission to Peking failed. He had every confidence in the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Soviet Note

As for reports that the Soviet Union had delivered a Note to United States Embassy in Moscow, Mr. Dulles indicated that he had some ideas about the subject involved, but he would not comment, as the text had not reached Washington.

Turning to events in the western hemisphere, the Secretary of State said the Caracas declaration was a momentous answer to international Communism, but he did not comment on the coming visit in February of Vice-President and Mrs. Nixon to Central America and the Carribbean area—an indication, perhaps, that all was not well in these parts, at least in American eyes.

But, generally, Mr. Dulles found much to comfort him in his review of 1954. He faced the New Year with confidence, but gave a warning against over-confidence. "*Indeed*" he said, "*we cannot hold our own much less increase our net gain unless we maintain our vigilance and our efforts on a basis of national unity.*"

[*Times* (*London*) 1-1-55]

Princesses & Ladies

of India have always used the Sandalwood Oil contained in this discreetly perfumed soap to enhance their lovely complexions

THE SOAP THAT LASTS

EASTERN CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES LTD 341 NORTH ROAD

From- Upali Abeygunawardena
Kalugahahena
CEYLON

Civil Liberties Today in the U.S.S.R.

(Continued from previous issue)

BY D. N. PRITT

With that rather long explanation, let me try to answer the question as to the position of civil liberty in the U.S.S.R. to-day. And let me take some rather smaller points than those of the right to work, or the right to leisure. Let me think of some of the things that the sincere student of the U. S. S. R. has in mind. What of the right of foreigners to enter the Soviet Union, and travel about in it. And not just "foreigners" in general, but foreigners known to be by no means favourably inclined to the U. S. S R. What of the right of anyone, foreigner or not, to take photographs of this, that, or the other building? What of the right of the Soviet citizen to read what he wants, to write about it to discuss it—and not only the right, but what I might call the social feasibility? By this I mean that whilst it was never unlawful to discuss and criticise Stalin, it was formerly the sort of thing that one wouldn't normally do with a casual acquaintance. But a month or two ago, a Soviet air-pilot whom I met by chance on an aerodrome in Kazakakhstan asked me quite simply what I thought of Stalin. And I answered him.

Restrictions Relaxed

I feel that after my recent visit (September 1954) my previous post-war visits being in 1946 and 1950, I can report most emphatically that on all these points, and on all other similar points, there is a greatly improved atmosphere. In the past, when confronted by all sorts of minor restrictions, I have always expressed my belief that such restrictions were imposed because they were really necessary, generally because there was always some hostile activity being operated or attempted from outside, which compelled the Soviet authorities to exercise strict control. And I always expressed at the same time my conviction that, as soon as they felt that such measures were no longer necessary they would drop them, that they used them not because they liked them, but because they held them to be necessary, and that they would be as happy to be rid of them as we would be in England to be rid of similar restrictions.

I was thus trebly glad to see, this year, that many restrictions were relaxed or gone altogether, and that there was a much greater feeling of "free and easiness" not easy to define or desirable but very easy to sense, than before. I say "trebly" because I was glad for three distinct reasons. Firstly, it was pleasant to feel the new atmosphere, secondly it was nice to be proved right, to see that nobody had become infected by the virus of restriction for its own sake, and thirdly, above all, because I felt that the root cause of the new attitude and atmosphere lay in the convicton of the Soviet people and Government that they need no longer worry about anything that their enemies might attempt in the way of subversion, because such enemies have no longer the power to do anything against their country and their way of life, now happier more secure, more prosperous than ever before.

As I have said, it is not easy to give concrete examples but two spring to my mind. The first is one which may be better appreciated by lawyers than by laymen, but will—I feel—be understood by everyone on reflection. It consists in what a lawyer would call the limitation of the criminal legislative field. Every country declares this or that activity to be a crime if it thinks it sufficiently anti-social to require criminal sanctions, the border line between what must be made a crime and what need not be may well be uncertain: some countries will leave some bad habits to be cured by public opinion, while others will make them crimes (every State makes murder criminal but ringing door-bells and running away, or "jay-walking" in crowded streets, is sometimes not,) And it is to my mind a measure of civil liberty that a country should find it possible not to cast the net of criminal law too wide. Well, of recent years, the Soviet Union has repealed a good deal of legislation creating minor offences, and has left people who commit the smaller anti social acts which have thus ceased to be classified as crimes, but are still anti-social, to be dealt with administratively, i. e. those who commit them can be rebuked or stopped by the organisation which employs them or by the people in charge of the railway station, or who ever it may be. That is a distinct advance, a help to ease and relaxation.

Free Discussion

The other example, quite a different one, lies in the realm of discussion. Visitors to the Soviet Union who, like myself know most of the slanders, even the more beastly ones, that are paraded about the Soviet Union, and want to have the fullest factual answers to them, have sometimes in the past felt reluctant to insult their Soviet friends by even telling them about such slanders and asking for their comments. On this visit I felt—and I found by experiment that I was right—that in the present easy atmosphere I could put even the most disgusting story before them, as one would put a putrid corpse before a surgeon, and ask them to analyse it and discuss it. Only a combination of serene confidence and real toleration could have led my friends to discuss with me some of the things they did freely discuss with me.

Yes, Civil Liberty, whatever its precise definition or pattern is on the upgrade in the Soviet Union, like every other fruitful thing.

(Courtesy Indo-Soviet Cultural Society)

Removal of Teeth with Anaesthetic

Risk of Explosions in Mouths

People having their teeth out under an anaesthetic run the risk of an explosion in their mouths, according to two anaesthetists who claimed today they had produced visible sparks with teeth and dental forceps.

The warning was given by Mr. J. G. Bourne of Saint Thomas Hospital, London, and Dr. H. J. V. Morton of a West London hospital, writing in this week's issue of the *Lancet* a leading British medical journal. They said the best display of sparks was obtained when fine root forceps were strongly applied to the crowns of healthy molars and then were made to fracture the enamel, "the hardest substance in the body."

Results of experiments suggested that if sparks were formed during the extraction of teeth when cycloprophane (an anaesthetic) had been administered, the likelihood of an explosion depended mainly on the concentration of oxygen in the mouth at the time.

Ignition was unlikely when the concentration of oxygen did not exceed 30 per cent and was improbable when it was 25 per cent or lower. But the oxygen concentration in the exhibitions of 13 patients did not decrease to 25 per cent until several breaths of air had been taken.

The danger of an explosion might be avoided if the dentist wanted until these few breaths had been taken but, the writers commented, "this could not be relied on since dental surgeons are wont not to pause at this stage."

As a safeguard they suggested that 50 per cent cyloprophane should be administered not with oxygen but with an equal mixture of oxygen and nitrogen.

WAY Sets up Centre In Ceylon

Forty-seven member countries of the World Assembly of Youth will be sending their youth leaders for training in Ceylon from the beginning of next June.

For this purpose WAY has leased out for three years a 17-acre block of land at Hatton. Prof. Ralph Lynton of the Harvard University has been appointed the Director of this Youth Leader Training Institute.

This scheme of running a training institute was mooted out by the Ceylon delegation, at the second general assembly of WAY held in Singapore last August.

Qualified teachers from foreign countries will be employed to do the training. Scout masters and youth leaders awarded U. N. or WAY-sponsored scholarships will be given training in this centre.

The headquarters for the East and Far East will also be centred here. Dr. George Carter, Travelling Secretary of WAY, will inspect the regional work.

YOUTH COUNCIL TO BE GIVEN A STATE FARM

THE Wellawaya State Farm which was closed down recently will be handed over to the South Ceylon Youth Council so that it could be run by the students of the Okuruwaya Centre.

This was revealed by the G. A. Mr. K. M. D. Jayanetti, presiding at the District Agricultural Committee meeting held at the Kachcheri, when Mr. W. A. Ratwatta, M.P. for Haputale, asked what the Government proposed doing with the farm.

The Committee unanimously decided that 50 per cent, of the farm should be reserved for agricultural students who pass their final examinations.

Chaucer's Canterbury Tales Rs. 2.00

Ananda Kumar's translation of six of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales is a welcome venture and adds to the collection of good translations of the English classics. It is not everyone who can capture the flavour of Chaucer's style and subtle humour but the writer has succeeded in doing it.

In a world which clamours for Swabasha but in which there is in actuality very little reading material, this book is a very material addition.

Dear Mr. Editor

Conduct of V.I.P'S.

The Newspapers recently contained a lengthy well considered and fearless judgement. There is no doubt that all Ceylon should be proud of our independent judiciary who fearlessly have held the scales of justice. The rich and the poor, humble and the proud, the millionaire and the beggar, have the same justice administered. There is another aspect of this judgement which has to be considered. What will government do when a prominent man, a man who has been honoured by the king, a man who is permitted to sit in the highest legislative body in land, is found guilty of Machiavellian conduct. The dictionary says that this is conduct of an 'unscrupulous schemer.' There is in the country a rising tide against the government recognising and giving all aid to persons of this type. 'Meetings all over the country complain of the private conduct of our public men. Will the government be bold enough to strip these wolves of their honours and prevent them strutting about as powers in the land. When will government set a standard of conduct which is decent and moral. Will a church of God permit a machiavel to hold high honour. Let the government beware for things are moving fast—very fast.

Admirer of Independent Judiciary.

SUBSCRIBERS

Please note to keep us informed of any change of address.

Remittances by cheque, money order or postal order should be made payable to:

PRAJA PRESS
"King's Court",
275/1, 1st Div., [illegible]
Colombo 10.

Telephone [illegible]

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

ROLE OF SOVIET TRADE UNIONS IN IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS

BY A. SIVAKOV

A non-party public organization, the biggest mass organization of the working people, the Soviet trade unions, have a membership of more than forty million. The trade unions are open to all industrial workers, office employees and professionals who may desire to join, irrespective of race, nationality, sex and religion.

The trade unions of the USSR take an active part in the political and economic life of the country, in drafting legislation relating to production, labour, living conditions and cultural services, and they are doing everything to ensure undeviating implementation of this legislation.

Soviet trade unions are constantly concerned with improvements in working conditions in industry, transport, and in the offices and institutions. They exercise daily control over the observance of Soviet laws on labour protection, of the rules and standards of safety engineering and industrial sanitation. This control is maintained through special instructors of the Central Committees of the trade unions, and through the labour protection commissions of the factory, local and shop committees of the trade union organizations. Chosen by the workers and other employees, these commissions are composed of 3 to 21 members, depending upon the size of the personnel in the given factory or institution. Furthermore, every trade union group allots public labour inspectors.

Labour Protection Commissions

The trade unions take full advantage of the extensive rights granted to them by Soviet laws for constant improvements in working conditions. For example, the labour protection commissions of the factory and shop committees, and the public labour inspectors at the Ural Machinery Plant, together with the management of the plant, succeeded in raising the efficiency of production, in ensuring exemplary sanitation in the shops, dressing rooms, shower rooms and other services. On the recommendation of the labour protection commissions the management equipped the shops with 476 powerful ventilating systems which pump in 2.8 million cubic metres of fresh air in one hour. Important results have been accomplished by the labour protection commissions at the Stalin Auto Plant of Moscow, where new ventilation systems with a total capacity of 10,000 kw. have been installed in all the shops.

Air Conditioning

Special air conditioning systems are installed in many factories and mills, where that is necessary for ensuring healthful working conditions. For example, air conditioning installations have been introduced in the shops of the Orekhovo-Zuyevo textile mills with the active co-operation of the Labour Protection Commission.

Voluntary Functionaries

For example, at the Bytosh glass factory, in Bryansk Region, the Commission is divided into several groups to enable it to cope more effectively with its duties. With the assistance of voluntary functionaries each group exercises control over a definite sector of labour protection and safety engineering. One group is responsible for the uninterrupted work of the ventilation systems, for the provision of proper lighting at the machines, for air conditioning in the shops. Another group is responsible for the sanitation in the wardrobes, shower rooms and all the services. A third group is responsible for sanitation in the shops; the fourth group sees to it that all the workers are instructed in safety engineering rules; the fifth group controls safety engineering and ensures that all the tools and machines are in proper condition; the sixth and seventh groups are responsible for the condition of the internal hoisting and transportation services, for the timely provision of working clothes and shoes, soap, and milk issued to workers in certain trades. They check up on the supply of drinking water in the shops, on the provision of protective eyeglasses, special working clothes, and of the necessary safeguards required by safety engineering standards, etc.

Under Soviet laws, the labour protection commissions have the right to inspect the shops and machines and to examine the documents relating to labour protection. The recommendations of the commissions are subject to fulfilment by the management in the factory or institution.

One of the results of the constant concern of the Soviet Government, the Communist Party and of the trade unions for the man of labour, is expressed in the fact that accidents and disease in Soviet industry have been reduced by about 66 per cent in the last few years.

Facilities

Labour protection and the provision of rest and recreation facilities for the workers and other employees are the most important tasks of the trade unions which take full charge of the social insurance fund. In the enterprises and institutions these functions are performed by the Social Insurance Councils formed at every factory and local committee of the trade unions if the given enterprises or institution employs at least 100 workers. In enterprises and institutions with a smaller personnel these functions are performed by the social insurance agents elected, just as the Social Insurance Councils are, at general meetings of the workers.

Functioning under the Social Insurance Council at the Dniepropetrovsk steel mills are groups for the prevention of disease and accidents, groups for comradely assistance to sick workers, and special groups for controlling the work of the medical services and sanitation, for the child services, and pensions and finance groups. Each group is headed by a member of the Social Insurance Council. Social Insurance commissions and insurance agents are elected in the shops.

Social Insurance

The social insurance agents control the enforcement of social insurance legislation, the payment of sickness benefits, pensions to invalids and to families which had lost their breadwinners, and the payment of maternity benefits to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers. They keep a record of the workers, requiring treatment at a health resort and assist in securing accommodation for them at sanatoria and rest homes. The insurance agents inspect the conditions at the factory polyclinics, dispensaries, hospital and prophylactic services, at the kindergartens, creches and summer camps for children; about three million children were accommodated in these camps this summer.

One of the important duties of the trade union organizations in the USSR is to ensure constant improvements in housing and living conditions of the working people. The trade unions exercise public control over housing construction and the maintenance of existing houses with the assistance of hundreds of thousands of voluntary functionaries of the trade union housing and services commissions of the factory, shop and local organizations.

Public control over housing and utility services for the working people is exercised mainly by appointing voluntary functionaries to check on the construction of houses, cultural and utility services, the dining halls, bath houses, laundries, stores and polyclinics, to check up on the progress of construction, on the condition of the apartment houses, on the correct assessment of housing rent, gas, electricity and other charges.

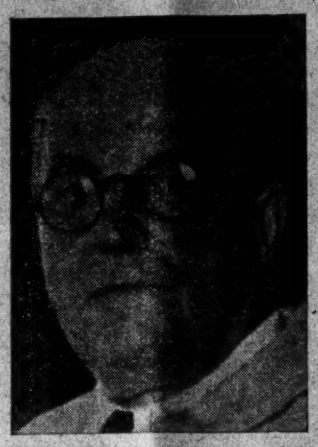
Many trade union organizations assist the workers in building private homes themselves. They help them to receive long-term state loans, the ground for construction (allocated free of charge), to acquire building materials and transporation facilities, etc.

In the last few years, steel workers alone built private homes for themselves with a habitable floor space exceeding one million square metres. That was done with the aid of long-term state loans.

Thus, with the generous assistance of the socialist state the Soviet trade unions are able to secure constant improvements in the working and living conditions of the people.

On the Award of International Stalin Prizes "For the Promotion of Peace among Nations" for 1954

Decision of the Committee on International Stalin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations"



For outstanding services in the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace International Stalin Prizes "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations" were awarded to the following persons:

DENIS NOWEL PRITT, lawyer (Britain)

ALAIN LE LEAP, General Secretary of the General Confederation of Labour (France)

THAKIN KODAW HMAING, writer (Burma)

BERTOLT BRECHT, poet and playwright (Germany)

PROFESSOR FELIX IVERSEN of the Helsinki University (Finland)

PROFESSOR ANDRE BONNARD of the Lausanne Uuniversity (Switzerland)

PROFESSOR BALDOMERO SANIN CANO, doctor H.C. Edinburgh and Bogota Universities, (Columbia)

PROFESSOR PRIJONO, Dean of the Faculty of Literature of the State University in Jakarta (Indonesia)

NICOLAS GUILLEN, poet (Cuba)

(Signed) D.V. Skobeltsyn, Chairman of the Committee

Kuo Mo-jo (China)

Louis Aragon (France) Vice-Chairman of the Committee.

Members of the Committee:

Anna Seghers (Germany), Antonid Banfi (Italy), John Bernal (Britain), Jan Dembowski (Poland), Pablo Neruda (Chile), Mihail Sadoveanu (Rumania), Sahib Singh Sokhey (India), G.V. Alexandrov (USSR), A. A. Fadeyev (USSR) I.G. Ehrenburg (USSR).

Doctor's Corner

Partial Loss of Life

NEW METHOD OF TREATMENT

A new method of treating total or partical loss of voice has been developed by the Moscow Research Institute for Ear, Throat and nose Diseases.

The older methods employed required a lengthy period of treatment. The new method is a comprehensive one, including many of the older methods, but in such a combination as to yield the best and most rapid effect.

What is this comprehensive method?

Treatment usually begins after a thorough examination when it has been difinitely established that there are no organic changes in the patient's vocal chords. First the nature of the treatment is explained to the patient. Next the electrodes of a low-frequency alternating current apparatus are placed on the patient's neck and fastened by means of banage. When the apparatus is switched on the electric current causes a movement of the vocal chords. The doctor simultaneously conduct breathing and orthophonic exercises, the patient repeating after the doctor at first different sounds and then whole words and phrases, with the doctor correcting him in the process.

The comprehensive method is based on Pavlov's conditioned reflexes theory. The reflex causing hoarseness which becomes set during illness is removed as a result of the treatment. The patient gains his voice after a few exercises, sometimes after the very first session.

The Mary Magdalene of Ancient India

BY R. P. N. SINHA

OVER two thousand years ago, there lived in the city of Vaishali (the capital of the Republic of Lichchhavis) a courtesan of the name of Ambapali. She was universally famed for her unsurpassed beauty and supreme artistic talent. People came to her from the farthest corners of India and the city of Vaishali grew more and more prosperous. When King Bimbisar of Magadh learnt of this, he, too, appointed an official courtesan so that his own capital city of Rajigrih might grow and prosper as Vaishali had done.

So lovely was Ambapali that when she arrived at Kotigam to pay her respects to Lord Buddha during his third and last visit to Vaishali, he considered it necessary to warn his disciples against her charm. But as the story of her life will tell, her beauty was to her more a curse than a blessing.

Ambapali was found as a baby in a mango orchard in Vaishli and brought up by the gardener. That is how she got the name of Ambapali, which means "One who was nourished by the Mango." None ever knew the name of her father or mother. Ambapali grew up to be a girl of exquisite beauty and by the time she attained the age of sixteen, she started to attract the attention of the sons of the noblemen of Vaishali. There were bitter disputes among her suitors and things came to such a pass that the elder statesmen of the Republic had to intervene. After long deliberations it was decided that Ambapali should not marry any particular individual but should belong to all.

When this proposal was conveyed to her and her consent sought, Ambapali was bewildered and unhappy. The idea of leading the life of a courtesan was repulsive to her but the elder statesmen of the Republic were powerful and it was not easy for her to go against their wishes. At long last she decided to accept the proposition on condition that five demands were conceded to her, namely, that:—

(i) She should be given a a good house to live in.

(ii) None should enter her house while there was a visitor already.

(iii) None who had not at least five "Karshapens" to offer her should be allowed to enter her house.

(iv) During "Gilhvichaya" (the weekly house-search) her house should not be searched except on the last day of the week.

(v) Anyone who came to her empty-handed should be sent back.

The conditions Ambapali laid down were readily accepted. The elders gave her the title of Sri Ratna and appointed her Nagar Vadhu, or the Bride of the City.

The fame of her beauty and stories of her skill in dance and music soon spread throughout the country and visitors from far and wide started to come to the city of Vaishali in ever-increasing numbers. It is said that King Bimbisar visited her secretly several times. There is an account of such a visit in the "Vinayvastu". It is said that as Bimbisar entered the apartments of Ambapali, the big bell in the heart of Vaishali, which tolled when someone who was hostile to the Republic entered the city, started ringing. Bimbisar, a sworn enemy of the Lichchhavis knew that the ringing of the bell would be followed by a search of all the houses, and turned pale with fear. Ambapali hastened to assure him that her house would not be searched for another seven days and that he should not let anxiety spoil his visit. Bimbisar stayed on for six days, and then prepared to return to Magadh. He gave Ambapali a ring and a piece of white cloth (Virali) and said that if she bore him a son, she should send him to Magadh with the ring and the cloth and he would then accept him as his son. The story goes that Ambapali's famous son, Vimal Kondan, was born of Bimbisar.

But in spite of her dazzling beauty, her untold wealth and her ever-increasing fame, Ambapali was not happy. The life she lived gave her no peace of mind, and feelings of remorse and shame never left her.

At last, the day of her redemption came. On his way to Kushinagar, where he attained Paranirvan, Lord Buddha stopped, for the third time, at a place a few miles from Vaishali. When Ambapli heard of this, her desire to see him knew no bounds. So impatient was she, that she drove her own chariot to the place Lord Buddha had stopped. She begged him to honour her with a visit to Ambapali Van, her famous mango grove, the next day. Lord Buddha accepted her invitation and declind those of the noblemen who came to pay him homage.

Ambapali returned to Ambapali Van, full of hope and a new happiness, and prepared with care the food which was to be offered to Lord Buddha the next day. When he came, she asked him to take her house and her famous garden for the use of the *Sangha*. She fell at his feet and prayed that he might accept her as a disciple which he did for, after all, it was with the sole intention of redeeming her that he had come to Vaishali for the third time. That day, Ambapali became a *Bhikkuni* and after the Lord had left for Kushinagar, she took a begging bowl, and left her house for ever.

Thus was Ambapali redeemed, and she has the proud privilege of being the first nun in the order of the Buddha *Bhikkunis*. In course of time she became one of the most prominent *theris* in the Sangha and attained to *Arhantship*. Nineteen couplets in *Therigatha* (Songs of the Sisters) are said to have been composed by her and bear testimony to deeply philosophic mind and to her great literary gift.

So striking is the similarity between the lives of Ambapali and Mary Magdalene, the famous courtesan of the time of King Herod, that one is compelled to wonder at the universality of human experience. Both these extraordinary women had beauty, wealth and fame, and the strange fascination they exercised over men has become proverbial. And yet, they lived lives of spiritual anguish and yearned always to be what they were not. Their salvation came, at last, through the very intensity of their desire to leave their lives of shame behind them. One was redeemed by Lord Buddha, and the other by Jesus Christ, but the manner of their redemption was, perhaps, too alike to have been mere coincidence.

(Courtesy: *March of India*)

The Legacy of Hiroshima

"Their effects will not be restricted to the Present generation but will also remain in future generations."

This was stated by Dr. Synge, a British scientist, Fellow of the Royal Society and Nobel Prize winner, in describing the character and danger of of thermo-nuclear weapons. He also said: As a biochemist I am tormented by the new mass destructive weapons, primarily the atom bomb and radio-active poisons, and also perhaps bacteriological weapons. If these weapons come into use it will not be possible to control them in either time or space.

In February 1954, at a meeting of Japanese and American doctors in Tokio studying the effects of atomic rays on the human body, a doctor from Hiroshima told how when Hiroshima was atom-bombed by an American plane one of the survivors was a six year old Japanese girl. Over seven years later, in January 1953, she suddenly developed anaemia and could only be kept alive by continuous blood transfusions. After two days she suffered a servere haemorrhage of the nose and mouth mucouses and died.

This is the work of the atom bomb; at Hiroshima it killed 247,000 people and today it goes on killing.

Listen to Mrs. Masako Hosotani of 206 Sekiguchi-machi Bunkoyu, Tokio, Japan: "The moment I saw three young women coming up, their faces exposed to a brilliant sunshine, I felt surely they are the atom-bombed girls from Hiroshima, for I knew that the Koishikawa branch of Tokio University was near, where seven young women are staying to undergo a plastic operation to mend their faces that the atom bomb had distorted. I felt as if my heart were breaking at the grotesque appearance of these young women, whispering to each other and bending their faces down as low as they could. Cruel it is, too cruel it is to look at them, I cautioned myself, but I could not help looking back at the moment they passed by me side their wounds swelling up into a big lump of flesh from mouth to chin. That is the very thing we call by the name of 'Keroido', which though it can be removed, again and again grows up anew."

This is the legacy of atomic Warfare!

In his book "Hiroshima", the American writer John Hersey gives a description of an atom-bombed city. The following is an extract from his book:

"Mr. Tanimoto, fearful for his family and church ran towards them.....he was the only person making his way into the city; he met hundreds and hundreds who were fleeing and everyone of them seemed to be hurt in some way. The eyebrows of some were burned off and skin hung from their faces and hands. Some were vomiting as they walked. Many were naked or

in shreads of clothing. On some undressed bodies, the burns had had made patterns of undershirt straps and suspenders and on the skin of some women (since white repelled the heat from the bomb and dark clothes absorbed it and conducted it to the skin) the shapes of flowers they had on their kimonos. Almost all had their heads bowed, looked straight ahead, were silent.....under many houses people screamed for help, but no one helped...When Mr. Tanimoto reached the park it was very crowded and to distinguish the living from the dead was not easy...to Father Kleinsborg the silence in the grove by the river where hundreds of gruesomely wounded suffered together was one of the most dreadful and awesome phenomena of his whole experience. He gave water to some of those whose faces had been almost blotted out by flash burns. Mr. Tanimoto found about twenty men and women on the sandpit.....he reached down and took a woman by the hands but her skin slipped off in huge gloves. [illegible] was so sicken[illegible] to sit down for [illegible]

THE HISTORY OF THE OYLMPIC GAMES

By Hellmut Schmidt

Olympics and Peace—two words that belong together, you will agree. Historians note that in ancient Greece, the approach of the Olympic Games, each four years, denoted the approach of peace. Then all fighting ceased, kings and cities were bound to allow free passage to all the competitors towards Olympus. Pierre de Coubertin and his fellow founders of the Olympics of our times firmly believed that one day noble and friendly sports competition would replace bloodshed. They were not alone in their ideas and every year the number of people who carry the torch of Peace from one Olympic Games to the next, multiplies.

The Legend of the Olympics

The origin of the Olympic Games is lost somewhere in the mists of the past. The name of Hercules is figured largely in an old Greek legend. He represented the strength & youth. According to the legend. Hercules, after having cleaned out the stables of Augias, king of Elis (which was the task of a Labourer obliged by the gods to accomplish as a punishment for a past misdeed), *Denied a promised reward of* 12 oxen by Augias, Hercules became enraged, gathered an army and attacked the king. Later. falling ill, the king concluded an armistice. However, the kings' nephew, disregarding the truce, attacked and massacred Hercules army. In revenge, Hercules attacked once more and slew the king and his family. To mark his victory he organised Games, with the olive branch as a prize. He decreed that the games should be held every five years.

The Olympic Games in History

The name Iphitos of Elis brings us out from the mist of legends into the light of historical facts, We have good reason to believe that the games existed over a period of centuries, going back, probably to the time of the Trojan Wars. For some reason, later the Games ceased and up to the time of Iphitos seem to have been forgotten. Iphitos wishing to put an end to the continual wars which were ravaging the cities and countryside of Greece, Iphitos took the step (Records say, on the advice of the gods) to revive the Olympic Games. He made an agreement with the King of Sparta, declaring the place of the Games neutral. At first, only the inhabitants of Elis took part, but later sportsmen came from all over the country. The last games took place in 393 B.C. after which they were discontinued on the order of the Roman Emperor Theodosius the First. They were to reappear again only in A. D. 1896.

The Rebirth of the Olympic Games

Towards the middle of the 19th century, a German Historian Curtius, drew the attention of the world to the Olympics. He found a ready response and in 1859, the Greeks revived one of their finest traditions. This was the first of five National Olympics. 1870, 1875, 1888, 1889 being the dates for the others.

On the 16th June, 1894, on the initiative of the Frenchman Pierre de Coubertin, a meeting took place in the Sorbonne, where it was decided to revive the Olympics. It was proposed to organise the Olympic games during the first year's of the 20th Century. However, on the insistence of the Greeks, it was possible to hold them already in 1896, in the Greek capital Athens. At this meeting in Paris the International Olympic Committee was formed.

1896 Athens

The first modern Olympic Games attracted attention not only from the Greek people but from the entire world. The Marathon race, over the original course, was the centre of attention. After a hard struggle it was a Greek Spyros Louis who won in 2 hours 58 minutes, 50 seconds.

1900 Paris

Known as the "pell-mell Olympics," and for a good reason, they were opened at the same time as the Great Exhibition in Paris. The organisers hoped to profit from the coincidence, and in effect they did not occupy themselves very much with the sporting side of the organisation. Nevertheless good results were produced. In the 100 metres, the world record (10.8 seconds) held by an American was beaten for the first time in 24 years, by Abrahams of England.

1904 St. Louis USA

In spite of the fact that certain of the organisers seemed more interested in the commercial side, the Games produced some remarkable results. Putting the weight (1480.8 cms.)! Hammer throwing (51.23m.); 15000 metres (4.5.4"); long jump (347.75cm.) and high jump (149.5 cm.).

1906 Athens

The Games became more interesting through the addition of other branches of sport. For the first time the classic pentathlon standing long jump, discus, javelin, 200 metres race and wrestling were held. Also for the first time Hellenic discuss, tug-of-war and football (won by Denmark) were added.

1908 London

The best sportsmen of the world took part, en masse. Credit must go to the British who provided a new stadium, a fitting place for the Games. The Italians renounced their right to hold the games at the last minute. Again there were new branches introduced including water polo and skating.

1912 Stockholm

The 5th Olympic Games showed a great advance in swimming. At the previous games 149 competitors from 14 countries, at Stockholm 223 competitors from 17 countries. Due to the large number of competitors demi and semi finals were introduced.

The First World War prevented the holding of the next Games.

1920 Antwerp

Known as the "mutilated games." Competitors from the nations defeated in the War were not allowed to take part. The Finnish competitors took the laurels. They won 10,000 metres (Nurmi 31.45.8) javelin and other branches, often breaking world records.

1924 Paris

Many world records were beaten. Abrahams (England) set up a new time for the 100 metres with 10.6 seconds, which stayed unbeaten until the 1932 Olympics.

1928 Amsterdam

Women took the field in a remarkable way, in new branches which up till then had not appeared in the Games. 100 metres was won by E. Robinson with 12.2 As well as discus (39.62), high jump (159 cm.), 800 metres flat (2.16.8) and the 4X100 metres relay (Canada 48.4.) All world records.

1932 Los Angeles USA

The great economic crisis nearly put an end to the Games. Up to six weeks before the opening, there was still no hard and fast decision to hold the Games. However, despite the uncertainties, they were a great success. They earned the name "World Record Olympics." All mens events except two produced records. The American Tolan with 10.3 in the 100 metres set up a record which still exists to-day. Here for the first time the "Olympic village" was built.

1936 Berlin

51 nations with 5,400 competitors took part. There were 12 world records and 68 Olympic records. Jesse Owens, American Negro was the star of the day with a long jump of 806 cms., still unbeaten. An interesting thing to note is that outside the competitions, during filming he jumped 820 cms. Jesse Owens victory was all the more significant due to the open attempts of the Nazi state of that time to make use of the Olympic Games for self glorification, quite in contrast to the Olympic principles.

The next games were proposed for 1940 at Helsinki and 1944 in London. However, once again the clouds of war loomed and the Games were abandoned.

1948 London

The first world sports competition after the war. A record participation and excellent results. It is notable that for the first time the New Democracies of Eastern Europe took part and gained excellent result.

1952 Helsinki

A landmark in the history of the games. A tremendous interest was aroused throughout the world. New world records, hundreds of excellent results. The USSR took part for the first time and scored remarkable victories, sharing the hononrs with the United States. Zatopek., Czechoslovakia set up a new world record in the 5,000 metres (14.6.6.), S.G. Iness (USA) in discus 55.03 m.) Olympic record. Zybina (USSR) set up a world and olympic record of 15.28 m. in putting the weight. The swimmers from Hungary, like many of their colleagues, shook the world with their successes.

And now 1956 ?

The next Olympic Games are scheduled for Melbourne in Australia. But, according to the world press, it seems that these games are in danger; The Australian Government is not disposed to lift the horse quarantine restriction of 6 months, which makes uncertain the equestrian events. We await the result of the next Olympic Committee meeting this May in Athens.

The Olympic Games badge, the five coloured circles interlocking signifies the five continents united in a common interest in everlasting friendship. We are sure that the future Olympics will be even greater than their predecessors for the number of young people entering the field of sport grows daily. And it is certain that the spirit of Peace and Friendship which surrounds the Games will grow stronger too. The 1956 Olympics, wherever they are held, will, like those in Helsinki send out their message of hope to the world.

(*Courtesy: "World Youth"*)

Information to the General Public

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CHILD AND YOUTH WELFARE.

Address for Communications:

1. Dr. (Mrs.) Mary H. Rutnam, Research and Appeals Bureau, N.C.C.Y.W., Lake Building, Ward Street, Kandy.
2. L. Mututantri Esq., Hon. Sec., N.C.C.Y.W., 102, Annexe, Rosmead Place, Colombo 7.
3. L. V. Cooray Esq., Hon. Treas., N.C.C.Y.W., Ceylon Savings Bank, Secretariat, Colombo.

Culled by Pathi:

WHAT IS RELIGION?

Religion consists in burning from head to foot in search of Truth,
Its end is love, and its beginning is propriety of conduct or discipline.
It is a fault to bring a bad word on the lips,
The 'infidel' and 'faith' are all creatures of God.

Humanity means honouring men,
Be aware of the lofty position of man!
A devotee of love takes guidance from God,
He becomes affectionate towards the "infidel" and the "faithful".

He takes in the breath of his soul both 'infidelty' and 'faith',
If the soul seeks refuge from another soul, woe be to that soul!
Although the soul is the prisoner in water and earth (the human body),
Yet all this universe is the universe of the soul.

—DR. MUHAMMAD IQBAL

MISCELLANY

BY NIHAL

Parliament on the Air.

Mr. W. Dahanayake, M. P. for Galle has suggested that proceedings in the House of Representatives be broadcast to the nation. He has already given notice of a motion to this effect. The public at large, I feel sure, will welcome his suggestion.

At present only an insignificant minority are in a position to know at first hand all that goes on in the House. One has either to be present in the galleries or read Hansard to learn what his representative is doing, in the absence of a faithful and impartial report in the daily press.

If Mr. Dahanayake's motion is accepted it would go a long way to sharpen the political consciousness of a much wider circle of people and keep them informed of the vital matters which effect their lives. It would also force a greater sense of responsibility on Members and make the voter cast his vote for the correct candidates when the occasion arises, in the future.

If the Government uses its steam-roller majority to throw out this motion it would indicate that it has something to hide from the public.

Communal Discrimination in Police?

The majority of Police Officers allege that communal discrimination exists in the Police Department. They allege that one particular community—and a minority at that—are receiving preferential treatment. They point out that most of the plum jobs in Colombo are held by this community.

A further point stressed is that some of these officers are kept at their posts in spite of the repeated failures, as, for instance, the recent unsolved murders, the now famous currency note forgery case, the existence of Illegal Bookies in the heart of Colombo who continue to operate with impunity.

One of the reasons adduced by some of the frustrated officers is that the I. G. P. favours the officers of this community because they can be depended on to use the police force for the advancement of the Party in power.

The American Spies and U.N.O.

The U. N. O. has lost no time in setting its machinery in motion on behalf of II American airmen sentenced by the People's Republic of China for spying. It has gone to the extent of sending the Secretary-General of the U.N.O. to China. But when a protest was lodged by Gautemala at the overthrow of a democratically elected Government by American sponsored stooges, the matter was side tracked by the U. N. O.

Thus it makes it apparent that II Americans mean more to the U.N.O. than an entire country. As any further proof necessary to convince the world how the U. N. O. has been reduced to an arm of American aggression under the guise of peace.?

Air Ceylon Gold Racket

"When a Leftist M.P. who is also a Red wheel visited Velvatturai quite recently, a deputation of smgglers visited hum in return.

"They had one request to make. Would he ask Parliament to ask Air-Ceylon to please stop competing in their decades-old trade?

"What the M.P. said in return has not been conveyed to Contact."

(The above is the story carried by "Contact" in the Ceylon Observer of 3-1-55).

Who contacted "Contact" roundabout we do not know. But it is a long time since the smugglers of Velvatturai were swallowed up by the 'distinguished' ring, now operating on an international scale. Velvatturai and Air-Ceylon, apart from competing, are only two of the many chanels used by the ring that controls both!

C. T. C. Sweep Tickets

Some time back there were hot rumours afloat concerning the C.T.C. Sweeps run each raceday. There were suspicions that all was not well with the manner in which this sweep was conducted. Letters appeared in ths press which certainly made some improvement but which failed to ally public suspicion. Since then the prize money started shooting up. But those in the know felt that, considering the island wide sale of C.T.C. Sweep tickets, the prize money was still low.

The sweeps run by the Galle Gymkhana Club during the Race Meetings have been a revelation. The obvious question asked by the public is how the comparatively small G.G.C. Sweeps could have paid out larger prizes than the C.T.C. was doing with a much larger organization and with more experience.

If the suspicions of the public are to be dispelled and the good name of the Ceylon Turf Club upheld, it is imperative that an exhaustive enquiry must be made and the findings given wide publicity.

'Scab' Trade Unions

The Ceylon Workers' Congress has been accepted as the rightful Union of plantation workers. Since of late, however other mushroom bodies have commenced operations in the plantations. It was only recently that a certain revolutionary leftist party met with defeat when they attempted to gain control of the plantation workers. In frustration they raised racial cries, intimidation, and even attemped to force themselves over the workers with the aid of Superintendents of the estates. But the solidarity of the workers saved them from a split.

It is now reported that another such body has commenced operations in the Hatton District. They term themselves the Union of Ceylon Plantation and General Labour. When the Ceylon Workers' Congress was gripped in a life and death struggle for the fundamental rights of the plantation workers this scab union stepped in and joined the bosses. They have, it is understood, approached the the Superintendents of the estates and requested them to provide police protection to enable scabs to be sent in to break the strike.

If anything has ruined real trade unionism in Ceylon, it is political opportunism of a few schemers. To these individuals the welfare of the worker is only a means to the end of their political power. There have been many examples in recent times where mean men have used workers as stepping stones to political power. The Spinning and Weaving Mills strike was one such case. Here the workers were sacrificed for narrow and selfish individual and party ends. The same sorry state of affairs has spread to some other Unions. It is very fortunate that the sober counsels that prevailed among the G.C.S.U. rank and file defeated the splitters when these tactics were attempted in this union.

It is high time that the rank and file of trade unions took a keener interest in the affairs of their unions and put a stop to this rot that has set in.

What must be driven in is that workers are all equals. Caste and creed must not be used to split their solidarity and they must have the right of joining any political party of their choice, or remaining outside party politics if they so desire.

ARDENT LOVE

Short Story by EUGERIU CAMILAR

Madalina's Vasile, of Udesti. I have memories of him from long-past, blue spring-times of childhood. Then, Vasile used to take sheep up to the pastures, or the ducklings to the ponds of Alisandrosia. And I saw him again last summer.

The wheat had ripened in the fields, the maize-stalks had reached the height of a man's arm-pits. One burning night the field smelt of grain like a mighty oven. On the morrow the men were to start work with their sickles. Then, suddenly, towards morning, the heavens lightened and thundered. The rain came in torrents, followed by the ominous clattering of the roofs to a deluge of hailstones as big as pigeon's eggs. The storm lasted a long while.

Vasile had not lost his head, he merely gazed in silence at his drooping grain with its ears flattened to the ground. What was in his mind? As soon as the earth was dry, he went out to the field with his whole family, sickles in hand. Stalk by stalk, they began to cut off the ears of the wheat. And they did not rest until the field was swept clean like the palm of your hands, the whole of the grain having been rescued from the tide of calamity. Then he set to ploughing his land until he reached the thick layer of chernoziom or black earth. His neighbours first watched in amazement. Then, they too seized their sickles and learned Vasile's way of fighting the terrible scourge from the heavens. Afterwards they plough[illegible] land as he had done, so that very soon new maize, flowers and wild alfalfa were sprouting from the ravaged earth. From graveyards the fields had become gardens.

But the villagers were even more surprised to see Vasile at work among the fallen maize-stalks, raising them up one by one. He would caress the cob-leaves, adjust them, straighten the drooping ears. And Vasile soon made it obvious that his autumnmaize crop was not lost.

So it is not surprising that Vasile gets on well. It warms your heart to see his house with its vine border, his orchard with princely apples and imperial pears. You see well-fed cattle in his stables. The udders of the cows are heavy with milk. He rubs them down at night by the light of a lantern; you can see the result in their glossy hides.

I heard him winnowing his grain by night. I saw him carrying his sacks up to the loft, and the stairs creaked beneath the weight. When he goes out on Sunday, he comes home with a book or a newspaper stuck in his belt, and often I have seen him reading under the shade of a walnut, or in the grass on a carpet.

Nor is it surprising that the next time I saw him it was as a guest at a meeting of the People's Council of the village. He modestly seated himself in a corner, and when asked to tell how he had cropped 4000 kilos of barley per hectare last year, he blushed violently, fearing to be accounted a braggart. And what of it?' his glance challenged.

"Aren't 4000 kilos a lot? In good times, even our best ploughmen scarcely get 1500."

"What about it"? mumbled Vasile. Then he began to talk. He seemed to be consumed by an ardent love. He did not sing his own praise, but that of the land.

"...but as the land is far away and cannot hear us, I'll just say a thing or two about it." he added with a laugh. "There's one thing I can tell you, men! For me, the land is a live thing! Our State helps us to cultivate it well, to love it. See for yourselves: the more you manure it and the better you plough it, the more willingly it bears fruit. It's no use flogging a tired horse, it's no use expecting crops from starving land!"

"Still, 4000..." said a wondering voice.

Vasile turned up his broad palms in deprecation.

"I listened to the advice of the agronomer, sowed my barley under the autumn rains; it had the added benefit of the snow in winter. My barley went on growing with the strength collected last autumn."

The meeting listened to him in rapt interest. Vasile spoke unhurriedly, as one speaks of everyday occurrences. He said you had to be blind not to realise what help you were getting to increase the yield of the earth; to ignore what was new in the science of the land. Could you afford to ignore an experimental station? Could you roll cigarettes from the leaves of a book—a book on agriculture? Could you turn your back when selected seed was issued at the cooperative, when the agronomer came to tell you of the latest discoveries of scientists in the experimental fields? Could you keep it to yourself when you heard talks given over the radio by discoverers of still more methods of increasing your bread? Standing round smoking or gossiping beneath the willows doesn't help you to get on. It's no use cursing life when you see that even your sheepskin cap is wearing thin. You've a burning love...

"If I respected the land, if I gave it its due," went on Vasile, "it has now returned everything to me a hundredfold. Clothing for the family, food, my house with its corrugated iron roof, my cattle—all that I got from wrestling with the land! But it wasn't wrestling as enemies, it was friendly wrestling! Only a fool gets on bad terms with the land. As soon as it feels you're trying to cheat it through laziness and neglect, out come its thorns! But excuse me honest husbandmen, for letting loose all this talk, keeping you here part of the evening listening to me."

"No, no! Go on, go ahead!"

"What more am I to say? With the permission of you, husbandmen, there's something on my mind. I'll tell it to you right now: you praised me for cropping 4000 kilos per hectare, I don't know whether I deserve praise or not, but I'm thinking that with the help we get nowadays, with the seed, the machines, the fertilizer, the agronomers who help us, couldn't we do better?"

There was a murmur among the villagers.

"More! Who could hope for more?"

Tall and ruddy cheeked, Costan Griga stood up.

"I'm ready to do it!

But let nobody imagine I'm your set up!

Put it there—I'm taking you on!"

"Over 4000?"

"Right. But with equal help."

"That's only fair. We'll see who uses it best!"

The two farmers shook hands strongly and fell silent, eye to eye.

"They both mean what they say," came a voice. But shall Vasile said Costan be the only ones in the village?"

It was deputy Ion Tociuc who had put the question.

"I feel like taking on the nearest village," he added.

"Wait a minute, lads!" interrupted Gheorghe Pop." "Can we do it! Let's consider it as husbandmen."

"While the secretary of the People's Council was drawing up the challenge forms for emulation in the fruits of the land, Madalina's Vasile stood silently apart. Maybe he now felt ashamed of talking so much and challenging Costan to this test!

"That's settled, then," he said at last from the threshold. "Thanks for giving me your attention and inviting me to your meeting."

He was frowning slightly on his way home. "Wouldn't Costan prove cleverer than he? "No!" said Vasile." "I've got to beat him with over 4000. I wonder what he'll do, what methods he'll use."

Next morning, with the first streak of dawn scarcely showing in the east, Vasile's cart [illegible] ded with fe[illegible] ing on its way to the [illegible]

Yes—the [illegible] only in ex[illegible] give it. It [illegible]

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
TRINE
Yearly Rs. 9.00
Half-Yearly „ 5.00
(*Inclusive of postage*)
All cheques, money orders and postal orders to be made payable to :—
PRAJA PRESS,
275/1, "King's Court", 1st Div. Maradana,
Colombo 10. *Telephone: 6068*

Trine
News Magazine

ADVERTISEMENT RATES
TRINE
Rs. 3/- per column inch. (*Except first page*)
For special contract rates for long term advertisements please apply to :—
ADVERTISING MANAGER,
PRAJA PRESS,
275/1, "King's Court", 1st Div. Maradana,
Colombo 10. *Telephone : 6068*

The Sibiu State Philharmonic

RECENTLY the Sibiu State Philharmonic Orchestra celebrated its fifth anniversary (1949—1954).

This Philharmonic orchestra conducted by Henry Selbing was created from existing amateur musical circles in Sibiu whose activity and artistic mastery could not be utilized until the requisite conditions were provided by the people's democratic regime.

Sibiu is an old Transylvanian town at the foot of the Carpathians. Walls of the old fortress and mediaeval stairways blend with the outlines of modern factories and blocks of flats. Sibiu has an old musical tradition. Haydn's Symphony in G Major, also called the Sibiu Symphony, written in 1786 and recently discovered in this town, was interpreted for the first time by the Sibiu State Philharmonic.

Mozart's *Zauberflote* and Haydn's oratoria were heard in Sibiu as far back as 1790, and soon after a series of cultural societies [illegible] as well as bands and choirs were created. Nevertheless, musical life was limited and the repertory was small.

In the one hundred years between 1839 and 1939, only 50 symphonies were performed in Sibiu, whereas 139 symphonies could be heard in the same town during the last five years.

The Sibiu State Philharmonic does everything possible to make more and more workers, peasants and ordinary folk confirmed music-lovers. In the last five years it has given several hundred concerts in public halls, workers' clubs and Houses of Culture, attended by nearly 200,000 listeners.

The concerts of the Sibiu Philharmonic have a high artistic level and are much appreciated in the town and the neighbouring localities. The orchestra performs compositions by the classics of all countries, by Rumanian classics and modern composers. Local composers such as Ilie Micu, Gheorghe Soima and Iorgu Sandu are encouraged and their works are performed by the Sibiu Philharmonic.

The orchestra has grown considerably during the last few years, and engaged many young talented musicians. It includes experienced artists such as the conductor Henry Selbing, the leader of the orchestra Alfred Salmen and the pianist Hanns Schuler as well as young soloists who have graduated from the Orasul Stalin Popular Art School, such as Geta Goranescu, Gavril, Amiras, Judith Molnar and others.

The Sibiu Philharmonic is composed of Rumanian musicians and members belonging to the national minorities and takes an active part in the cultural life of the region. Members of the orchestra help amateur artists belonging to the teams of Houses of Culture, trade-union formations, orchestras and bands, who take part in local and national competitions, to achieve good performances.

The activity of the Sibiu State Philharmonic has earned the appreciation of the Government which has decorated the composer Henry Selbing, director and permanent conductor of the orchestra, with the Labour Medal in 1949, and in 1954, on the occasion of the orchestra's fifth birthday, with the Order of Labour. On the same occasion nine other members of the Sibiu Philharmonic were awarded the Order of Labour and the Labour Medal.

DOINA CRIN

YOUR FATE IN THE STARS

What the Stars foretell (January 14th—20th)
BY "ASTEIRO"

(The following predictions are based on the period of birth and progression of the sun and have no reference to the Lagna. Each week begins on a Friday and ends on a Thursday These are generalised probabilities only and may not be taken as fatalistic.):—

ARIES [April 14—May 14]

Much activity indicated. Before 16th domestic changes or disputes will occur. Week-end shows increase of money and travel.

TAURUS [May 14 June—14]

Concerns children and letters. Partnerships and friendships bring you joy especially between 16—18.

GEMINI [June 14—July 14]

A proposed journey will be cancelled. Professional difficulties likely. Females play an important part this week especially between 18—20.

CANCER [July 14—August 14]

Auspicious for most matters. News from a distance brings you satisfaction. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars and Venus should made this a very important week.

LEO [August 14—September 14]

Excellent for new undertakings and speculation especially between 18—20. Domestic changes of a favourable character indicated.

VIRGO [September 14—October 14]

Unexpected gains are shown. You will be kept very busy. Excellent for love and marriage. Much to do with brothers and sisters.

LIBRA [October 14—November 14]

You should make much progress and money this week. Letters from abroad should improve your financial position. Husband or wife scores heavily. Make the most.

SCORPIO [October 14—November 14]

Proposed changes or alterations will be delayed owing to children. Professional gains are clear. You will be in a very quarrelsome or venturesome mood.

SAGITTARIUS [December 14—January 14]

Several changes are indicated. You are likely to go on a journey owing to a friend. Overseas matters and foreigners will take your time.

CAPRICORN [January 14—February 14]

By far one of the most important weeks in recent times. Wife or husband is likely to come in for money between 18—20 An important problem will be settled before 16th.

AQUARIUS [February 14—March 14]

The domestic sphere appears disturbed. Expenses will be high. Financial and professional matters will bring you headaches.

PISCES [March 14—April 14]

Excellent stars operate this week and you should find plenty of money rolling in from various directions. Before the 16th and between 18—20 you will feel satisfied.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

That bomb again

When American prestige is found rock bottom low and American tactics have proved bankrupt American Generals become increasingly fond of bragging about their atomic weapons. John Stevenson, commander of U. S. 49th Air Division stationed in Britain bragged about atomic war against the Soviet Union, in West Europe recently. Close upon it followed Radford, Chairman of U. S. Joint Chiefs of staff—who threatened atomic war against Korea and China. Once before this when the H-bomb was actually exploded, it proved to be such a damp squib that America was routed at the Geneva Conference and as an aftermath U.S. was forced to pay 2 million dollars compensation to Japan. If once again having not learnt a lesson, U.S.A. clamours for atomic explosions and obviously [illegible] to intimidate and coerce the [illegible] to her militarist schemes, one can forecast a tremendous success for the Afro-Asian conference. Hence no one should attempt to dissuade American traders in armaments and their political middlemen in talking of atomic pie in the sky.

Japan turns to China and Soviet Union

While Washington news releases frantically indicate Japan will not negotiate with China and the Soviet Union, Hatoyama, Japanese Premier is preparing to send trade Missions to these countries. He has gone a step further and defied American trade monopolism barriers in Japan by indicating he would lift trade restrictions and permit free travelling to the two countries. He said "I count on the purchasing power of these countries. Resumption of normal relations with China and the Soviet Union would contribute to the preservation of world Peace." And we may add "to the preservation of Japan as well!" For Radford is still feverishly trying to find "military muscle" for U.S. war plans by providing planes and warships for the expansion of Japanese forces—"in case of renewal of military action in Korea." This is a move to block the convening of the Afro-Asian conference, which U.S. fears will achieve results diametrically opposed to her schemes to save the world for "democracy." It is the now familiar "bag of tricks."

Further Asian Splits

Admiral Radford is very busy trying to persuade Thailand and the Phillippines to keep out of the Afro-Asian conference. Washington news releases have already announced that Phillippines will be boycotting the conference. But no official intimation has been issued from Manila. U.S. officials on the basis of "reliable diplomatic indications" consider Phillippines and Thailand cold to the conference plans. If U.S. blesses this brand of approach to a conference primarily concerned with promoting peaceful coexistence then the conclusion has to be drawn, U.S.A. does not want Peace, and is keen to create antagonisms and divisions on the Asian-African region. A consignment of U.S. military supplies valued at 17 million dollars arrived at Manila on December 14th.

Slap to Trade Policy

A further slap to U. S. trade policy is in store when several countries withdraw from GATT in the near future.

Printed and Published for the Praja Press by William Henry de Silva Jayasinghe, residing at No. 275/1, "King's Court", 1st Div. Maradana Colombo, at the Praja Press, No. 275/1, "King's Court", 1st Div. Maradana, Colombo, on Thursday, 13th January 1955

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PRINTED MATTER 1950 12/15

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

M. Charles HOWARD

DISCOURS

Introduction

CE QUE FUT LE IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

L'INITIATIVE du Deuxième Congrès Mondial de la Paix fut prise par le Comité émanant du Premier Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, qui eut lieu à Paris, salle Pleyel, en avril 1949.

Le principe de la convocation du Second Congrès Mondial fut adopté en mars 1950, à Stockholm, en même temps que le célèbre Appel contre la Bombe atomique, qui devait recevoir l'approbation signée de plus de 500 millions d'hommes et de femmes par le monde.

Le 16 août 1950, le Bureau du Comité, réuni à Prague, lança des propositions de discussion pour de larges débats publics en vue de la préparation du Congrès qui devait avoir lieu à Sheffield (Grande-Bretagne).

Ces propositions portaient sur les points suivants :

— Interdiction des armes atomiques;
— Réduction des armements;
— Dénonciation de l'agression;
— Solution pacifique du conflit de Corée;
— Interdiction des propagandes de guerre.

Sur la base de ces propositions, se tinrent dans le monde des milliers d'assemblées populaires et de réunions d'organisation, qui discutèrent et élirent, démocratiquement, des délégués.

★

Le Congrès empêché par les autorités britanniques de se tenir, comme prévu, à Sheffield, à la date du 13 novembre, se transféra à Varsovie, où il siégea du 16 au 22 novembre.

Ces Assises Mondiales rassemblèrent 2.065 délégués et invités de 83 pays. Une discussion large s'ouvrit sur les rapports présentés par le Président JOLIOT-CURIE et le Vice-Président Pietro NENNI.

145 orateurs se succédèrent à la tribune des séances plénières, et des débats importants, auxquels participèrent des centaines de délégués, se poursuivirent dans les sept commissions de travail constituées par des membres des délégations de l'ensemble des pays.

Cette ample et franche discussion aboutit à l'élaboration et au vote démocratiques de dix résolutions importantes ainsi qu'à l'élection d'un Conseil Mondial de la Paix, comprenant 235 représentants, placé sous la Présidence du grand savant Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE.

Ces décisions, mises aux voix, furent adoptées à la presque unanimité des délégués, moins trois abstentions.

Les résolutions adoptées par le Congrès constituent tout un programme, qui trouve son expression dans deux textes fondamentaux : « Le Manifeste aux Peuples » et l' « Adresse à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ».

Tous ces actes et résolutions du Congrès auront la force que leur donneront la volonté de Paix et le soutien des peuples. Le Congrès Mondial n'est pas une fin, mais un nouveau départ pour une action plus ample de tous les peuples en faveur de la paix.

PREMIERE SEANCE DU LUNDI 20 NOVEMBRE 1950

Le Président, M. UPHAUS (Etats-Unis) :

— *La parole est à :*

M. Charles HOWARD

Monsieur le Président,
Messieurs les Membres du Présidium,
Mesdames, Messieurs,

Avant de commencer mon discours, je voudrais transmettre à ce second Congrès Mondial de la Paix le salut du grand citoyen du monde, Paul Robeson, auquel le Département d'Etat a refusé le droit de venir ici, en personne. J'ai aussi le grand honneur d'apporter à la jeunesse de ce Congrès les vœux personnels de son fils, Paul Robeson junior, qui, lui aussi, se vit refuser son passeport au dernier moment. Quel triste spectacle ! Le gouvernement américain persécute une famille entière parce qu'elle parle au nom de notre peuple et qu'elle défend la cause de la Paix. Je vous assure que tout ce que je dis ici a été approuvé à la fois par Paul Robeson et par son fils.

Lorsque j'ai traversé la Tchécoslovaquie et la Pologne et que j'ai vu les terres ravagées qui faisaient contraste avec les beaux visages heureux et confiants des enfants, mes yeux se sont remplis de larmes, mon cœur fut baigné d'amour et je me suis voué, pour toujours, à la cause de la Paix parmi les êtres humains de tous les pays — l'Europe, l'Asie, l'Afrique, les Indes, la Chine, le Pakistan, les Amériques, les îles de l'Océan, et mon propre pays bien-aimé, les Etats-Unis. En tant que Noir Américain, je comprends ce que ces peuples ont souffert, et je ramènerai à mon peuple cette affection sincère que j'éprouve envers eux et qui est née de la misère et de l'oppression communes. Je désire exprimer toute la gratitude que je ressens envers les peuples de Tchécoslovaquie et de Pologne, en consacrant le reste de ma vie à la cause de la Paix.

Nous avons entendu beaucoup de réflexions, d'idées importantes à ce Congrès. Je désirerais m'arrêter sur quelques-unes

d'entre elles. Par exemple, j'ai été très impressionné lorsque M. Ilya Ehrenbourg, délégué de l'Union Soviétique, déclara que son pays désirait la Paix, « non seulement avec l'Amérique de Robeson et de Fast, mais aussi avec celle de Truman et d'Acheson ». En tant que dirigeant du Parti Progressiste, et en tant que fils de mon peuple, j'ai de dures critiques à faire à l'Amérique de Truman et d'Acheson, mais je comprends ce que M. Ehrenbourg veut dire, et je voudrais que tous les Américains le comprennent aussi. La lutte pour la Paix n'est pas le fait d'un seul Parti, d'une seule croyance. Elle n'est pas, comme beaucoup d'Américains ont été amenés à le croire, le fait de soi-disants éléments « subversifs ». Cette lutte est celle de tout être humain, et surtout celle qui sauvera tout l'avenir national de mon pays. Nous attaquons le gouvernement de Truman et d'Acheson parce qu'il prépare la guerre, mais nous voulons nous unir avec les millions d'hommes qui ne voient pas encore le véritable rôle de Truman et d'Acheson. Voilà l'esprit qui doit nous aider à construire le mouvement de la Paix américain.

Et puis, il y a eu encore une autre pensée exprimée ici, hier matin, par le délégué français, Pierre Cot, je crois. Il a dit : « Nous sommes accusés d'être le soutien de l'Union Soviétique et l'ennemi des Etats-Unis. Cela est faux. Nous sommes Partisans de la Paix, et ennemis de la guerre. » Ceci frappe une corde qui, je crois, trouvera un écho aux Etats-Unis, car on a fait croire à beaucoup de gens que cette lutte pour la Paix était une question de choix entre les U.S.A. et l'Union Soviétique. On leur a fait croire que la Paix était, en quelque sorte, contre leurs intérêts, en tant que nation, et que seule la préparation à la guerre peut défendre ces intérêts.

Nous, qui appartenons au Parti Progressiste, nous avons mené cette lutte pour la Paix; nous avons été le Parti de la Paix aux Etats-Unis. Plus d'un million de membres du Parti Progressiste, en votant aux élections de 1948, ont rempli leurs bulletins pour défendre la Paix. D'autres millions d'hommes ont été influencés par notre campagne électorale. Le désir de Paix a une grande force parmi les Noirs de mon pays, et ils ont de bonnes raisons pour vouloir la Paix, car ils souffrent de la discrimination raciale en temps de paix, et sont les premiers à supporter le poids d'une guerre. Groupés dans des unités spéciales, ils doivent accomplir les pires travaux matériels de la guerre, et, ce qui est encore plus criminel, ils sont envoyés par leurs dirigeants pour combattre leurs frères et les maintenir dans l'esclavage. Aujourd'hui, c'est la Corée, demain ce seront leurs frères d'Afrique.

La guerre froide a déjà causé d'indescriptibles souffrances

à mon peuple. Il est transformé en bouc émissaire. Par exemple, à l'instant où je vous parle, le 24e régiment d'infanterie, une unité noire, a été placé au plus dur du combat. Un officier noir, le lieutenant Gilbert, qui refusa d'accepter un ordre qui le menait à un véritable suicide, fut traduit en cour martiale et condamné à mort. A ce moment-là, le moral de l'armée était bas, et ce fut un Noir qu'ils choisirent comme bouc émissaire. De tels boucs émissaires, il y en a beaucoup; pour n'en citer que quelques-uns : les sept de Martinsville, Mme Rosa Ingram et les six de Trenton.

Voilà pourquoi je suis d'accord avec M. Cot. Le meilleur système de défense pour mon peuple et pour mon pays, c'est la Paix elle-même. La lutte pour la Paix n'est pas une lutte pour la cause de n'importe quel individu, mais pour notre propre cause. Telle est la seconde des idées précieuses que nous avons entendues ici ; elle nous aidera chez nous.

Mais voilà qu'hier nous avons entendu le long discours désordonné de M. Rogge. Il avait le droit de parler ici, car le but de ce Congrès était d'entendre différentes opinions. Et certainement personne ne peut dire qu'il n'ait pas été entendu.

Je ne veux pas perdre beaucoup de temps à répondre à M. Rogge, que je connais bien. Je l'ai rencontré pour la première fois lorsqu'il vint, en 1948, dans l'Etat d'Iowa, invité, en tant qu'orateur, à l'assemblée de fondation du Parti Progressiste de l'Iowa. J'ai eu des rapports avec lui en tant que membre du Comité National de ce Parti.

Je puis dire fermement au Congrès que M. Rogge n'a pas parlé ici au nom du Parti Progressiste. Il n'a pas parlé non plus au nom du peuple noir de l'Amérique. Hier, il a annoncé qu'il renonçait à assumer la défense des six de Trenton. Je suis Noir, je suis avocat, et je comprends naturellement que, dans la situation actuelle, il est plus dangereux et moins profitable de défendre la vie de six noirs, victimes innocentes, que d'être l'avocat de l'Ambassade de Yougoslavie à Washington.

M. Rogge n'exprime pas les opinions de la délégation américaine dont le Dr. Uphaus a donné ici, samedi dernier, le point de vue. Bien qu'il ait été membre du Comité Mondial sortant, il s'est abstenu de contribuer, en aucune façon, à la préparation de ce Congrès. M. Rogge est un employé rémunéré du gouvernement yougoslave, et je crois que tous ceux qui assistent à ce Congrès doivent estimer son discours d'hier à la lumière de cet emploi.

Mais occupons-nous d'une seule de ses idées. Dans le texte original de son discours, une phrase qu'il omit plus tard de prononcer dit : « En ce qui concerne mon pays, j'ai révisé mon opi-

nion sur la guerre civile. Je ne pense plus du tout le bien que je pensais de notre guerre civile. Et lorsque je vois les rapports étroits qui unissent les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne, je doute aussi de la valeur de notre guerre révolutionnaire. »

Voilà une déclaration remarquable, n'est-ce pas ? M. Rogge s'est tellement transformé l'année passée, qu'il regrette maintenant que la guerre civile et même la révolution américaine aient eu lieu.

Eh bien, je ne vais pas discuter avec lui au sujet de Tito. Je dirai seulement qu'il est non seulement devenu l'avocat de Tito, mais, aux dernières nouvelles, celui de l'esclavagisme, de Jefferson Davis lui-même et même du roi George III.

Beaucoup d'hommes blancs se font une renommée de liberté. De temps en temps ils s'identifient à notre lutte, mais l'abandonnent lorsqu'ils sont acculés. Tout comme certains qui ont épousé la cause de la Paix dans le passé et ne peuvent maintenant être distingués des fauteurs de guerre eux-mêmes.

En tant qu'avocat, M. Rogge devrait savoir qu'il y a maints signes évidents de l'agression américaine en Chine, et qu'ils sont décrits dans le Bulletin Officiel de Washington qui a pour titre : « Relations entre les U.S.A. et la Chine », avec référence à la période 1944-1949, bulletin publié par le Département d'Etat, le 30 juillet (page 809).

Mais je laisserai à la délégation chinoise le soin de répondre à l'arrogance insolente d'un homme qui veut dire à un peuple, en lutte pour son indépendance pendant vingt ans, s'il est indépendant ou pas.

Quel est le véritable problème ? Oui, nous sommes contre les guerres d'agression. Nous défendons la Paix. Mais nous ne soutenons pas le *statu quo*. Nous, Noirs Américains, nous voulons la Paix et nous défendons le droit inaliénable des peuples, y compris du peuple américain et du peuple noir, à choisir le régime qui leur plaît. Nous défendons le droit de tous les peuples à changer leurs conditions d'existence et à mettre de l'ordre dans leur maison. La Paix est nécessaire, mais on ne doit pas la confondre avec le durcissement des conditions d'oppression, tel qu'on le pratique aujourd'hui. L'argument du gouvernement de Truman, selon lequel nous devons nous préparer pour une guerre contre une « agression », ne tend rien moins qu'à empêcher le monde de se transformer (ce qui aurait dû arriver depuis longtemps), surtout en ce qui concerne les peuples coloniaux avec lesquels mon peuple, le peuple Noir, est intimement lié.

Il est évident que, pour le monde entier, ceux qui sont au pouvoir dans ma chère Patrie ainsi que leurs valets, ne sont que des hypocrites lorsqu'ils déclarent qu'ils luttent pour éta-

blir la démocratie parmi les populations opprimées du monde. Mon peuple n'est-il pas sujet, chez eux, à la discrimination et à une différenciation des plus horribles ? Un seul exemple illustrera ce que je viens de dire : il est impossible à moi ou à tout autre noir, de se rendre dans les beaux quartiers de la capitale de mon pays et de demander une tasse de café pour soulager notre soif ou une « aspirine » pour calmer notre douleur.

Oui, la lutte du peuple Noir, en Amérique, est directement liée à celle des peuples coloniaux à travers le monde, du peuple de l'Afrique Britannique, de l'Afrique Française, des autres parties de l'Afrique dominées par les puissances colonialistes, de l'Amérique Latine, de mes frères des Indes Orientales, et du grand peuple Noir à travers le monde. A eux tous, je tends une main fraternelle. Nos luttes sont les mêmes. Et je vous promets que, avec l'aide de tous les Partisans de la Paix sur terre, et de tous ceux qui combattent sincèrement pour l'abolition de notre inique condition de vie, nous devons triompher, nous triompherons.

M. le Président, en tant que descendant de ceux qui ont été amenés en Amérique comme bétail humain, et dont le sang et la sueur ont contribué à la construction de ce grand pays, j'attends avec impatience, ainsi que tout mon peuple, le jour où, dans notre pays, nous serons traités avec la même dignité et le même amour, qu'en Tchécoslovaquie et en Pologne.

Cela n'est possible que dans un monde de Paix. (*Applaudissements.*)

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

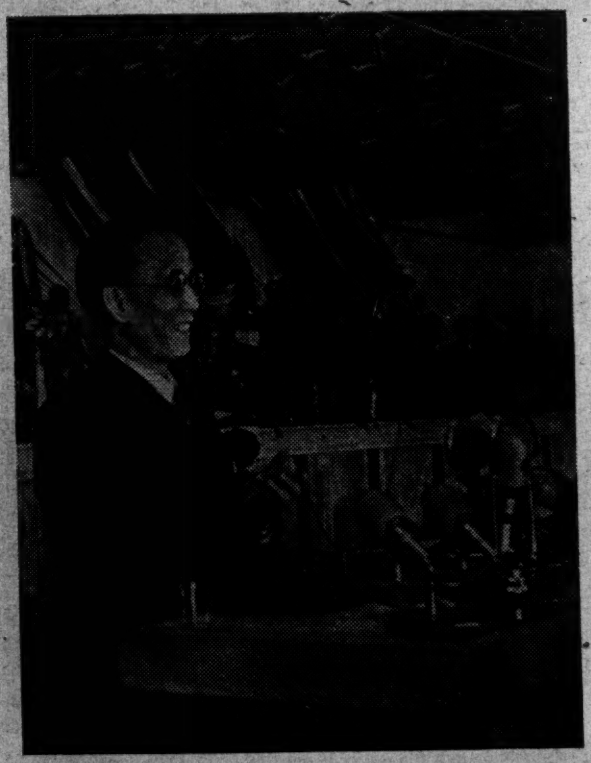
PUBLIÉ PAR LE CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 5 fr.

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX



VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

KUO MO JO

DISCOURS : condamnation de l'agresseur

Introduction

CE QUE FUT LE IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

L'INITIATIVE du Deuxième Congrès Mondial de la Paix fut prise par le Comité émanant du Premier Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, qui eut lieu à Paris, salle Pleyel, en avril 1949.

Le principe de la convocation du Second Congrès Mondial fut adopté en mars 1950, à Stockholm, en même temps que le célèbre Appel contre la Bombe atomique, qui devait recevoir l'approbation signée de plus de 500 millions d'hommes et de femmes par le monde.

Le 16 août 1950, le Bureau du Comité, réuni à Prague, lança des propositions de discussion pour de larges débats publics en vue de la préparation du Congrès qui devait avoir lieu à Sheffield (Grande-Bretagne).

Ces propositions portaient sur les points suivants :

— Interdiction des armes atomiques;
— Réduction des armements;
— Dénonciation de l'agression;
— Solution pacifique du conflit de Corée;
— Interdiction des propagandes de guerre.

Sur la base de ces propositions, se tinrent dans le monde des milliers d'assemblées populaires et de réunions d'organisation, qui discutèrent et élirent, démocratiquement, des délégués.

★

Le Congrès empêché par les autorités britanniques de se tenir, comme prévu, à Sheffield, à la date du 13 novembre, se transféra à Varsovie, où il siégea du 16 au 22 novembre.

Ces Assises Mondiales rassemblèrent 2.065 délégués et invités de 83 pays. Une discussion large s'ouvrit sur les rapports présentés par le Président JOLIOT-CURIE et le Vice-Président Pietro NENNI.

145 orateurs se succédèrent à la tribune des séances plénières, et des débats importants, auxquels participèrent des centaines de délégués, se poursuivirent dans les sept commissions de travail constituées par des membres des délégations de l'ensemble des pays.

Cette ample et franche discussion aboutit à l'élaboration et au vote démocratiques de dix résolutions importantes ainsi qu'à l'élection d'un Conseil Mondial de la Paix, comprenant 235 représentants, placé sous la Présidence du grand savant Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE.

Ces décisions, mises aux voix, furent adoptées à la presque unanimité des délégués, moins trois abstentions.

Les résolutions adoptées par le Congrès constituent tout un programme, qui trouve son expression dans deux textes fondamentaux : « Le Manifeste aux Peuples » et l' « Adresse à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ».

Tous ces actes et résolutions du Congrès auront la force que leur donneront la volonté de Paix et le soutien des peuples. Le Congrès Mondial n'est pas une fin, mais un nouveau départ pour une action plus ample de tous les peuples en faveur de la paix.

DEUXIEME SEANCE DU SAMEDI 18 NOVEMBRE 1950

Le Président, M. JAMES ENDICOTT:
(Canada)

— *La parole est à :*

M. KUO MO JO

Monsieur le Président,

Chers Amis,

Le second Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix se tient maintenant à Varsovie. Au nom du Peuple Chinois, je salue le Peuple de Pologne et son président Bierut. Nous transmettons l'expression de notre chaleureuse gratitude au gouvernement de la République Populaire de Pologne.

La Délégation chinoise, tout comme les Délégations des autres pays de l'Extrême-Orient, a fait un long voyage pour venir en Europe, un voyage de quelques 10.000 kilomètres. A l'origine nous nous attendions à rencontrer le Peuple Britannique à Sheffield. Aujourd'hui nous voici à Varsovie.

En Extrême-Orient nous avions entendu parler du « Rideau de Fer ». Tout au long du chemin de la Sibérie à l'Europe Orientale nous n'en avons rencontré aucun. Il en existe tout de même : il est en train de tomber sur la Manche. (*Applaudissements.*)

Le Gouvernement Britannique a en fait empêché les gens des autres pays de rencontrer le peuple de Grande-Bretagne. Il a peur de la Paix et il a agi contre le Mouvement de la Paix. Aux yeux des peuples d'Asie ceci cependant ne paraît pas étrange. En Extrême-Orient, aujourd'hui, le bloc des agresseurs, à la tête duquel se trouvent les impérialistes américains, ne se contente plus de faire obstacle à la Paix, il en sape les bases; il ne se contente plus d'appeler à la guerre, il passe à l'agression directe.

L'invasion de la Corée par les aventuriers impérialistes de Wall Street s'est poursuivie jusqu'à la frontière sino-coréenne. Les Etats-Unis, en même temps qu'ils envahissaient la Corée, ont également envahi Formose, transformant nos détroits de Formose en ligne de défense avancée pour l'Amérique. De plus, ils ont violé le territoire aérien du Nord-Est de la Chine et de la Province de Shantung, aussi bien que les eaux territoriales le long de la côte de Shantung, bombardant et mitraillant sauvagement nos populations.

Les Etats-Unis interviennent en outre ouvertement et répriment

sauvagement les mouvements de Libération nationale au Viet-Nam, aux Philippines et dans d'autres pays du Sud-Est asiatique.

Pour se livrer à des agressions et pour intervenir dans les affaires intérieures des autres pays, les impérialistes américains accusent délibérément les autres d'agression.

Ils disent par exemple que les Coréens envahissent la Corée et que les Chinois envahissent Formose. Puis ils se proclament les « sauveurs de l'humanité ». Ils qualifient leur propre agression d'aide, d'amitié et de justice et leur domination du monde de secours généreux.

Ainsi, quand vous parlez de défense de la Paix et de sécurité, ils parlent aussi de « défense de la Paix et de sécurité ». Et quand vous parlez de lutte pour la liberté et la démocratie, ils parlent aussi de « lutte pour la Liberté et la Démocratie ». Ils assurent même que, seule, leur liberté est véritable et que la vôtre n'est que mensonge. MM. Truman et Acheson n'ont-ils pas affirmé récemment qu'ils étaient nos bons amis à nous, peuple d'Asie ? Ah ! oui, ils sont bien plus que cela, ils sont les grands bienfaiteurs des peuples d'Asie !...

Pendant cinquante longues années le peuple de Chine a souffert de l'agression des impérialistes japonais. Conséquence de la politique de trahison du traître Tchang Kaï Chek, les Japonais déclenchèrent une invasion sur une grande échelle en 1937. Ce ne fut qu'au bout de huit ans d'une guerre difficile que nous sommes arrivés à vaincre l'impérialisme japonais avec l'aide de nos alliés. Dès le début de notre guerre de Résistance extrêmement dure, le premier et unique pays qui nous soutint fut l'Union Soviétique. Que faisaient les Etats-Unis ? Ils continuaient à faire du commerce avec le Japonais, lui vendant de grandes quantités de fer, de pétrole, de coton, et des machines, le tout utilisé pour assassiner le peuple chinois. Le résultat fut les pertes incalculables en vies humaines et en biens que nous avons eu à supporter. Tel fut là le « grand bienfait » accordé par nos « bons amis » américains.

Après la reddition du Japon, quand le peuple de Chine désirait une reconstruction pacifique, les Etats-Unis firent de leur mieux pour soutenir Tchang Kaï Chek, traître à notre pays, et lui fournirent des avions, canons, tanks, navires de guerre, dollars, munitions et secours de toute sorte. Ils s'emparèrent de droits nombreux sur notre terre, notre mer, notre air même, et poussèrent Tchang a déclencher une guerre civile. Le peuple chinois a dû subir ainsi quatre autres années de souffrance et de sacrifices, pour arriver enfin à la victoire de libération nationale d'aujourd'hui.

De cette victoire nous devrions en vérité remercier nos « bons

amis » américains, car la plupart des avions, tanks, de l'artillerie, des vaisseaux, des munitions et du matériel qu'ils donnèrent à Tchang Kaï Chek, tombèrent par la suite dans les mains de l'Armée Populaire de Libération Nationale. Tchang Kaï Chek est ainsi devenu notre intendant militaire, et les Etats-Unis notre arsenal. Ceci fut encore un des « grands bienfaits » accordés par nos « bons amis » américains.

Et aujourd'hui ce sont nos bons amis américains qui soutiennent encore Tchang Kaï Chek, ce sont nos bons amis américains qui, n'ayant pu s'emparer de notre terre ferme, se sont saisi de Formose et poussent en avant leur ligne de défense jusqu'au détroit de Formose.

Les impérialistes japonais sont nos ennemis jurés, et maintenant, avec la protection et l'accord de nos bons amis américains, ils reprennent chaque jour un peu plus de leur ancien caractère. C'est le grand bienfait que nous donnent nos bons amis américains.

En tenant entre leurs mains les Nations Unies pour en faire une dépendance américaine, les Etats-Unis camouflent leurs actes criminels. Les Nations Unies donnent abri à l'envoyé de Tchang Kaï Chek, qui ne représente personne d'autre que Tchang lui-même. Elles rejettent avec persistance la participation des vrais représentants de la République Populaire de Chine. Voilà encore un des grands bienfaits de nos bons amis américains.

Naturellement les bons amis américains vous diront gravement : « Eh bien, vous voyez, nous respectons la forme démocratique. Toutes les décisions des Nations Unies sont adoptées par un vote de la majorité. » Mais si l'on considère sérieusement les chiffres des votes, les tours joués par les manipulateurs de la machine à voter peuvent être dévoilés immédiatement. Comme nous le savons, la population totale des soixante pays participant aux Nations Unies est de un milliard huit cent cinquante-cinq millions. Si l'on respecte réellement la majorité, on doit compter le nombre de gens représentés lorsqu'un vote est fait. Comment cela s'accorde-t-il avec le fait que Tchang-Kaï-Chek possède aux Nations Unies une voix qui ne représente que lui-même et une poignée de réactionnaires, alors que les 475 millions d'hommes de la République Populaire Chinoise n'ont pas de voix ? Est-ce là ce qu'ils appellent forme démocratique ?

Les Nations Unies ont été violées par les impérialistes américains, particulièrement pour couvrir leur acte criminel d'agression contre la Corée. Ceci est en vérité une grande insulte aux 1.855.000.000 hommes qui sont représentés aux Nations Unies.

L'agression américaine en Corée ne commença pas en juin dernier. Depuis la reddition japonaise en 1945, l'Amérique a rem-

placé le Japon en occupant la partie du pays au sud du 38e parallèle. En moins de cinq ans, le capital américain est devenu 91,23 % du total des capitaux investis en Corée du Sud, monopolisant ainsi son commerce avec l'étranger et lui imposant une balance de commerce très défavorable. L'industrie et l'agriculture en Corée du Sud furent pratiquement réduites à néant. Dans la première moitié de 1949 par exemple, la fabrication des machines représentait à peu près 5 % de ce qu'elle était en 1943 sous l'occupation japonaise. La surface de terre labourée avait été réduite de 55 % par rapport à l'année d'avant la reddition japonaise. En conséquence la Corée du Sud, renommée autrefois pour sa production de riz, manqua de grain. Encore un grand bienfait de nos bons amis américains au peuple de Corée.

Aujourd'hui ce bienfait devient encore plus grand. Les forces des Etats-Unis ont déjà traversé le 38e parallèle, et leurs armées d'invasion vont jusqu'à Pyong Yang et Wensan, poussent jusqu'à la rivière Yalu et au delà. Chaque jour des avions américains bombardent des cités pacifiques et des villages du Nord de la Corée, mitraillant les habitants, femmes, vieillards et enfants compris.

Chaque jour, leurs avions traversent la rivière Yalu et bombardent et mitraillent au hasard nos habitants de la Chine du Nord-Est et du Shantung. Tels sont les grands bienfaits que nos bons amis américains accordent aux peuples de l'Asie.

Tout ce que je viens de dire naturellement a rapport aux agresseurs impérialistes américains, et non pas au peuple américain. Tout comme le peuple chinois et les peuples des autres pays, le peuple américain aime la paix et est soumis à l'oppression et aux menaces des impérialistes américains.

Je pense que ce n'est pas la peine d'en dire plus sur tous ces grands bienfaits : ils défient l'énumération et la description. En manière de contraste, parlons de nos impressions sur l'Union Soviétique.

Quelle a été l'attitude de l'Union Soviétique envers le peuple chinois ? Cela, nous le savons beaucoup mieux, nous Chinois, que MM. Truman et Acheson.

L'Union Soviétique, après la victoire de la Révolution Socialiste d'Octobre, a aboli de sa propre initiative tous les traités inégaux conclus entre la Chine et la Russie Tzariste. Elle a constamment sympathisé avec la cause de la libération de notre peuple. Elle a établi des relations diplomatiques avec nous le lendemain de la fondation de la République Populaire Chinoise, le 1er octobre 1949. Ce qui fut suivi par la conclusion du Pacte sino-soviétique d'amitié, d'alliance et d'assistance mutuelle pour une défense commune de la paix mondiale et de la sécurité, con-

tre l'invasion impérialiste en Orient, et pour toute aide mutuelle culturelle et économique, basée sur le principe d'égalité et d'assistance mutuelle. Ce sont là des faits qui ne pourront jamais en aucune manière être déformés par les mensonges des faussaires.

Ce contraste n'est-il pas encore assez frappant ? L'Union Soviétique aide le Peuple Chinois. Alors que les Etats-Unis aident le boucher du peuple chinois Tchang Kaï Chek, l'Union Soviétique se joint à nous pour empêcher la renaissance de l'impérialisme japonais, tandis que les Etats-Unis ont fait tous leurs efforts pour pousser sa renaissance dans le but d'une agression. L'Union Soviétique nous aide dans notre construction pacifique, tandis que les Etats-Unis envahissent notre Formose aussi bien que nos voisins, menacent notre sécurité nationale et détruisent la paix en Asie, si bien que nous ne pouvons construire notre pays en paix. L'Union Soviétique fait tous les efforts possibles pour faciliter notre entrée aux Nations Unies, alors que les Etats-Unis font tout pour la rendre impossible. L'Union Soviétique fait des propositions de paix devant l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies, tandis que les Etats-Unis manœuvrent les Nations Unies pour qu'elles aident l'agression. L'Union Soviétique se sert de l'énergie atomique pour transformer la nature, tandis que les Etats-Unis se servent de la bombe atomique pour intimider l'humanité. L'Union Soviétique construit actuellement la gigantesque station hydro-électrique de Stalingrad et Kuibyshev et creuse le canal de Turkman, le plus long du monde, tandis que les Etats-Unis étendent leurs bases militaires à travers le monde, établissent ainsi un grand filet guerrier, et étendent leur ligne de défense à travers l'Atlantique jusqu'à l'Europe de l'Ouest et à travers le Pacifique jusqu'à notre territoire. L'Union Soviétique annonce la création du blé arctique, alors que les Etats-Unis impriment des nouvelles sur la bombe hydrogène et la guerre bactériologique.

Est-ce que ce contraste n'est pas assez frappant ?

On ne peut, avec des mots, recouvrir les actes criminels faits avec des bombes. Nous comprenons très bien qu'aujourd'hui le vocabulaire des agresseurs devrait être expliqué par son contraire : la soi-disant « morale universelle » sur laquelle bavardent les agresseurs n'est autre que brutalité et tyrannie. Leurs soi-disant « idéaux élevés » ne signifient que leur ambition et désir d'agression. Leurs soi-disant « Paix et Justice » signifient « guerre et domination ». L'esclavage et le massacre sont leur « dignité humaine » et le bombardement des villes et des villages pacifiques, et le mitraillage des paisibles habitants, des femmes et des enfants, voilà leur « valeur spirituelle de la vie ».

Dans un discours prononcé lors du 5e anniversaire de l'O.N.U., le 24 octobre, M. Truman a aussi réclamé une « réduction des armements ». Mais les chiffres astronomiques du budget de guerre des Etats-Unis s'accroissent chaque année et l'on pousse la production des armes atomiques et l'on intimide avec la bombe à hydrogène.

M. Truman a aussi réclamé la protection des « droits humains ». Mais l'intellectuel chinois Tsien Hsueh Sen fut retenu en Amérique et on lui interdit de retourner en Chine. Un autre intellectuel, Tchao Tsoung Yao et deux de ses étudiants, retournant en Chine, furent kidnappés par Mac Arthur lors de leur passage à Yokohama. Ainsi, pour les agresseurs, « réduction des armements » signifie en réalité développement des armements et « protection des droits de l'homme » la violation des droits de l'homme.

Aujourd'hui nous devrions remercier les impérialistes américains d'un tel enseignement. Quelles que soient les choses auxquelles s'opposent les hypocrites, nous devrions les bien accueillir ; quoi que ce soit qu'ils favorisent, nous devrions nous y opposer. Nous réalisons clairement que ceux qui font le mal prétendent être bons simplement parce que les forces du bien l'emportent sur eux et parce qu'ils doivent être hypocrites. La tyrannie des impérialistes n'est pas une preuve de force, mais une preuve de faiblesse.

Nous, Chinois, aimons la paix. Cela ne peut être mieux démontré que par le fait que déjà 223.500.000 Chinois ont signé l'Appel de Stockholm. Cependant, parce que justement nous aimons la paix, nous nous opposons résolument à l'agression. Notre nation a, pendant plus d'un siècle, fait la guerre contre des agresseurs qui menaçaient, troublaient ou tentaient de saper la paix. L'histoire du peuple chinois au cours du siècle dernier est l'histoire de cette lutte même pour la défense de la paix.

L'impérialisme américain a soutenu Tchang Kaï Chek de tout son pouvoir. Bien qu'il ait subi une défaite ignominieuse dans son agression contre la Chine, il refuse d'accepter cette leçon évidente et persiste à mettre la paix en danger à l'Est et à l'Ouest. Nous, peuple de Chine, pour la sauvegarde de la paix, nous ne céderons jamais aux agresseurs et nous ne resterons pas inactifs et indifférents en face des désastres que subit actuellement le peuple coréen.

Les impérialistes américains foulent actuellement le vieux sentier de l'impérialisme japonais en Extrême-Orient. Pour conquérir l'Asie, il faut conquérir d'abord la Chine. Pour conquérir la Chine, conquérir d'abord la Mandchourie. Et pour conquérir la Mandchourie, conquérir d'abord la Corée. Mac Arthur cherche

maintenant à réaliser les rêves de Tanaka Giichi. Mais le peuple coréen d'abord ne permettra jamais cela et non plus le peuple de Chine. Pour la défense de la paix en Asie et dans le monde, nous devons nous opposer jusqu'à la fin à l'agression américaine.

Le peuple chinois donne son entier soutien à la convocation du deuxième Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. Nous, la délégation chinoise au Congrès, sommes complètement d'accord avec tous les points du rapport du président Joliot-Curie, particulièrement avec le point concernant les Nations Unies.

Les Nations Unies furent formées après la seconde guerre mondiale pour servir comme organisme de sauvegarde de la paix et de la sécurité mondiales. Et pourtant aujourd'hui, elles ont été transformées en un organisme de camouflage des agresseurs. La Charte des Nations Unies est devenue lettre morte tandis que le principe de l'unanimité des cinq Grands au Conseil de Sécurité ne rencontre que mépris. Le résultat est que les Nations Unies ont perdu leur autorité et leur prestige. Nous espérons que les Nations Unies seront capables de restaurer leur autorité et leur prestige perdus et qu'elles se rendront libres de la domination des impérialistes de Wall Street, qu'elles travailleront pour la sécurité et le bien-être de tous les peuples épris de paix du monde, de façon honnête et raisonnable, et qu'elles se retiendront de faire quoi que ce soit de contraire à cette cause.

Pour atteindre ce but, la Charte des Nations Unies aussi bien que le principe d'unanimité des cinq grandes puissances doivent être respectés, et toutes décisions illégales en violation de la Charte ou de ces principes doivent être promptement annulées. Le délégué de l'une des cinq grandes puissances doit être le représentant véritable des 475 millions d'hommes de la République Populaire chinoise et non pas le faux représentant d'une poignée de réactionnaires de Tchang Kaï Chek. (*Applaudissements.*) Avec une nouvelle vie donnée au Conseil de Sécurité, tous les peuples du monde arriveraient petit à petit à voir leur sécurité protégée.

Nous chérissons l'espoir que les Nations Unies adoptent des mesures immédiates pour l'accomplissement de cela. Cet espoir, nous en sommes sûrs, est partagé par tous les peuples qui aiment la paix et s'opposent à la guerre d'agression. Nous ne pouvons rester inactifs et laisser la paix du monde être menacée et sapée tandis que les Nations Unies sont constamment rendues incapables de répondre à un tel espoir.

Le peuple chinois désire joindre ses mains à celles de tous les gens épris de paix de Grande-Bretagne, des Etats-Unis, de France, d'Italie, d'Union Soviétique, de Pologne, de Corée, du Viet-Nam, de Mongolie, et de tous les autres pays, afin que l'on puisse adopter des moyens plus efficaces de défendre la paix et la sécurité.

La délégation chinoise tenant ses pouvoirs du peuple chinois, propose au Congrès un programme en cinq points qui, nous le pensons, est conforme à l'esprit du Congrès :

1. Arrêter la guerre d'agression en Corée, déclenchée par les Etats-Unis et d'autres pays, demander le retrait de toutes les forces d'invasion étrangères de Corée et assurer un règlement pacifique de la question coréenne : c'est le point focal de la lutte d'aujourd'hui pour la défense de la paix ;

2. Exiger que les Etats-Unis cessent immédiatement toute intervention dans la libération de Taiwan (Formose) par le peuple chinois ;

3. Demander que Mac Arthur soit fortement condamné pour ses provocations à la guerre. Il est le principal fauteur de la guerre d'agression en Extrême-Orient et le principal instigateur de l'expansion de la guerre de Corée en une guerre mondiale ;

4. S'opposer résolument à l'emploi de l'arme atomique et demander que le gouvernement qui, le premier, s'en servirait, soit déclaré criminel de guerre et puni en conséquence ;

5. Demander la réduction simultanée des armements par tous les pays et l'établissement d'un contrôle effectif, proposer que les peuples des pays différents s'aident les uns les autres dans leur travail de construction économique et culturelle.

La fin de Hitler, Mussolini et Tojo est encore présente à notre mémoire. Aussi oublieux de cela que puissent être ceux qui portent les germes du fascisme, les peuples du monde entier ne l'ont pas oublié. L'ennemi du peuple doit être puni par le peuple. Les ennemis endurcis du peuple doivent être punis encore plus sévèrement. Et quiconque essaye de fondre en une seule les ambitions de l'Allemagne nazie et du Japon impérialiste sera doublement puni.

Avant de terminer, je salue chaleureusement, au nom du peuple chinois, tous les défenseurs de la paix qui assistent à ce Congrès. Nous souhaitons au Congrès tous les succès. (*Applaudissements.*) L'action concertée de tous les peuples dans le monde entier vaincra dans cette campagne engagée contre les germes du fascisme.

Luttons pour une paix mondiale durable.

Combattons les fauteurs de nouvelles guerres et les agresseurs impérialistes.

Vive la grande solidarité des peuples épris de paix dans le monde entier.

(*Le Congrès, debout, acclame M. Kuo Mo Jo.*)

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

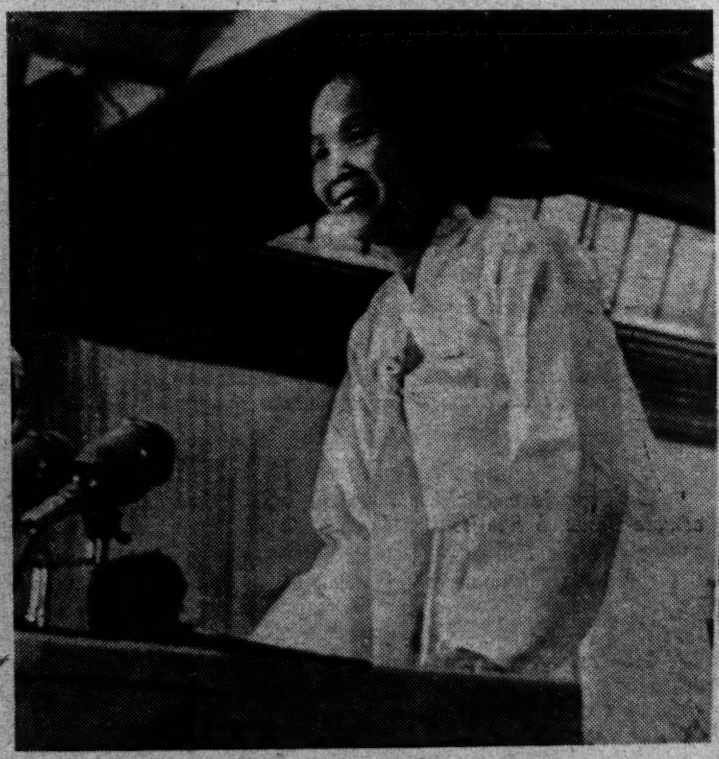
PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue
de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 8 fr.

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX



VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Madame PAK-DEN-AI

DISCOURS

« Les faits désignent les vrais fauteurs de guerre. »

Introduction

CE QUE FUT LE IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

L'INITIATIVE du Deuxième Congrès Mondial de la Paix fut prise par le Comité émanant du Premier Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, qui eut lieu à Paris, salle Pleyel, en avril 1949.

Le principe de la convocation du Second Congrès Mondial fut adopté en mars 1950, à Stockholm, en même temps que le célèbre Appel contre la Bombe atomique, qui devait recevoir l'approbation signée de plus de 500 millions d'hommes et de femmes par le monde.

Le 16 août 1950, le Bureau du Comité, réuni à Prague, lança des propositions de discussion pour de larges débats publics en vue de la préparation du Congrès qui devait avoir lieu à Sheffield (Grande-Bretagne).

Ces propositions portaient sur les points suivants :

— Interdiction des armes atomiques;
— Réduction des armements;
— Dénonciation de l'agression;
— Solution pacifique du conflit de Corée;
— Interdiction des propagandes de guerre.

Sur la base de ces propositions, se tinrent dans le monde des milliers d'assemblées populaires et de réunions d'organisation, qui discutèrent et élirent, démocratiquement, des délégués.

★

Le Congrès empêché par les autorités britanniques de se tenir, comme prévu, à Sheffield, à la date du 13 novembre, se transféra à Varsovie, où il siégea du 16 au 22 novembre.

Ces Assises Mondiales rassemblèrent 2.065 délégués et invités de 83 pays. Une discussion large s'ouvrit sur les rapports présentés par le Président JOLIOT-CURIE et le Vice-Président Pietro NENNI.

145 orateurs se succédèrent à la tribune des séances plénières, et des débats importants, auxquels participèrent des centaines de délégués, se poursuivirent dans les sept commissions de travail constituées par des membres des délégations de l'ensemble des pays.

Cette ample et franche discussion aboutit à l'élaboration et au vote démocratiques de dix résolutions importantes ainsi qu'à l'élection d'un Conseil Mondial de la Paix, comprenant 235 représentants, placé sous la Présidence du grand savant Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE.

Ces décisions, mises aux voix, furent adoptées à la presque unanimité des délégués, moins trois abstentions.

Les résolutions adoptées par le Congrès constituent tout un programme, qui trouve son expression dans deux textes fondamentaux : « Le Manifeste aux Peuples » et l' « Adresse à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ».

Tous ces actes et résolutions du Congrès auront la force que leur donneront la volonté de Paix et le soutien des peuples. Le Congrès Mondial n'est pas une fin, mais un nouveau départ pour une action plus ample de tous les peuples en faveur de la paix.

PREMIERE SEANCE DU LUNDI 20 NOVEMBRE 1950

Le Président, M. DEMBOWSKI (Pologne) :

— *La parole est à :*

Madame PAK-DEN-AI

(*Corée*)

Au nom du peuple coréen luttant pour l'unification de son pays, pour sa liberté et son indépendance, je salue chaleureusement le IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. Nous, Coréens, sommes fiers de nous être trouvés, dès la création du mouvement de lutte pour la Paix, dans les rangs du camp mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

Immédiatement après la publication de l'Appel de Stockholm a commencé dans la République Populaire Démocratique de Corée une campagne pour recueillir les signatures en faveur de la paix, campagne organisée par le Comité National des Partisans de la Paix de toute la Corée. Ce mouvement s'est étendu à toute la population de la Corée du Nord. Dans un délai de temps très court, tous les Coréens adultes ont apposé leur signature sous l'Appel de Stockholm, exprimant par ce geste leur volonté de sauvegarder la paix, et aussi leur protestation indignée contre les impérialistes essayant de déclencher un nouveau cataclysme mondial. La population du territoire libre de Corée a souligné ses signatures par des actes concrets, par son travail pacifique de tous les jours et par l'édification démocratique du pays.

Pendant cinq années — dès la libération de la Corée par l'Armée Soviétique, — la Corée du Nord a enregistré des progrès jusqu'alors inconnus dans son histoire, grâce à l'aide fraternelle et désintéressée du peuple soviétique, et aussi grâce au travail plein d'abnégation des ouvriers, des paysans et des intellectuels. L'aide de l'Union Soviétique nous a été particulièrement précieuse.

Plus d'une fois au cours des siècles, le peuple coréen a vu sur son territoire des soldats étrangers, qui semaient la des-

truction dans nos villes et nos campagnes et s'efforçaient de soumettre la nation coréenne.

Mais pour la première fois dans son histoire, le peuple coréen a vu des soldats étrangers lui apporter la liberté, lui venir en aide pour l'édification de l'Etat et la renaissance de la vie économique et culturelle du pays.

Les soldats de l'Armée Soviétique nous ont aidés à reconstruire les fabriques, les lignes de chemin de fer, les hôpitaux et les écoles détruites par les Japonais. Pour la première fois, grâce aux médecins soviétiques, nous avons réussi à éliminer de Corée le choléra et la peste. Les médecins soviétiques nous ont aidés à trouver les moyens de guérir l'encéphalite, cette maladie terrible qui passait pour inguérissable et qui, depuis des siècles, décimait les peuples de l'Asie.

Après avoir rempli leur mission libératrice, les armées soviétiques ont quitté le territoire coréen.

Par suite des changements démocratiques fondamentaux qui se sont effectués pendant les cinq dernières années, l'aspect de notre pays a changé.

Les entreprises industrielles, les banques, les moyens de communication et de transport ont été nationalisés. La reconstruction des entreprises détruites par les Japonais et la construction de nouvelles usines d'Etat, de fonderies et de mines ont créé des conditions permettant de passer à une économie planifiée.

La réforme agraire instituée dans toute la Corée du Nord a mis fin pour toujours à la domination féodale des grands propriétaires fonciers et à l'exploitation impitoyable des paysans.

Plus d'un million d'hectares de terre arable ont été distribués à 725.000 anciens petits paysans et ouvriers agricoles.

La réforme agraire est devenue un stimulant puissant pour le développement de l'agriculture de la République.

Jamais, au cours de son histoire, le développement de l'agriculture en Corée n'a atteint un tel rythme.

Le niveau culturel de la nation coréenne s'est élevé très sensiblement. En 1950 nous avons institué l'instruction obligatoire. De nombreuses écoles et institutions d'enseignement supérieur ont couvert le pays entier. Dans la partie nord de la République, l'analphabétisme a été liquidé en principe. Avant la libération il n'y avait pas une seule école supérieure en Corée du Nord, alors qu'en 1950 il y en avait déjà 16 et, en plus, 55 écoles techniques.

Durant l'occupation japonaise, la publication en langue nationale de livres et de journaux était interdite.

Après quarante années d'esclavage le peuple coréen a reconquis le droit de se servir de sa langue maternelle, aussi bien

parlée qu'écrite. Dans la République Populaire Démocratique de Corée commençaient déjà à être publiés dans tout le pays plus de 80 journaux et périodiques, alors que le tirage des livres atteignait des centaines de milliers d'exemplaires.

De tels résultats ont été acquis par le peuple coréen dirigé par son gouvernement populaire à la tête duquel se trouve son chef bien-aimé Kim-Ir-Sen.

Créant de ses mains une vie nouvelle et édifiant l'Etat démocratique, le peuple coréen tenait avant tout à stabiliser la paix dans le monde entier, à maîtriser les fomentateurs de guerre et les oppresseurs des libertés démocratiques.

Alors qu'en Corée du Nord commençait une vie nouvelle et qu'on y posait victorieusement la pierre angulaire de l'épanouissement économique, la partie méridionale du pays se trouvait aux mains des impérialistes américains qui y ont institué un régime fasciste.

Le caractère et les méthodes de ce régime étaient beaucoup plus cruels et plus inhumains que ceux des impérialistes japonais.

Le peuple fut privé de toutes les libertés démocratiques. Tous les partis politiques démocratiques et toutes les organisations sociales durent passer dans la clandestinité. Plus de 150.000 de nos sœurs et frères ont été torturés à mort par les laquais des Américains, les agents de Syngman Rhee, et près de 500.000 ont été jetés en prison. Depuis avril 1948 jusqu'en mai 1949, dans la seule localité de Detsudo on a fusillé 35.000 patriotes et habitants paisibles. On y a incendié 10.000 maisons d'habitation. Dans la ville de Suntchen la police de Syngman Rhee a arrêté 300 personnes dont 200 ont été enfermées dans une école, pour y être assassinées d'une manière sauvage. Depuis janvier 1950 jusqu'en février de la même année, 200.000 maisons d'habitation ont été incendiées et la population civile sans défense a été forcée de chercher un abri de hasard. Tout ceci parce qu'on l'avait accusée d'avoir exigé la retraite de l'armée américaine du pays et l'unification de la Corée.

Le gouvernement fantoche de Syngman Rhee ne se maintenait au pouvoir que par la terreur.

Les Américains devinrent les maîtres absolus des principales entreprises industrielles et pillèrent sans pitié les richesses naturelles du pays. Se servant du soi-disant plan « d'aide économique », les Américains ont fait de la Corée du Sud un marché où écouler les marchandises qui encombraient leurs entrepôts. L'industrie de la Corée du Sud fut menacée de ruine. La baisse systématique des salaires, la faim et la misère accablaient les ouvriers coréens.

A la campagne la situation était tout aussi tragique. D'immenses espaces de terre arable qui, autrefois, appartenaient aux colons japonais, furent vendus par les Américains, pour des sommes énormes, aux propriétaires fonciers coréens. Plus de 80 % des paysans ne possédaient pas de terre ou seulement des parcelles insignifiantes.

Les paysans furent encore plus exploités que pendant l'occupation japonaise. Le riz était réquisitionné et en grande partie vendu au Japon.

Les Américains, transformant la Corée du Sud en colonie, piétinaient ouvertement l'ancienne culture, tellement riche, du peuple coréen.

Prenant exemple sur les fascistes allemands et les militaristes japonais, les Américains pillaient le pays sans vergogne, s'appropriant les chefs-d'œuvre précieux appartenant au peuple coréen.

Des généraux et officiers américains ont pillé en plein jour le musée de la famille royale à Séoul. Des centaines de milliers de tableaux anciens, de sculptures et d'objets d'orfèvrerie exécutés par les plus grands maîtres coréens, ont disparu dans les malles et les poches des Américains.

De cette manière a été pillée la galerie du palais Doksu, qui contenait des chefs-d'œuvre de l'art coréen antique, entre autres des sculptures bouddhistes de l'époque Piaktcha, œuvres d'artistes demeurés sous l'influence de la sculpture gréco-bactriane. Les Américains se sont approprié la couronne en or de l'époque Silla, datant du début de notre ère, conservée au Musée Central de Séoul. Ils ont volé, au Musée de Kaïsang, des chefs-d'œuvre en porcelaine, des stèles en pierre et autres trésors du peuple coréen.

Ce qui n'a pu être emporté fut détruit sur place. Les monuments anciens du parc du vieux palais Kenbokhun ont été démolis sur ordre des autorités militaires américaines. A la place de ces monuments s'élèvent maintenant les casernes des soldats américains. Le comportement des colonisateurs américains a pour but de priver le peuple coréen de ses trésors historiques, témoins de sa culture antique, vieille de quarante siècles.

Non seulement les Américains convertissaient la Corée avec ténacité en colonie, mais ils se sont en même temps efforcés d'en faire une base stratégique en Extrême-Orient. Sur l'ordre de Washington la clique de Syngman Rhee a commencé la construction en grand d'installations militaires, elle a organisé une armée forte de plus de 100.000 hommes, sans compter la police et les détachements terroristes spéciaux ainsi que d'autres formations correspondant aux détachements hitlériens de SS. L'ins-

truction de cette armée, police et détachements terroristes fut menée par les conseillers de guerre avec en tête le général Roberts.

Le gouvernement des USA dirigeait, par l'intermédiaire de ses représentants officiels en Corée, la clique de Syngman Rhee et l'incitait à déchaîner la guerre civile en Corée.

Les détachements armés de la clique de Syngman Rhee, concentrés le long du 38e parallèle, ont systématiquement provoqué des incidents, envahissant le territoire de la République Démocratique de Corée et tuant la population civile.

Le Gouvernement de la République Démocratique de Corée qui, depuis longtemps, était au courant des plans d'agression de la clique de Syngman Rhee, s'efforçait à tout prix d'éviter la guerre civile et a pris toutes les mesures ayant pour but l'unification pacifique du pays.

La majorité du peuple coréen s'est groupée autour du programme de l'unification pacifique de la Corée, programme déjà proposé en juin 1949 par le Front National Démocratique Unifié. Ce programme fut soutenu sans réserve par le Gouvernement de la République Populaire Démocratique de Corée.

Au mois de mai 1950 notre Gouvernement reçut des informations dignes de confiance, d'après lesquelles la clique de Syngman Rhee avait décidé, sur ordre de ses maîtres américains, d'envahir la Corée du Nord vers la mi-juin 1950.

En vue d'empêcher l'éclatement de la guerre civile, le Front National Démocratique Unifié publia à nouveau au début de juin 1950, un appel à l'unification pacifique du pays.

Conformément à cet appel, le Présidium de l'Assemblée Suprême Populaire présenta une proposition d'unification pacifique du pays, par sa fusion avec « l'Assemblée Nationale » de la Corée du Sud.

Peu de temps auparavant avaient eu lieu en Corée du Sud les élections de « l'Assemblée Nationale » de la Corée du Sud.

Bien que la clique de Syngman Rhee ait tout fait pour falsifier les aspirations du peuple en se servant de la terreur policière, bien qu'elle se soit efforcée d'isoler tous les candidats et électeurs dont elle n'était pas sûre, le résultat de ces élections, quoique falsifié, démontra que le régime des fantoches américains ne disposait point du soutien de la population. La clique de Syngman Rhee se trouva en minorité.

La défaite électorale des hommes de Syngman Rhee, ainsi que le fait que la majorité de la population de la Corée du Sud témoignaient leur solidarité avec le programme d'unification pacifique du pays, contraignirent la clique de Syngman Rhee à

accélérer les préparatifs d'invasion contre la Corée du Nord. Le 25 juin 1950 au matin, les hommes de Syngman Rhee envahirent la Corée du Nord.

Pour justifier leur agression contre la nation coréenne, les interventionnistes américains essayent de rejeter la faute du déclenchement de la guerre sur le gouvernement de la République Populaire. Le Gouvernement américain a créé la légende d'une prétendue « agression non provoquée » de la Corée du Nord à l'égard de la Corée du Sud.

Cette version concernant « l'agression de la Corée du Nord » du 25 juin 1950 a été imposée par les représentants des U.S.A. à la commission pour les affaires de Corée auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.

Le compte rendu de cette commission a été accepté d'une manière illégale par la majorité du Conseil de Sécurité. Afin que ces mensonges ne soient pas démasqués et que la vérité ne devienne pas publique, la majorité proaméricaine du Conseil de Sécurité n'a pas admis aux débats sur l'affaire de Corée les représentants de la République Démocratique Coréenne. Le peuple coréen — qui, au cours des cinq années qui ont suivi sa libération, a démontré par ses actes son inflexible volonté de paix, sa volonté de vivre dans des conditions de paix, sa volonté de poursuivre l'édification pacifique du pays — ce peuple a été qualifié « d'agresseur ».

Mais les faits et les documents montrent indubitablement les vrais fauteurs de guerre en Corée, les instigateurs américains et leurs agents — les hommes de Syngman Rhee. Au cours de la libération de Séoul, l'Armée Populaire s'est emparée d'une série de documents provenant des archives secrètes du gouvernement de Syngman Rhee.

Les paroles s'envolent, mais les écrits restent. Nous avons en effet en notre possession la copie d'une lettre de Syngman Rhee à Tcho-Biou-Oku, son représentant personnel à Washington. Dans cette lettre, datée du 10 avril 1949, il est écrit noir sur blanc :

« Vous devriez discuter de cette situation en observant le secret le plus absolu avec les représentants influents de l'Organisation des Nations Unies et des Etats-Unis.

» Communiquez-leur, en observant la plus grande discrétion possible, nos plans concernant l'unification du Nord avec le Sud. En principe nous sommes actuellement à tous points de vue prêts à entreprendre l'unification, sauf en ce qui concerne l'armement et l'approvisionnement qui nous manquent.

» Des forces armées nous sont indispensables afin que nous puissions nous mettre en marche vers le Nord, pour effectuer

la jonction avec l'Armée qui nous est fidèle (par « l'armée qui nous est fidèle » l'auteur de la lettre comprend les détachements d'espions envoyés en Corée du Nord) et pour reculer le rideau de fer du 38e parallèle sur la ligne du fleuve de Yale et y garder la frontière devant la pénétration de l'extérieur. »

Le 30 septembre 1949 Syngman Rhee a fait parvenir une lettre au docteur Robert Olivier, dans laquelle nous pouvons lire :

« Je suis convaincu que du point de vue moral, précisément maintenant, est arrivé le moment propice de réaliser une politique d'agression...

« Nous devons chasser les détachements de Kim-Ir-Sen dans les montagnes, où ils seront condamnés à mourir de faim et de froid. A ce moment, les lignes de notre défense se trouveront sur les fleuves de Tumyn et de Yale. »

Plus loin nous lisons : « Nous allons donc travailler tranquillement, vous à Washington et à New-York avec nos deux ambassadeurs et nos amis, nous à Séoul et à Tokio, poursuivant le même but — afin qu'on nous permette de nettoyer le pays et de mettre de l'ordre dans notre propre maison. Je citerai une locution, employée en son temps par Churchill : « Donnez-nous l'instrument, et le travail sera fait. »

Syngman Rhee savait bien qui il fallait citer. Cet instrument a été donné à Syngman Rhee. Le gouvernement américain a fourni des armes à l'armée coréenne du Sud. Conformément aux plans d'invasion du Nord, on a précipitamment aménagé des champs d'aviation et des ports pour l'aviation américaine, la flotte et les troupes de terre. Après la visite des vaisseaux de guerre américains en Corée du Sud, le Chef d'Etat-Major de l'armée de terre et de mer de la Corée du Sud, Wou-Il-Sou, a adressé à l'amiral Redford, chef de la flotte américaine du Pacifique, une lettre datée du 18 juillet 1949, dans laquelle il écrit : « C'est très volontiers que nous mettrons à votre disposition quelques-uns de nos ports, notamment Intchou, Josu, Hokhpo et la base militaire de Tchinhe, pouvant vous servir de bases provisoires pour n'importe quelle unité de votre flotte. »

Le Gouvernement de Syngman Rhee, suivant les conseils des Américains et dans le but de créer une atmosphère tendue sur le 38e parallèle et de préparer effectivement ses troupes, provoquait de nombreux incidents.

En même temps le pouvoir de la Corée du Sud, le représentant américain et la Commission de l'O.N.U. poursuivaient une tapageuse action de propagande, ayant pour but de présenter les hommes de Syngman Rhee comme les victimes de « l'agression

nord-coréenne ». Mais les documents dont l'armée populaire s'est emparée à Séoul ont entièrement démasqué les vrais coupables des incidents provoqués. En octobre 1949, au cours du Conseil des Chefs de division de Syngman Rhee, le général Roberts, chef de la Mission militaire américaine à Séoul, a déclaré ce qui suit : « Conformément à mes directives, des attaques sur les territoires situés au nord du 38e parallèle ont eu lieu et elles seront répétées. Néanmoins beaucoup d'unités attaquent ce territoire sans en avoir reçu l'ordre, utilisent un nombre considérable d'obus sans obtenir les moindres résultats et subissent de lourdes pertes. Ces attaques sur le territoire situé au nord du 38e parallèle ne peuvent être entreprises que conformément aux directives des conseillers militaires américains. » En vue de réaliser l'avance vers le nord, les Etats-Unis d'Amérique ont promis à Syngman Rhee un appui militaire total. Selon les aveux de Kim-I-Sok, ancien ministre de l'Intérieur du gouvernement de Syngman Rhee, fait prisonnier par l'armée populaire, le conseiller principal de Mac Arthur, Sbold, promit à Syngman Rhee, en janvier 1950, que la flotte américaine et les avions ayant leurs bases au Japon apporteraient aux troupes sud-coréennes une aide active, dès que celles-ci se mettraient en marche vers le nord.

Jusqu'en mai 1950, on a achevé les préparatifs de l'armée de Syngman Rhee en vue d'une attaque sur la Corée du Nord. Avec l'autorisation des Américains, de nombreux militaires japonais se sont rendus en Corée du Sud, en qualité de conseillers militaires. Le périodique japonais *Sinso*, édité à Tokio, a fait paraître dans ses colonnes plusieurs informations selon lesquelles des agents du gouvernement de Syngman Rhee ont recruté des militaires japonais à Tokio.

En même temps on annonçait, dans le même périodique, la nouvelle du départ en Corée du Sud de nombreux anciens officiers de l'Etat-Major, avec en tête le colonel Sudrukikejsi. Ces informations, publiées par le journal japonais *Sinso*, n'ont jamais été démenties.

Les opérations militaires contre la Corée du Nord ont été projetées et notées sur une carte stratégique. Cette carte est tombée aux mains de l'armée populaire. Au début de juin, le ministre de la Guerre des U.S.A., Johnson, le commandant du groupe unifié des chefs des Etats-Majors, le général Bradley, ainsi que le conseiller du département d'Etat Dulles, se sont rendus en Extrême-Orient et ont tenu un Conseil secret avec le général Mac Arthur. Dulles a spécialement visité la Corée du Sud et a personnellement inspecté la région du 38e parallèle.

Dans une lettre d'adieu du 20 juin 1950, adressée à Syngman Rhee, Dulles écrivait : « Selon moi, votre pays jouera un rôle décisif dans ce grand drame qui commence actuellement. »

Ce drame, prévu par Dulles, a débuté le 25 juin — cinq jours après l'envoi de la lettre en question. Dans ce plan de brigands, un rôle tout particulier a été réservé à l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Les impérialistes américains et les hommes de Syngman Rhee escomptaient que, sous le couvert de l'autorité du Conseil de Sécurité, il leur serait possible de réaliser leurs opérations agressives en Corée.

Les documents en notre possession dévoilent le rôle infâme qu'ont joué certaines personnalités de l'Organisation des Nations Unies dans les préparatifs de la guerre civile en Corée.

Plus haut il a été dit que le plan d'une attaque armée contre la Corée du Nord fut, en grand secret, discuté par les représentants américains, les hommes de Syngman Rhee et les personnalités éminentes de l'O.N.U. Ces dernières étaient donc parfaitement au courant de ce plan d'agression.

Dans la Commission pour les affaires de Corée près de l'O.N.U. et dans son Secrétariat, ont été choisis des membres qui, non seulement resteraient passifs, mais collaboreraient aussi au plan d'une agression contre la Corée du Nord.

La clique de Syngman Rhee et leurs mandants américains comptaient sur l'effet de surprise de leur attaque pour mettre en défaite l'Armée Populaire de la République Démocratique de Corée. Ces calculs ont avorté. Le gouvernement de la République Populaire Démocratique de Corée, connaissant les préparatifs de l'agression, mit d'avance en œuvre tous les moyens de la faire échouer. L'Armée Populaire asséna un coup terrible aux forces armées de Syngman Rhee qui pénétraient sur le territoire de la Corée du Nord.

Les Américains se sont hâté de venir au secours de l'armée de Syngman Rhee. Ils entreprirent une intervention armée manifeste contre le peuple coréen, mettant l'O.N.U. devant le fait accompli. La résolution du Conseil de Sécurité a été votée par Truman, qui donna l'ordre d'engager des troupes américaines en Corée, de bombarder de paisibles villes et villages coréens. L'intervention armée des impérialistes américains dans la guerre déchaînée par les forces de Syngman Rhee a pour but immédiat la transformation de la Corée en colonie américaine et l'asservissement du peuple coréen. Cette intervention se pose également pour but l'étouffement du mouvement de libération nationale des peuples de l'Asie, et la transformation de la Corée en une tête de pont stratégique contre la Chine et l'Union Soviétique. L'intervention américaine éveilla dans le

peuple coréen une haine justifiée envers les envahisseurs américains groupés autour du gouvernement de la République Populaire Démocratique de Corée et de son chef Kim-Ir-Sen, le peuple coréen se leva comme un seul homme pour lutter contre les interventionnistes.

Dans le premier mois de la guerre, l'héroïque Armée Populaire libéra une grande partie de la Corée du Sud. Sous le drapeau de la République Populaire Démocratique de Corée, on parvint à unifier 95 % du territoire entier de notre Patrie et environ 97 % de sa population. La population des régions libérées accueillait avec enthousiasme les détachements de l'Armée Populaire. Dans toutes ces régions libérées l'on créait les organes du pouvoir populaire — les comités populaires, dissous auparavant par les Américains — et l'on procédait à toutes les réformes démocratiques, à commencer par la réforme agraire. Le peuple libéré de la Corée du Sud, côte à côte avec les populations de la Corée du Nord, se dressa pour la défense de la Patrie contre les interventionnistes. Par centaines de mille, les jeunes patriotes de la Coré du Sud s'engageaient volontairement dans les rangs de l'Armée Populaire. Sur l'initiative du Front Démocratique National Unifié, dans tout le pays furent recueillies des signatures sous la « Déclaration du peuple coréen ». Dans cette déclaration, le peuple coréen exigeait du Conseil de Sécurité qu'il mette en œuvre les moyens susceptibles de faire cesser immédiatement les hostilités ouvertes par les interventionnistes en Corée, et de faire retirer les troupes étrangères du territoire de notre Patrie. Dans cette déclaration, le peuple coréen fit preuve de sa volonté de maintenir la paix, ainsi que de sa solidarité avec l'Appel de Stockholm. Cette déclaration recueillit les signatures de plus de 13 millions de coréens âgés de plus de 16 ans. Ayant reçu cette bonne leçon de la part de l'Armée Populaire et du peuple coréen tout entier, les Américains, cherchant à se venger de leur mésaventure sur le front, ont employé lâchement des méthodes de guerre criminelles et barbares. Les avions américains protégés par l'emblème des Nations Unies ont entrepris de pilonner systématiquement des villes et des villages coréens sans défense.

Les « forteresses volantes » réduisent en ruines des quartiers d'habitations dans les villes, privent les habitants de leur toit et de leurs biens, massacrant la population sans défense : femmes, vieillards, enfants, rasent les écoles, les théâtres et autres institutions culturelles. font à plaisir pleuvoir les bombes sur les hôpitaux et les trains sanitaires. Voulant réduire à la famine le peuple coréen, les pilotes américains mitraillent et bombardent les champs, tuant ceux qui les cultivent.

Entre le 2 et le 27 juillet, les bombardiers et chasseurs américains ont effectué 12 bombardements de la ville de Wonson. Bombardant la ville à l'aveuglette, ils ont fait choir sur les quartiers d'habitation 712 bombes d'un poids oscillant entre 50 kilos et 1 tonne.

A la suite de ces bombardements, 4.028 maisons furent détruites, 1.647 personnes trouvèrent la mort, et parmi elles 739 femmes et 325 enfants ; 2.367 personnes furent blessées.

Le 13 juillet, les avions américains ont bombardé les villes d'eaux dans la région de Wonson, détruisant 2 bâtiments et tuant 177 ouvriers ainsi que quelques employés des établissements Harmaux.

Le 3 juillet, aux environs de Bon-Son, 4 avions américains ont mitraillé des paysans qui travaillaient aux champs. Dix tués et huit blessés furent les victimes de ce bombardement.

Jusqu'au 25 août, les avions américains ont causé les dommages suivants à l'agriculture : dans la province du Sud Hon-Tchen, ils réduisirent en poussière la récolte de 401.492 phen, dans la province de Sud Phenian celle de 34.182 phen, dans celle du Sud Tchoun-Tchen — celle de 183.971 phen.

Le 14 juillet, 4 avions américains ont mitraillé Moun-Bon-Gou, un élève de troisième, ainsi que huit de ses camarades. Moun-Bon-Gou et trois de ses camarades furent grièvement blessés.

Le 19 août 1950, les bombardiers américains effectuèrent un bombardement bestial de la ville de Tchon-Tsin, laissant tomber les bombes sur les quartiers d'habitation. A la suite de ce bombardement 3.626 maisons furent détruites, 1.034 personnes tuées, 2.347 blessées. Après quelques bombardements de ce genre, la ville de Tchon-Tsin, qui comptait 120.000 habitants, fut changée en un amoncellement de ruines.

Le 3 juillet, les forteresses volantes ont attaqué l'hôpital du Ministère des Communications. Toute une partie de l'hôpital fut rasée, dans laquelle se trouvaient 47 malades; 10 d'entre eux furent tués, 34 blessés grièvement, 3 légèrement.

Le 16 juillet, à la suite des attaques aériennes de Séoul, dans le seul quartier de Yen-Son, 1.100 maisons d'habitation furent détruites, deux écoles, une église catholique et la « Maison de l'Enfant ». 1.096 morts parmi la population sans défense, 742 blessés graves, 458 blessés légers.

Entre le 2 juillet et le 3 août des bombardements chaotiques et des mitraillages de la ville de Hynnam détruisirent : un combinat d'industries fournissant des produits chimiques à l'agriculture, une école chimique professionnelle, les écoles publiques n°s 3 et 4, le théâtre, la bibliothèque, les sièges de l'Association

des vieux travailleurs intellectuels des lettres et des arts, de la société de coopération culturelle avec l'U.R.S.S., l'école polytechnique, un dispensaire antituberculeux, un laboratoire épidermiologique et beaucoup d'autres institutions culturelles.

Le 22 juillet, pendant les bombardements de Phenian, les forteresses volantes américaines lâchèrent plus de 70 bombes, détruisant 100 maisons d'habitation. Ils bombardèrent ainsi le village de An-Gak, déjà presque entièrement détruit lors des bombardements précédents. Ils lâchèrent sur ce village 27 bombes d'un poids variant entre 500 et 1.000 kilos, qui transformèrent le village en brasier.

Le 23 juillet, plusieurs dizaines de bombardiers américains, profitant de la pluie, pilonnèrent durant 6 heures, de la façon la plus bestiale, la ville de Phenian. Ils jetèrent 600 bombes de 500 à 1.000 kilos. Ce bombardement détruisit 1.165 maisons d'habitation et tua 439 personnes parmi la population sans défense.

Le 7 août, 51 bombardiers américains du type B29 effectuèrent une attaque aérienne sur Phenian : 574 bombes furent lâchées sur les quartiers d'habitation. A la suite de ce bombardement, 1.945 maisons furent détruites, 211 personnes tuées et 75 autres blessées.

Le 16 septembre, les bombardiers et chasseurs américains ont attaqué Phenian et ont bombardé lâchement la ville, lâchant des bombes explosives et incendiaires.

Les femmes, les enfants, les vieillards se sont réfugiés sur la colline de Motauban. Les meurtriers, voyant ces petits groupes de gens en fuite, les ont arrosés de bombes. 2.396 personnes y trouvèrent la mort et 1.000 autres de graves blessures. Les femmes et les enfants constituèrent 80 % de ces victimes.

Quand le bruit des moteurs décrut, les gens commencèrent à rentrer chez eux. Parmi les survivants, il y avait une jeune femme avec un enfant sur le dos. Elle ne savait pas que l'enfant avait la tête emportée. Personne ne trouvait le courage de le lui dire. Elle retrouva sa maison en flammes, et lorsqu'elle voulut donner le sein à l'enfant elle s'aperçut qu'il était mort. Ce même jour elle quitta la ville, décidant de venger la mort de son petit garçon. Elle s'engagea dans un détachement de partisans.

Est-elle la seule mère de Corée qui ait perdu ses enfants ? Elles sont des milliers, et le nombre de victimes augmente chaque jour. Elles vengeront les crimes des agresseurs américains. A la suite des bombardements de l'aviation américaine, ont été presque entièrement détruites les villes de : Nampho, Tchon-Djou, Wonsan, Tenzon, Kunsan, Rivi, Nambon, Won-Djou, Phen-

tek, Ansan, Ytchonbu, Tchoumoundjin, Dondoutchen et beaucoup d'autres. Dans la guerre contre le peuple coréen les interventionnistes américains ne reculent pas devant le crime le plus abominable.

Battant en retraite devant les forces de l'Armée Populaire Coréenne, les envahisseurs américains massacrent sauvagement la population civile, pillent, violent des femmes.

Au début de juillet, cinq soldats américains pénètrent dans le village de Chedon, violent une paysanne coréenne du nom de Kim San Sum et la fusillent ensuite.

Le 8 juillet, la soldatesque américaine pénètre dans le village de Mia-Tchen sur des autos blindées et armées de mitrailleuses. Sous la menace des armes, les habitants furent conduits dans la forêt voisine où ils furent exécutés. Leurs biens furent pillés. Dans ce seul village, on mit à mort 52 personnes, on en blessa 19.

Pendant le séjour des armées américaines à Tetch-Djon, les viols étaient à l'ordre du jour. Le 19 juillet, avant leur fuite de Tetch-Djon, les soldats américains incendièrent les quartiers les plus populeux. Ils détruisirent 3.740 maisons d'habitation, 35 institutions d'Etat, 140 autres bâtiments, 9 écoles, 12 hôpitaux. Ce jour-là les Américains fusillèrent Sin-Pon, un vieillard de 68 ans, et son fils de 12 ans.

Entre le 28 juin et le 4 juillet, dans la ville de Souwon, on fusilla 1.146 patriotes et habitants paisibles.

Non loin du lycée de jeunes filles de Souwon, on assassina et enterra 30 jeunes élèves du Lycée.

Le 4 juillet, à Tchon-Djou, les soldats de Syngman Rhee, sur l'ordre des Américains, ont arrêté 739 habitants et les ont enfermés dans le bâtiment de l'école communale.

Le 5 juillet, 23 de ces otages furent fusillés au pied d'une colline derrière l'école. 716 autres ont été déportés et par la suite fusillés aux environs du village de Atchon.

Dans la ville de Koudjou, les soldats américains et les hommes de Syngman Rhee ont arrêté 600 habitants. Ils les ont poussés dans un ravin et bestialement fusillés. Les soldats de l'armée de Syngman Rhee tiraient du sol, tandis que les aviateurs américains tiraient de leurs avions.

De cette manière ont été fusillés et assassinés par les Américains, des patriotes, de paisibles habitants des villes et des campagnes de Corée : à Phenthehu 600 personnes, à Anson 600 personnes, à Pou 2.000 personnes, à Tchotchhilone 158 personnes, à Tedjon 8.144 personnes, à Tchon-Djou 2.000, à Tchon-Djou encore 4.000 personnes, à Kunsan 400 personnes, à Anian 400 personnes, dans le rayon de Tchoundjou 2.010 personnes.

Et ce n'est qu'une infime partie de ces crimes. C'est ainsi qu'ils veulent étouffer les aspirations du peuple de Corée à la liberté et l'indépendance.

Mais que les colonisateurs américains se souviennent bien : le peuple de Corée ne pardonnera jamais ces crimes sanglants commis par eux sur le territoire de la Corée; jamais il ne pardonnera la cynique violation des droits du peuple coréen, l'assassinat de nos enfants, de nos mères et de nos pères. (*Acclamations.*)

Jamais ne s'éteindra dans les cœurs des Coréens la haine sacrée des agresseurs américains qui ont apporté au peuple coréen des malheurs inouïs.

Mais ces actes de terreur n'ont pas eu les résultats voulus. L'Armée Populaire, forte de l'appui du peuple entier, a refoulé les agresseurs vers le Sud et les a acculés à la mer.

Les impérialistes américains, se trouvant devant la menace d'un nouveau « Dunkerque », essayant de sauver leur autorité définitivement compromise, ont mobilisé leurs troupes de terre, leurs forces navales et aériennes se trouvant sur les côtes du Pacifique, et amenèrent dans les eaux coréennes une partie de la flotte méditerranéenne, unités de réserve incluses.

Dans la guerre de Corée ont déjà été engagées 10 divisions de l'armée de terre, ainsi que la cinquième flotte aérienne, se composant de 1.000 avions.

Peu confiants en leurs propres forces, les Américains mobilisèrent de surcroît les troupes anglaises et celles de leurs autres satellites. Ayant acquis l'avantage, les interventionnistes ont obtenu certains succès militaires. L'Armée Populaire de Corée fut obligée de se retirer, et les armées de l'intervention tâchent de percer vers la frontière nord de la Corée. Mais l'héroïque Armée Populaire menant des combats ardus dans les montagnes de la Corée du Nord, intensifie tous les jours la puissance de ses contre-attaques.

Nous savons qu'il y a deux Amériques : l'Amérique de Wall Street, celle qui envoie la jeunesse à la mort pour défendre les intérêts des riches, et l'Amérique des mères en deuil, des mères qui écrivaient à Truman : « Rendez-nous nos fils. » Il y a l'Amérique des fauteurs de guerre que nous haïssons tous et l'Amérique des gens honnêtes, qui unissent leurs voix à celles des millions d'honnêtes gens du monde entier pour crier : « Bas les mains devant la Corée ! »

Notre peuple ayant acquis l'amère expérience de la servitude coloniale, mène la lutte pour une existence indépendante et libre, la lutte pour le droit à une vie calme et heureuse. Notre pays est prêt à faire tous les sacrifices et tous les efforts au nom

de son avenir radieux, au nom de sa victoire sur ceux qui inspirent la colère et l'indignation à toute l'humanité progressiste. Le slogan « Bas les mains devant la Corée » est répété aujourd'hui dans toutes les langues du monde, et c'est la conscience de cette solidarité internationale qui aide le peuple coréen à progresser sur la voie de nouveaux succès.

Ayant envahi quantité de régions, libérées auparavant par l'Armée Populaire, les interventionnistes américains et les valets de Syngman Rhee se mirent d'une façon organisée et systématique à assassiner les patriotes. Dès que les interventionnistes trouvent la liste des membres d'une organisation démocratique quelconque, tous ces membres sans exception sont condamnés à mort. Les mots manquent pour dépeindre ce que font en ce moment les interventionnistes, ces « hommes » dépourvus de toutes les valeurs humaines. Les exécutions massives perpétrées lors de l'entrée des troupes interventionnistes à Intchou, à Séoul, ne le cèdent en rien aux exploits meurtriers des hitlériens en Union Soviétique et des Japonais en Chine.

La population de nombre de régions de la Corée du Sud, libérées auparavant et maintenant réoccupées par les armées d'intervention et les valets de Syngman Rhee, ne veut pas voir le retour de l'esclavage, et d'une façon organisée rejoint les partisans dans les montagnes.

Leurs rangs grossissent de jour en jour. (*Applaudissements.*)

Il en est de même dans de nombreuses régions de la Corée du Nord, où les occupants se sont introduits. Partout brûle la flamme de la guerre Sainte menée au nom de la défense de la patrie contre la sanglante intervention armée. Le sol brûle sous les pieds des occupants haïs qui envahirent notre sainte terre.

Peu de temps avant que je quitte la Corée, 2.700 garçons et filles de la ville Andun, située dans le Sud de la Corée, à l'heure actuelle occupée par l'ennemi, se sont présentés au quartier général de l'Armée Populaire. Ils avaient parcouru mille kilomètres environ, ayant à surmonter d'énormes difficultés dans les montagnes. Ces jeunes gens étaient obligés de franchir clandestinement la ligne du front. Ils se sont présentés à Kim-Ir-Sen pour lui demander des armes, afin de pouvoir combattre contre les impérialistes américains et leurs valets. Ce sont les fils héroïques de pères héroïques.

Notre peuple remercie de tout son cœur tous les travailleurs de Pologne, Hongrie, Tchécoslovaquie, Roumanie et autres nations, pour l'aide qui lui a été accordée.

Malgré de dures expériences et d'énormes sacrifices, le peuple coréen nourrit la foi profonde en la victoire de sa juste cause.

ayant à ses côtés tous les peuples du monde entier épris de paix, avec en tête l'Union Soviétique, bastion de la paix mondiale, dirigée par son plus grand défenseur, Joseph Staline.

Le peuple coréen est convaincu de sa victoire parce qu'il sait que les meilleurs fils de son voisin le plus proche, les fils de la grande nation chinoise, réunis en détachements de volontaires, lui sont venus en aide, afin de resserrer les liens d'amitié entre les deux peuples dans la lutte contre l'agresseur qui, après avoir annexé la Corée, voudrait bien envahir la Chine, et qui répand déjà le sang de la population civile de la Chine.

Que la voix du peuple coréen qui se fait entendre ici, à ce IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, retentisse dans le monde entier. Que tout le monde sache que le peuple coréen, réuni autour de son chef bien-aimé, Kim-Ir-Sen, défendra jusqu'à la dernière goutte de sang son pays contre les interventionnistes et leurs valets — les traîtres de Syngman Rhee.

Le peuple coréen ne se laissera pas dompter.

Le peuple coréen sortira de cette guerre uni, libre et indépendant. (*Acclamations*).

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
II° CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIII°)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-II°

PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue
de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 20 fr.

INVITATION

M _____

C'est au nom de la Paix que nous nous adressons à vous.

Pour arrêter la guerre déclenchée dans une partie du monde, pour éviter la conflagration générale, toutes les tendances de l'opinion pacifique du monde se sont rassemblées.

Le Deuxième Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, dont la tenue à Sheffield fut regrettablement empêchée par le gouvernement britannique, a siégé à Varsovie du 16 au 22 novembre 1950.

En votre nom, 2.065 délégués de 80 pays ont adopté des résolutions qui donnent les moyens de sauver la Paix et dont voici l'essentiel :

Solution pacifique du conflit de Corée. — Opposition au réarmement de l'Allemagne et du Japon. — Interdiction de toute atteinte à l'indépendance

des peuples et de toute agression armée, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit. — Punition par la loi de toute propagande de guerre. — Interdiction des armes atomiques. — Réduction progressive et contrôlée des armements. — Echanges économiques normaux et bonnes relations culturelles entre tous les pays.

Le Conseil Mondial de la Paix, comprenant 235 représentants de tous pays, élu par le Congrès et placé sous la présidence de M. Frédéric Joliot-Curie, vous appelle à l'union pour gagner la Paix.

Cela dépend de vous. C'est pourquoi, afin de vous présenter toutes informations et de répondre à toutes questions au cours d'un libre débat, nous vous convions instamment et très cordialement.

.....

.....

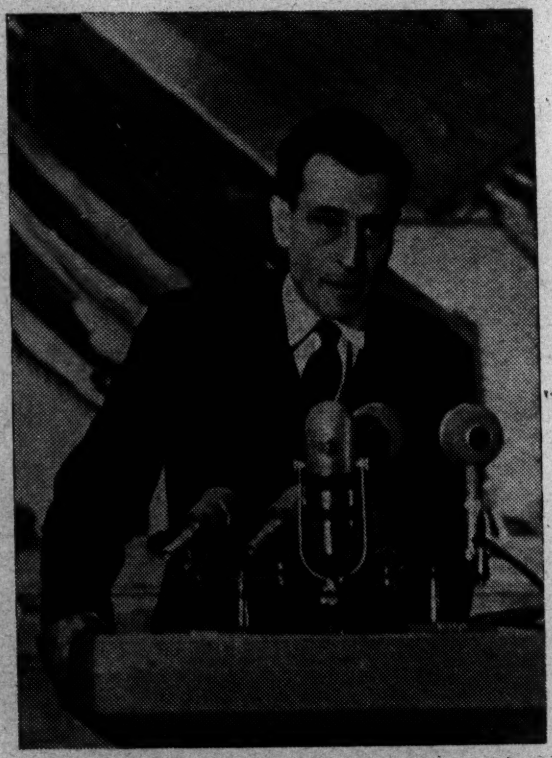
.....

.....

I. C. C. · PARIS 963

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX



VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Emmanuel D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE

DISCOURS : Proposition d'une conférence du désarmement entre les « Cinq Grands »

PREMIERE SEANCE DU LUNDI 20 NOVEMBRE 1950 :

Le Président, M. UPHAUS (Etats-Unis) :

— *La parole est à*

M. D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE

Au moment où le Congrès Mondial se déroule à Varsovie, dans une capitale dont le nom est un symbole, le symbole du martyre de la guerre, il faut souligner que le mouvement pour la paix dans son cheminement vers le but essentiel, la Paix du monde, a déjà atteint certains de ses objectifs.

L'arme dont certains gouvernements, enclins à la guerre ou résignés à la guerre se servaient contre nous était le silence. Ce rideau de silence, combien plus épais que le rideau de fer, est aujourd'hui déchiré.

Grâce au mouvement des peuples, grâce à la hargne de ces gouvernements acharnés à poursuivre et à combattre les partisans de la Paix, les larges secteurs de la presse et de la radio qui nous sont hostiles sur ordre sont contraints, aujourd'hui, de reconnaître l'ampleur de notre mouvement international. Et s'ils cherchent encore à la défigurer, leurs calomnies en sont devenues si grossières qu'elles se retournent contre leurs auteurs.

Nous avons atteint aussi, mais partiellement seulement, un autre de nos objectifs : l'élargissement de notre mouvement. Un seul orateur, M. Rogge, est venu dénoncer à cette tribune le processus de rétrécissement de notre mouvement. Pour ma part, je ne puis témoigner ici que de la situation du mouvement français. Les quinze millions de voix, aujourd'hui dépassées, qui se sont portées sur l'Appel de Stockholm, malgré la contre-propagande officielle, les assemblées populaires de villages et de quartiers qui ont permis d'envoyer dans les chef-lieux 120.000 mandataires de la Paix (parmi lesquels les communistes étaient en grande minorité malgré l'importance du parti communiste en France), les débats les plus libres dans nos assises nous permettent de sourire, comme l'a fait cette salle, aux propos de M. Rogge.

Notre règle restera toujours la même : nous prendrons en

considération toutes les propositions des hommes qui cherchent la voie de la Paix, nous chercheront toujours avec eux une base d'action commune, si modeste soit-elle, pour sauvegarder la Paix.

Nous laisserons de côté les divergences sur les notions philosophiques, sociales ou économiques, que nous réserverons pour d'autres tribunes que la grande tribune de la recherche pour la Paix.

C'est ainsi qu'en France, chaque fois qu'un groupe d'hommes ou un homme a apporté de nouvelles thèses précises pour la Paix, même en critiquant nos positions, nous avons accepté, nous avons sollicité le dialogue.

C'est ainsi que nous avons rencontré, dans des journées d'études, les partisans de la réconciliation internationale, qui pensent que l'objection de conscience est la meilleure arme de la Paix. Nous avons rencontré les partisans du gouvernement mondial, qui voient dans l'installation d'un Parlement mondial l'œuvre la plus utile pour la Paix. C'est ainsi que nous avons rencontré les neutralistes, qui voudraient atteindre la Paix pour leur pays en neutralisant la France et l'Europe occidentale.

Et, après Pierre Cot, je dois reconnaître particulièrement la contribution de ceux-ci. En proposant, après le savant atomiste américain Zillard, que l'Europe occidentale soit dégagée des liens du Pacte Atlantique pour être neutralisée, ils apportent une pierre à la maison de la Paix, puisqu'ils cherchent à éliminer un foyer possible de guerre.

Quelquefois, les uns ou les autres de ces groupes peuvent nous paraître à nous, Partisans de la Paix, prêts à s'égarer dans les nuages. Mais nous avons toujours constaté qu'en travaillant avec patience sur les faits, sur les menaces que présentent ces faits, on s'éloigne vite des abstractions et l'on revient sur terre. Naturellement, nous ne sommes pas d'accord sur tout, mais nous nous trouvons vite d'accord sur quelques points essentiels.

Et déjà, avec nous, tous ces groupes que j'ai cités combattent pour que cesse la guerre au Viet-Nam, pour que l'Allemagne ne devienne pas un foyer de guerre et reste démilitarisée, pour que nous ne soyons pas asservis par le Pacte Atlantique. Ils méritent l'attention, l'amitié des combattants de la Paix.

Parlant de notre objectif d'élargissement, j'ai dit qu'il n'était que partiellement atteint. Il faut reconnaître que notre élargissement est insuffisant, non pas dans un esprit pessimiste et destructeur — ni même dans un esprit personnel comme nous l'avons entendu hier — mais dans un esprit de création continue, un esprit de désintéressement et d'amour même, qui est le seul état d'esprit qui puisse conduire au triomphe de la Paix.

Tout notre espoir réside dans le fait qu'il n'y a dans le monde

qu'une poignée de partisans de la guerre contre les centaines, les centaines de millions d'amis de la Paix, encore isolés, incertains ou trompés.

Nous devons tendre la main aux honnêtes gens, respecter leurs scrupules ou leurs inquiétudes, accepter les limites qui se posent à leur concours. Et ces bornes tomberont d'elles-mêmes quand ils constateront nos propres scrupules, notre diversité, notre loyauté et l'étonnante fraternité que l'amour de la Paix peut établir entre des hommes de tendances ou de philosophies opposées.

Mais l'élargissement ne doit pas porter seulement sur l'action elle-même. Il ne s'agit pas de réunir seulement de plus en plus d'hommes ayant des buts communs de Paix. Il faut élargir aussi les thèmes de l'action.

Le Comité Mondial a donné cet exemple quand, après l'Appel de Stockholm, il a lancé les propositions de Prague. L'admirable rapport de notre président Joliot-Curie nous en fournit un autre exemple, comme la proposition finale de notre ami Fadeev.

Mais il faut faire plus, il faut étudier avec conscience, avec scrupules, les thèmes que nous apporte n'importe quel groupe d'hommes, n'importe quel homme éloigné de notre mouvement, mais attaché à la Paix.

Je sais que notre tâche est difficile, difficile parce que l'ivraie se mêle au bon grain, que la provocation ou la diversion peuvent se mêler à l'esprit de la Paix. Mais notre patience et notre sang-froid viendront à bout de la provocation et de la diversion et permettront aux honnêtes gens de les reconnaître et de nous rejoindre.

En étudiant les conditions de l'élargissement en France, nous avons trouvé sur notre chemin des hommes qui veulent toujours un peu mieux que les Partisans de la Paix. Quand nous avons fait campagne contre l'arme atomique, quelques-uns nous disaient : « Je ne puis être avec vous que si vous condamnez aussi le lance-pierres. »

Quand nous faisons campagne pour la Paix entre les Nations, nous rencontrons les hommes qui déclarent que la guerre c'est aussi le coup de crosse du policier, tel régime pénitentiaire, telle condition sociale, que c'est aussi bien telle ou telle violence que l'invasion d'une armée étrangère.

Nous répétons à ceux-ci ou à ceux-là : « D'accord contre le lance-pierres, d'accord contre la violence, quelle qu'elle soit, mais pour gagner un jour le paradis terrestre, sans lance-pierres et sans violence, il faut bien d'abord franchir la première étape, c'est-à-dire sauver notre monde encore imparfait en évitant sa

destruction par la bombe atomique ou son écrasement par ce feu, ces bombes ou ces canons qui ont écrasé Varsovie, qui écrasent aujourd'hui la Corée. »

Mais nous ne pouvons pas prendre au sérieux un partisan de la non-violence, comme M. Rogge, qui nous propose de modifier tel régime de prisonniers, qui nous propose de condamner toute réforme, si juste soit-elle, et en même temps de conserver l'arme atomique.

Je dois rapprocher cette proposition de garder la bombe atomique avec une autre phrase de M. Rogge. Prétendant parler au nom du peuple américain, il a dit : « Nous ne tolérerons pas les attaques armées et les atteintes à la Paix du monde. »

Un tel langage n'est pas convenable pour un Partisan de la Paix. En effet, un peuple ne peut pas se déclarer à lui seul le gardien de la Paix du monde. Il ne peut prétendre, à lui seul, être le dépositaire du bien dans le monde et s'en déclarer le seul juge.

C'est par de tels propos que l'on parvient à la notion de la domination telle que la conçoit un conseiller de la Maison Blanche, M. Burnham.

Cette domination mondiale par la bombe atomique au profit de ce que certains croient être le bien — et qui n'est que leur conception personnelle du bien — nous ne l'admettrons jamais.

Nous ne voulons pas être des hommes qui élaborent dans leur cerveau solitaire une philosophie ou une morale et qui déclarent qu'ils ne travailleront pas à la Paix tant que cette philosophie ou cette morale ne sera pas acceptée par tous.

Nous ne voulons même pas, sous peine de stérilité, nous ériger en arbitres au-dessus de la mêlée, distribuant dans un mouvement bien balancé le blâme ou l'éloge aux uns et aux autres, aux capitalistes ou aux socialistes. Nous devons laisser de côté leurs défauts réels ou supposés (que nous évoquerons toujours sur d'autres tribunes) pour ne traiter que des conditions de la coexistence pacifique des régimes et des philosophies... coexistence pacifique que nous croyons possible, que nous savons nécessaire.

Mais M. Rogge nous a au moins découvert un des espoirs des dirigeants américains, un espoir bien net : celui d'attirer dans leur camp la République chinoise comme ils y ont attiré la Yougoslavie.

Et les neutralistes les moins avertis seront mieux éclairés par ce propos qui veut établir une confusion entre la neutralité et une caricature de neutralité.

Mais si nous faisons appel à tous les honnêtes gens du monde, si nous pouvons et devons entendre les propos qui nous parais-

sent les plus singuliers, si nous devons travailler chaque jour à l'élargissement du mouvement, il est bon de marquer aussi les bornes à notre complaisance ou à notre patience.

Je le répète : les hommes qui veulent délibérément la guerre ne sont qu'une poignée. Plus clairement nous désignerons les quelques-uns dont les erreurs monstrueuses ne peuvent plus permettre un espoir, plus vite ils seront isolés.

La conférence de Londres d'août 1945, comme la jurisprudence de Nuremberg, ont reconnu, déterminé la notion du crime contre la Paix, la notion du crime contre l'humanité. Cette notion était un progrès pour l'humanité et nous n'avons sans doute pas le droit de la laisser tomber en désuétude.

Je sais que nous devons être prudents en cette matière et seuls devraient être désignés ceux qui font un appel direct à la destruction massive, à la sauvagerie, dans des textes incontestables.

Je ne fais que poser ici la question. L'homme, fut-il ministre de la Marine d'un grand pays, qui propose le jet d'une bombe atomique sur un autre pays pour régler la coexistence entre deux régimes, ne commet-il pas un crime contre la Paix ?

L'homme, fut-il un chef militaire qui se félicite de son action quand il efface de la carte du monde des villes et des villages avec des bombes au napalm, ne commet-il pas un crime contre l'humanité ?

Je vous propose là un sujet de réflexion, en répétant que les conditions de notre appréciation doivent être si prudentes et si sereines qu'elles ne puissent éloigner de nous aucune bonne volonté.

Et maintenant, après ces remarques, je voudrais, pour ma part, tenter d'apporter une pierre modeste à la maison de la Paix. En le faisant, je souhaiterais que de telles contributions soient plus nombreuses. Qu'elles soient retenues ou non, elles donneront en effet un aliment renouvelé à nos études, à nos confrontations.

Les propositions que je vais faire sont à la fois le fruit des expériences françaises, des réflexions de notre délégation et de mon sentiment personnel.

La grande entreprise du désarmement des nations reste l'objectif essentiel du combat de ceux qui refusent de construire la Paix en préparant la guerre. Je voudrais apporter à cette entreprise la contribution des propositions suivantes, dont l'un ou l'autre point permettrait, avec la contribution essentielle apportée par la délégation soviétique, de nous approcher de cette synthèse que doit être un statut de la Paix.

Voici ces propositions :

1. — Convocation immédiate d'une conférence du désarmement entre les cinq grandes puissances : U.R.S.S., Etats-Unis, République Populaire chinoise, Grande-Bretagne, France.

2. — Engagement solennel entre les cinq Grands, aussitôt la conférence décidée, d'accepter l'arrêt immédiat de la course aux armements et la limitation des budgets de guerre à leur taux de 1950.

3. — Engagement des cinq Grands de procéder au recensement réciproque et simultané de leurs forces armées et de tous leurs armements, y compris les armements atomiques, en vue d'une réduction de tous les armements mondiaux selon un pourcentage déterminé.

4. — Cette première réduction en pourcentage étant admise, les conditions d'une nouvelle étape dans le désarmement seront déterminées par l'examen des forces respectives et en tenant compte notamment du développement des frontières terrestres et maritimes et de la situation démographique.

Je voudrais enfin attirer l'attention du Congrès sur une autre mesure susceptible de limiter les risques de guerre.

Tout le monde conçoit que les énormes profits que la préparation à la guerre apporte à certaines grandes industries est une prime à la politique de surarmement et conduit de grands industriels à favoriser une politique de tension internationale.

Je voudrais donc proposer au Congrès de voter la motion suivante :

« Considérant que le passage de plus en plus rapide de l'économie de paix à l'économie de guerre, dans certains pays, met en œuvre et favorise des forces malfaisantes qui provoquent, par leur développement, une aggravation des risques de guerre, le deuxième Congrès Mondial de la Paix

» Invite les Parlements de tous les pays à voter des lois supprimant les super-bénéfices provenant des commandes résultant de la préparation de la guerre. »

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

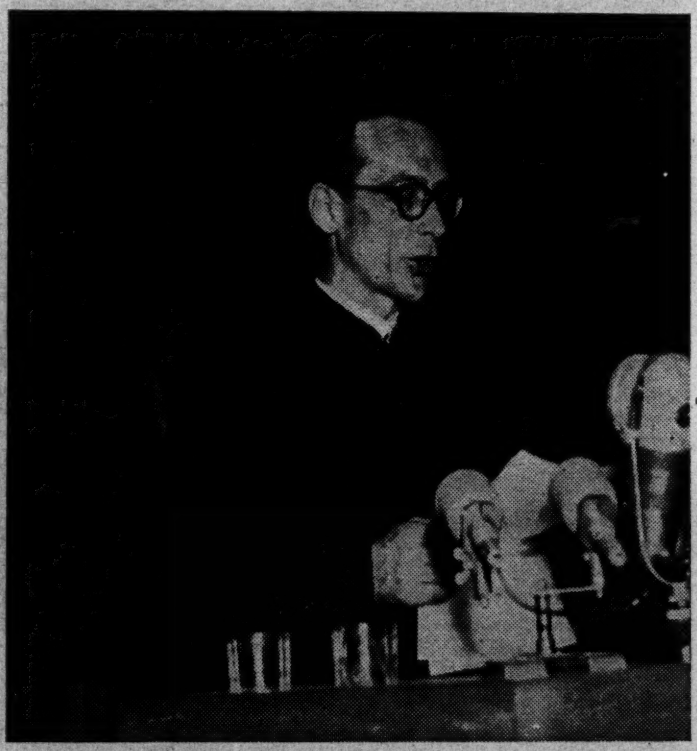
PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue
de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 8 fr.

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX



VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Don Andrea GAGGERO

DISCOURS

« Donnons-nous la main, hommes de toutes croyances. »

Introduction

CE QUE FUT LE IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

L'INITIATIVE du Deuxième Congrès Mondial de la Paix fut prise par le Comité émanant du Premier Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, qui eut lieu à Paris, salle Pleyel, en avril 1949.

Le principe de la convocation du Second Congrès Mondial fut adopté en mars 1950, à Stockholm, en même temps que le célèbre Appel contre la Bombe atomique, qui devait recevoir l'approbation signée de plus de 500 millions d'hommes et de femmes par le monde.

Le 16 août 1950, le Bureau du Comité, réuni à Prague, lança des propositions de discussion pour de larges débats publics en vue de la préparation du Congrès qui devait avoir lieu à Sheffield (Grande-Bretagne).

Ces propositions portaient sur les points suivants :

— Interdiction des armes atomiques;
— Réduction des armements;
— Dénonciation de l'agression;
— Solution pacifique du conflit de Corée;
— Interdiction des propagandes de guerre.

Sur la base de ces propositions, se tinrent dans le monde des milliers d'assemblées populaires et de réunions d'organisation, qui discutèrent et élirent, démocratiquement, des délégués.

★

Le Congrès empêché par les autorités britanniques de se tenir, comme prévu, à Sheffield, à la date du 13 novembre, se transféra à Varsovie, où il siégea du 16 au 22 novembre.

Ces Assises Mondiales rassemblèrent 2.065 délégués et invités de 83 pays. Une discussion large s'ouvrit sur les rapports présentés par le Président JOLIOT-CURIE et le Vice-Président Pietro NENNI.

145 orateurs se succédèrent à la tribune des séances plénières, et des débats importants, auxquels participèrent des centaines de délégués, se poursuivirent dans les sept commissions de travail constituées par des membres des délégations de l'ensemble des pays.

Cette ample et franche discussion aboutit à l'élaboration et au vote démocratiques de dix résolutions importantes ainsi qu'à l'élection d'un Conseil Mondial de la Paix, comprenant 235 représentants, placé sous la Présidence du grand savant Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE.

Ces décisions, mises aux voix, furent adoptées à la presque unanimité des délégués, moins trois abstentions.

Les résolutions adoptées par le Congrès constituent tout un programme, qui trouve son expression dans deux textes fondamentaux : « Le Manifeste aux Peuples » et l' « Adresse à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ».

Tous ces actes et résolutions du Congrès auront la force que leur donneront la volonté de Paix et le soutien des peuples. Le Congrès Mondial n'est pas une fin, mais un nouveau départ pour une action plus ample de tous les peuples en faveur de la paix.

PREMIERE SEANCE DU VENDREDI 17 NOVEMBRE 1950

La Présidente, Mme JESSIE STREET (Australie) :

— Je demande au révérend Père Don Andrea GAGGERO, d'Italie, de bien vouloir prendre la parole devant cette Conférence.

Don Andrea GAGGERO

Je suis un prêtre catholique italien. J'ai accepté de tout mon cœur de venir crier tout haut mon témoignage de Paix à la place qui m'était offerte. Au mois de mai 1940, à Rome, je fus consacré prêtre; à la fin de la cérémonie on chanta pour moi : « Heureux ceux qui marcheront pour prêcher la Paix et le bien. » Et le monde était déjà en guerre.

Ce chant synthétisait la conception qui m'avait guidée pendant les dix années où je me suis préparé à l'offrande de ma vie pour mes frères. Depuis lors, j'ai cherché la Paix, j'ai clamé la Paix, j'ai lutté pour la Paix, mais il n'y a pas eu de Paix et il n'y en a pas. Je porte dans mon cœur le souvenir de millions d'hommes martyrisés, dispersés, tués, dans cette terrible dernière guerre. Chaque jour revient à moi le souvenir de centaines de milliers d'hommes de toutes les nations qui furent mes compagnons dans le camp de la mort de Mauthausen, où les hommes de la guerre avaient étudié et réalisé scientifiquement comment détruire les hommes de la justice et de la liberté. J'ai survécu, un peu comme vous tous, à cette terrible expérience. Mais malheureusement, après ces jours-là, les peuples n'ont pas cessé de souffrir. De nouvelles voix de guerre se sont répandues sur le monde, elles ont troublé les peuples dans leur travail de reconstruction, si nécessaire; il existe des forces qui semblent avoir tout intérêt à détourner les hommes de leurs œuvres de paix, pour les obliger encore à organiser la guerre.

Je ne suis pas ici, officiellement, pour représenter mon Eglise; mais je porte le témoignage de millions de catholiques italiens et de centaines d'excellents prêtres qui sont tourmentés dans leur conscience par cette situation.

Ces mêmes forces, qui ont intérêt à la guerre, semblent aujourd'hui vouloir entraîner dans leurs terribles responsabilités ma foi et l'autorité de mon Eglise. Maintenant je suis là pour affirmer bien haut que cela est impossible, que cela est absurde. Le Christ a découvert à nous-mêmes depuis deux mille ans notre merveilleuse réalité. Tous les hommes sont un seul peuple, une seule famille. Ce sont des frères et ils ont un père unique : Dieu. Une loi unique : l'Amour. Et il me semble superflu d'affirmer que Jésus engagea tous ceux qui le suivaient, tous les hommes, dans la voie de la Paix.

Le Christ est né pendant que les anges prédisaient son objectif essentiel avec le chant : « Gloire à Dieu dans le haut des Cieux, et Paix aux hommes de bonne volonté ». Et dans le discours sur la Montagne, Jésus donna la plus haute qualification qu'on puisse donner aux hommes de Paix, en affirmant qu'ils seront appelés fils de Dieu. Je sais que, dans l'Evangile, le problème de la Paix est contenu dans la loi de l'Amour, un amour sans limites et sans distinction, mais un amour qui ne se prête pas non plus à l'équivoque. Il ne s'agit ni d'une patience sans révolte ni de suicide. Le Christ a dit pour cela : « Je ne suis pas venu pour porter la Paix, mais la guerre » dans ce sens que l'Amour nous engage jusqu'au bout dans une lutte sans répit contre l'égoïsme, contre la violence, et contre le mal en nous et hors de nous. La pensée de Jésus pourrait se traduire dans le cri : « Guerre à la Guerre ! » C'est pour cette guerre que Jésus est mort sur la Croix. Si le Christ avait été un faible, il ne serait pas mort crucifié.

Maintenant, sur ces bases et avec l'exemple du Christ, les Chrétiens ne peuvent absolument pas être pour la guerre. Mais aujourd'hui la propagande crée la plus grande confusion, surtout parmi les catholiques italiens ! J'ai eu la chance de pouvoir traverser quelques pays de l'Est. L'Angleterre a très mal employé sa ruse traditionnelle : ainsi que moi, beaucoup d'autres doivent au Gouvernement anglais la chance de cette expérience. Eh bien ! j'ai vu partout écrit le mot « PAIX », tout le long de mon voyage j'ai entendu crier le mot « PAIX », je n'ai trouvé que des œuvres de Paix, j'ai vu que Varsovie est un immense chantier de Paix. Cependant il y en a qui crient et qui nous tentent, nous invitant à croire que si nous voulons la Paix, nous devons préparer la guerre. Il semble que ces hommes respon-

sables, qui n'ont pas tiré les leçons des événements d'hier, veuillent préparer la venue de nouvelles croisades. Mais les catholiques italiens et la majorité du clergé italien ne veulent pas de nouvelles croisades, parce qu'ils sentent que ceci n'est pas servir le Christ mais servir Satan; que ce n'est pas le moyen d'arriver à l'Amour mais à la haine mortelle.

Ce n'est pas seulement pour ces raisons que les catholiques italiens refusent la guerre : j'oserai dire qu'actuellement, chez les catholiques italiens, il y a une angoisse profonde. Nous sentons que toutes les propagandes de guerre, même sous le camouflage de motifs religieux ou faussement idéalisés, peuvent non seulement préparer la mort de millions d'hommes, mais provoquer des scissions extrêmement douloureuses dans le corps de l'Eglise. Nous y arriverons si nous suivons cette route qui nous mènera à une incompréhension totale entre nous et la majeure partie des courants catholiques chez les peuples démocratiques.

J'ai vu, ces jours-ci, que le mouvement pour la Paix est non seulement suivi, mais organisé par le clergé catholique des pays de l'Est, grâce à ses propres initiatives. Je sais qu'en Italie aussi et dans tout l'Occident, plus la guerre se fait pressante, plus la nécessité de servir la Paix à tout prix devient claire pour des millions de catholiques. Personne parmi nous n'a de doute religieux, personne parmi nous ne veut contrevenir à la discipline religieuse mais, parmi nous, personne ne veut plus se prêter à des équivoques politiques et personne, parmi nous, ne veut plus donner sa bénédiction aux armes. Est-il juste alors en la portant sur un terrain politique, de rendre intenable la situation des catholiques ? Est-il juste de donner motif à des scissions importantes pour des dissensions qui ne sont pas religieuses ? C'est pour cela que je suis venu parmi vous, passant outre à toutes les causes de désunion possible. Je n'abandonne personne et, si vous permettez, je ne retrouve personne parce que j'ai toujours aimé tout le monde, et je continuerai à aimer tout le monde. Ma personne seule est ici, mais je sais que j'apporte aussi la pensée et l'angoisse de tous les hommes bons et simples d'Italie. Ces gens vous approuvent et nous vous disons : « Nous croyons dans vos propositions de Paix, et vous croyez aux nôtres. Nous voulons sauver l'universalité et l'unité de l'Eglise; nous voulons donner le témoignage que les catholiques, non seulement parlent de Paix et prient pour la Paix, mais veulent aussi construire la Paix. Essayez de nous comprendre et de nous aider à réaliser tout cela, ce sera un grand service que vous rendrez à l'unité, à la Paix et à l'Amour dans le Monde. Oui, à l'Amour

aussi, surtout à l'Amour. Nous savons qu'aujourd'hui l'Amour semble impossible et que la loi du Christ paraît une illusion : mais l'idéal du Christ ne s'est pas fait illusion à cause d'une contradiction intime ou d'une faiblesse, mais parce que tous les hommes, et plus encore ceux qui se proclament chrétiens et dont les responsabilités sont plus grandes, ont accepté d'être les esclaves de leur propre haine et de celle d'autrui. Le Christ a dit : « On ne peut pas servir deux maîtres : Dieu et l'Argent ; le Bien et le Mal ; la Haine et l'Amour. »

Certes, l'amour est la loi unique qui les réunit toutes. Mais si, aujourd'hui, cet objectif nous paraît lointain, il est évident que, abstraction faite de nos convictions, une guerre ne résoudrait aucun de nos problèmes et ne ferait que perpétuer pendant des siècles la misère et l'esclavage. C'est pour cela que nous devons vouloir la paix avant tout, avec fermeté. Nous devons avoir une grande confiance : les hommes, même s'ils ne sont pas prêts pour l'Amour, sont intérieurement destinés à l'Amour et l'Amour commence dans la Paix.

La Paix doit devenir notre premier pas vers la rencontre. J'ai suivi, en Italie, la longue et généreuse préparation des assemblées de Paix et j'ai vu les hommes les plus différents réunis pour la première fois au sein de ces assemblées. L'homme qui croit et l'homme qui ne croit pas ; le Maître et le Travailleur ; l'Autorité et le Sujet. C'est là la meilleure preuve que nous sommes sur la bonne route et que nous répondons à l'exigence des cœurs.

Point de place en nous pour le découragement, les hommes nous attendent. Ils auront contre nous des réactions violentes, mais nous continuerons à crier, à lutter et, si c'est nécessaire, à mourir crucifiés pour la Paix.

Nous venons de partout, nous avons des croyances différentes, mais nous avons un objectif unique et nous nous aimons sincèrement. Des millions d'hommes, des déshérités surtout, attendent notre parole, notre témoignage. Ce ne sont pas seulement des millions de veuves, d'orphelins, de malades, de chômeurs, de travailleurs de toutes catégories qui nous attendent ; tous les hommes nous attendent sans distinction. Oui ! parce que dans chaque cœur, même le plus sombre et le plus renfermé, il y a un besoin irrésistible de se libérer du mal et d'aimer. C'est comme cela que nous luttons pour la vraie liberté, celle de l'Amour, même pour ceux qui, aujourd'hui, luttent contre nous. Nous devons être sûrs que, par la Paix, nous arriverons à l'Amour.

Il existe aujourd'hui dans le monde une volonté d'union qui est le signe le plus clair que les hommes non seulement ont découvert à nouveau les chemins de la rencontre mais que pratiquement, je dirai même techniquement, le moment est propice pour la collaboration fraternelle. Ainsi le veut le cœur de l'Homme et, si vous permettez, le cœur de Dieu.

Nous avons la chance de pouvoir, d'une façon explicite et dans le sens le plus pur, servir ce courant d'unité qui est aussi un courant d'Amour. Nous sommes au centre du monde comme au centre de chaque cœur. Donnons-nous la main, hommes du monde entier, de toutes les croyances : nous sommes encore divisés, mais nous avons la conscience claire de venir d'une même origine, d'avoir une même loi et de devoir marcher vers l'unité absolue, dans la Paix.

Et, comme prêtre du Christ, je vous dis : si nous faisons ainsi, nous arriverons aussi au Dieu unique qui est Amour immortel.

SOUSCRIVEZ

POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)

C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ

LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*

EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES

15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

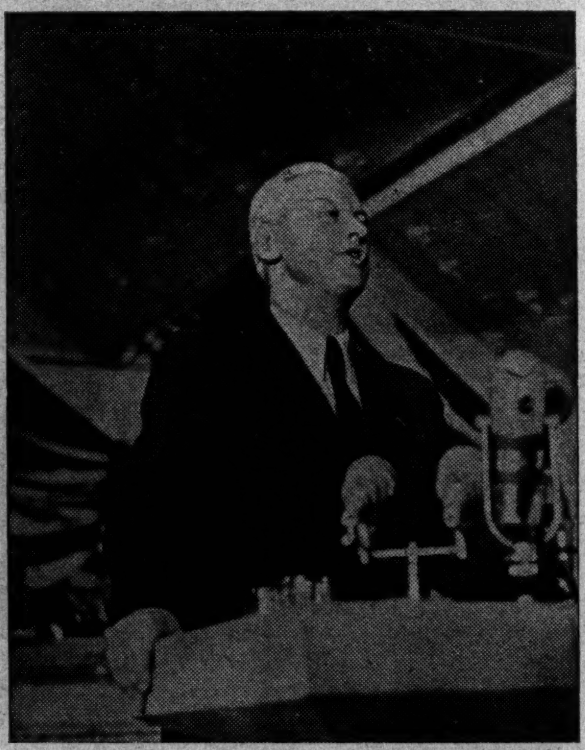
PUBLIÉ PAR LE CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 5 fr.

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX



VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Alexandre FADEEV

DISCOURS

DEUXIEME SEANCE DU VENDREDI 17 NOVEMBRE 1950

Le Président, M. BERNAL :
(Grande-Bretagne)

— *La parole est à :*

M. ALEXANDRE FADEEV

Permettez-moi de transmettre aux amis de la Paix en Pologne, à tout le peuple polonais et à son gouvernement, notre reconnaissance cordiale pour l'hospitalité qui nous est offerte, à nous Combattants de la Paix du monde entier, ici sur le sol de Pologne.

J'adresse aussi notre salut à nos amis anglais qui ont tout fait pour que les hommes de bonne volonté puissent se serrer la main à Sheffield. Et ce n'est pas la faute des amis de la Paix en Grande-Bretagne si le Congrès de la Paix n'a pu se tenir à Sheffield parce que le gouvernement actuel de la Grande-Bretagne, ou tout au moins deux hommes de ce gouvernement qui ont assez de pouvoir pour cela, entraînent de plus en plus leur peuple dans la voie de la guerre, contre les intérêts nationaux de la Grande-Bretagne.

L'interdiction du Congrès de Sheffield par le gouvernement anglais a montré qu'il existe une grande différence entre les aspirations pacifiques du peuple anglais et l'esprit belliqueux de son gouvernement.

Les amis de la Paix ne sont pas moins nombreux en Grande-Bretagne que dans les autres pays, mais ils ne se rendent pas tous compte à quel point le danger de guerre est réel. Maintenant ils ont vu que leur gouvernement est animé d'un esprit si guerrier que même le savant de renommée mondiale Joliot-Curie, le compositeur Chostakovitch et l'abbé Boulier lui ont fait peur. Les amis de la Paix en Grande-Bretagne ont pu constater une fois de plus que leur gouvernement a surtout peur des aspirations pacifiques de son propre peuple, qu'il a peur que les hommes de bonne volonté de Grande-Bretagne s'entendent avec les hommes de bonne volonté des autres pays sur le plan de la coexistence pacifique de tous les pays et de tous les peuples.

Nous nous sommes réunis à un moment où l'aspiration à la Paix est devenue un des mouvements les plus irrésistibles des

temps modernes. La preuve en est le succès sans précédent de la campagne de signatures pour l'Appel de Stockholm, pour l'interdiction de l'arme atomique. Depuis que le monde existe on n'a jamais vu une seule et même pétition circuler ainsi à travers soixante-dix pays, dans le cœur de millions d'hommes de toutes les nations. L'expérience de l'Appel de Stockholm a montré que des hommes d'opinions les plus différentes sur le développement de la société, la religion et la culture, peuvent réellement s'entendre sur des propositions concrètes susceptibles de contribuer à l'œuvre de la paix dans le monde entier. Nous, les hommes soviétiques, nous sommes toujours prêts, comme par le passé, à accepter toute proposition raisonnable, venant de quelque milieux que ce soit, si cette proposition concourt au renforcement de la Paix dans le monde entier. Nous sommes prêts à nous entendre avec tous les véritables amis de la Paix des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, de Grande-Bretagne, du Canada, des Pays Scandinaves, de n'importe quel pays du monde, indépendamment des opinions qui nous séparent à propos de notre régime intérieur ou de notre conception générale de la vie internationale; nous sommes prêts à nous entendre sur n'importe quelle proposition pacifique concrète; nous sommes prêts à rechercher la solution commune de n'importe quel problème si cela peut nous permettre d'agir en commun en faveur de la Paix. De ce point de vue les possibilités d'action commune des amis de la Paix sont encore loin d'être épuisées. Au contraire, nous qui sommes réunis dans cette salle, nous devons présenter des propositions larges et en même temps toujours plus claires, compréhensibles pour tous, toujours plus concrètes et pratiques, susceptibles de rassembler les innombrables forces des Partisans de la Paix dans le monde entier et de mettre à la raison ceux qui ont intérêt à déclencher la guerre. La nouvelle guerre mondiale frappe déjà à notre porte. Point n'est besoin de chercher à deviner quand la guerre finira par enfoncer la porte ; il faut prendre des mesures pour prévenir la guerre. Sous nos yeux, littéralement en quelques mois, un immense pays, dirigé par des hommes gorgés de toutes les richesses et de tous les biens terrestres, a transformé un autre pays, de trente millions d'habitants, possédant un passé séculaire, en un amas de ruines, en poussière et en cendres. Les villes, les monuments d'une antique culture ont été balayés de la surface de la terre. Les champs d'un peuple, renommé pour son amour exceptionnel du travail, même parmi les peuples les plus laborieux, ont été foulés et brûlés. Le pays baigne dans le sang des enfants. Toutes les horreurs des atrocités fascistes qui avaient donné lieu aux débats judiciaires de Nuremberg ont révécu sous les yeux des mères de la Corée martyre.

Peut-être la Corée était-elle connue dans l'histoire comme pays agresseur ?

Peut-être avait-elle participé au bloc d'agresseurs dans la dernière guerre mondiale ? Peut-être menaçait-elle d'invasion, à présent, le territoire des Etats-Unis ? Non. Ce pays qui avait souffert d'un long esclavage sous la botte de l'impérialisme japonais est un pays devant lequel s'ouvrait pour la première fois la possibilité de vivre librement après la victoire remportée par les Nations Unies dans la dernière guerre. Quant à la Corée du Nord, dans les quelques années qu'elle venait de vivre depuis sa libération, elle avait créé plus d'écoles, plus d'hôpitaux et de crèches qu'il n'en avait jamais été créés tout au long de l'histoire séculaire de la Corée. Des hommes — il m'est pénible d'employer ces mots pour ceux sur l'ordre desquels la Corée a été dévastée — prétendent que c'est précisément la Corée du Nord qui serait responsable de la dévastation de tout le pays et de l'extermination d'une partie considérable de son peuple. Et le président du pays qui a commis cet acte, l'acte le plus sauvage de tous ceux qui ont eu lieu depuis la dernière guerre, affirme que ce fut là sa plus importante contribution à la cause de la Paix.

Je proposerais à M. le Président de laisser entrer aux Etats-Unis cinq simples femmes coréennes, pas plus, à la condition seulement qu'elles fussent choisies non par M. le Président, mais par le peuple coréen lui-même; de laisser entrer cinq femmes coréennes, pas plus, de ces femmes qui ont vécu tout ce qui s'est passé et se passe en Corée, qu'elles soient nées dans la Corée du Sud ou dans la Corée du Nord indifféremment. Qu'elles s'expriment librement dans les écoles et les Universités, dans les réunions ouvrières et dans les communautés religieuses et qu'elles racontent seulement ce qu'elles ont vécu, ce qu'elles ont vu de leurs propres yeux. Toute la presse américaine pourrait développer simultanément le point de vue de M. le Président sur ce qu'on appelle la question coréenne. Tout l'appareil de propagande du gouvernement des Etats-Unis pourrait intervenir dans les mêmes réunions que les femmes coréennes et leur apporter la contradiction. Ce serait encore mieux si, aux côtés de ces femmes, Mac Arthur prenait la parole. Et si la police n'intervenait pas dans cette affaire comme c'est maintenant la coutume aux Etats-Unis. J'ose affirmer que chaque enfant et chaque adulte aux Etats-Unis croirait davantage les femmes coréennes que toute la presse américaine et tout l'appareil de propagande du gouvernement des Etats-Unis, et que Mac Arthur apparaîtrait aux yeux de tout le peuple américain comme un criminel de guerre. Car le peuple américain, lui aussi, aime avant tout la vérité, et il n'y a pas d'homme tant soit peu conscient au monde

qui ne frémisse à entendre la vérité sur la Corée. Moi, écrivain soviétique, je sais, ainsi que des millions d'hommes sur cette terre, comment l'agression américaine a commencé en Corée. Mais je veux m'adresser maintenant à ceux qui ne savent pas comment cela a commencé, à ceux qui se sont fait une autre idée du début des événements de Corée. Je leur demande simplement : dites qui a refusé, et pourquoi, d'entendre les représentants de la Corée du Nord lors de la discussion de la question coréenne ? Qui a refusé, et pourquoi, de discuter la question coréenne en présence des représentants légitimes de la Chine ? (*Applaudissements.*)

Qui n'a voulu, et pourquoi, entendre aucune des propositions faites en vue de régler pacifiquement la question coréenne d'où que viennent ces propositions ?

Il n'est pas besoin d'être juriste ou diplomate, il suffit simplement d'être un homme pour comprendre qu'il est impossible d'envoyer ses soldats envahir un pays qui ne vous a en rien menacé, qu'il est impossible d'écraser dans ce pays tout ce qui vit, de faire entendre à tous qu'on n'a pas l'intention de retirer ses soldats de ce pays, de refuser toutes les propositions pacifiques faites au sujet de ce pays, et de prétendre ensuite apporter une grande contribution à la cause de la Paix.

Cependant chacun voit d'ores et déjà que l'agression américaine en Corée ne s'est pas transformée, ne pouvait et ne peut se transformer en une promenade rapide et facile sur les cadavres des femmes et des enfants coréens. L'héroïque peuple coréen a montré une force de résistance inouïe et son voisin, le peuple chinois, a déclaré bien haut que le peuple coréen n'est pas seul. Ainsi l'agresseur s'est enlisé en Corée et sa victoire est, pour le moins qu'on puisse dire, douteuse. C'est que le sang des jeunes Américains coule aussi à flots, et si la question ne trouve pas de solution pacifique, le sang des jeunes Américains coulera sans fin. Tout homme qui pense, comprend maintenant qu'en ce point de l'Asie le danger d'un nouveau conflit mondial est né.

Mais est-ce qu'une telle situation était inévitable en Corée ? Est-ce que la question dite coréenne ne pouvait être résolue d'une manière pacifique ? Le monde entier sait que dès les premiers jours de la libération de la Corée par suite de la défaite du Japon, dans la dernière guerre mondiale, des propositions ont été faites à maintes reprises pour résoudre pacifiquement la question dite coréenne. La Corée, comme tous les autres Etats, avait et a le droit de vivre unie et indépendante. Le pays dont je suis le fils a fait, à maintes reprises, des propositions partant de la nécessité de retirer les troupes étrangères de Corée et d'unifier ce pays en un seul Etat. Des propositions du même genre

ont été faites maintes et maintes fois par la Corée du Nord. Ces documents ont été publiés; tout homme qui veut comprendre cette question peut les lire.

A la suite de la dernière guerre mondiale l'Organisation des Nations Unies a été créée; elle était destinée, à proprement parler, à résoudre les questions de ce genre. C'est justement elle, l'Organisation des Nations Unies, qui pouvait et qui devait favoriser la solution pacifique de la question coréenne. Mais les hommes de bonne volonté dans le monde entier doivent s'apercevoir que les forces ayant intérêt à la guerre n'ont pas voulu de solution pacifique de la question coréenne et que l'Organisation des Nations Unies, au lieu d'inciter, pour le moins, ces forces à mener des pourparlers. est allée jusqu'à commettre cet acte honteux : couvrir de son drapeau l'immixtion de l'armée américaine dans les affaires intérieures de la Corée.

Tout récemment encore, nous avons vu M. Nehru, représentant de l'un des plus grands pays de l'Asie, proposer le règlement pacifique de la question dite coréenne avec la participation des Coréens eux-mêmes, avec la participation de la Chine, vitalement intéressée au sort de la Corée. Mais comme il fallait s'y attendre, l'agresseur n'a pas prêté l'oreille à ces propositions pacifiques. Et non seulement l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'a pas soutenu cette nouvelle possibilité de règlement pacifique de la question, mais elle a soutenu, au contraire, l'extension de la guerre sous le couvert de son drapeau.

L'Organisation des Nations Unies, sur laquelle les peuples du monde avaient fondé tant d'espoir, apparaît sous un jour encore plus défavorable à la lumière d'un autre conflit encore plus important et plus menaçant que le précédent, conflit en train de mûrir à nos portes mêmes et pouvant se transformer en une catastrophe mondiale. Je veux parler de la remilitarisation de l'Allemagne occidentale, de la création des forces armées d'Allemagne occidentale sous le commandement de ces mêmes généraux qui, il y a si peu de temps encore, commandaient les armées fascistes allemandes qui dévastèrent tant et tant de pays représentés ici.

Il n'est pas besoin d'être homme d'Etat, il suffit d'être un homme tant soit peu instruit et réfléchi pour comprendre qu'il n'est pas de moyen pour résoudre la question allemande en dehors de la conclusion d'un traité de paix avec un Etat allemand uni, démocratique et pacifique, et du retrait de toutes les troupes étrangères du territoire de cet Etat. Faut-il rappeler combien de propositions simples, claires et en même temps très complètes ont été faites pour régler d'une façon pacifique et définitive la question dite allemande, cette question cruciale du réglement duquel

il dépend que nos enfants jouissent des biens de la paix et du travail ou versent leur sang dans la plus horrible des guerres que l'humanité ait jamais connue ? Pourtant, un accord des grandes puissances avait été obtenu à ce sujet à Potsdam. Il semble aussi que les documents sur la base desquels l'Organisation des Nations Unies a commencé d'exister auraient dû assurer toutes les conditions nécessaires pour résoudre la question allemande par cet unique moyen pacifique.

Et cependant les forces de guerre ne veulent pas accepter une solution pacifique de la question allemande. On crée des alliances et des blocs agressifs dans lesquels une partie de l'Allemagne, sa partie occidentale, n'est pas seulement appelée à jouer un rôle de simple participant, mais à être le plus actif et le plus fort des partenaires européens dans un jeu sanglant. Sur l'ordre d'outre-océan, les gouvernements des puissances occidentales accroissent d'année en année leurs budgets de guerre qui pèsent lourdement sur les peuples. On mène une course aux armements inouïe, on fait le plan du nombre de divisions que chaque Etat doit fournir pour la future guerre d'agression. A ce propos une puissance de l'importance du Luxembourg se voit fixer un nombre de divisions à peine inférieur à celui des Etats-Unis. Evidemment les maîtres d'outre-océan ne sont pas très chauds pour donner des soldats et ils bercent leurs partenaires européens de l'illusion d'une victoire facile grâce à la bombe atomique. Et personne, visiblement, n'est curieux de savoir ce que pense à ce sujet le simple soldat français, anglais, belge ou celui de l'Allemagne occidentale, ou bien encore celui du Luxembourg, parce que c'est lui et non la bombe atomique qui devra verser son sang pour les intérêts des monopoles américains.

Il semblerait que c'est vraiment là l'occasion d'employer toutes les ressources d'influence pacifique que détient l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Hélas ! là aussi l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne répond pas aux espoirs des peuples. Elle est devenue un instrument d'encouragement des forces de guerre, instrument d'autant plus dangereux que l'encouragement des forces de guerre se fait sous le couvert de phrases hypocrites sur l'amour de la Paix.

Voilà pourquoi je soutiens M. Joliot-Curie, dirigeant de notre mouvement pour la Paix, lorsqu'il propose que notre Congrès de la Paix exige de l'Organisation des Nations Unies qu'elle accomplisse honnêtement le devoir qui lui a été tracé par les peuples, à savoir : consolider la Paix, organiser la collaboration pacifique des pays, des peuples et des Etats. Je soutiens également M. Joliot-Curie et M. Nenni lorsqu'ils proposent que nous disions dans cet appel à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, au nom de

centaines de millions d'amis de la Paix dans le monde entier :

« Accomplissez votre devoir devant l'histoire et l'humanité. Si vous ne l'accomplissez pas, les peuples du monde trouveront le moyen de s'entendre en dehors de vous. Nous ne voulons rien inventer de nouveau, mais nous voulons que soit réalisé en fait ce qui a été inscrit sur le drapeau de l'Organisation des Nations Unies quand elle a été créée. Nous voulons que soient réellement appliquées les déclarations sur la Paix, sur le caractère inadmissible de l'emploi, à des fins de guerre, des moyens d'extermination massive tels que l'arme atomique, chimique et bactériologique, sur la réduction des armements, etc... Si les forces de guerre à l'intérieur de l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne vous permettent pas d'appliquer ce que vous-mêmes avez déclaré, les peuples du monde, infiniment plus nombreux que les cinq cents millions de signatures de l'Appel de Stockholm, obligeront les forces de guerre à reculer, s'uniront sur la base d'une coopération pacifique et réaliseront un programme authentique de paix solide et durable, exprimant les intérêts vitaux de tous les peuples. »

Voilà pourquoi je soutiens M. Joliot-Curie et les nombreux délégués du Congrès qui ont proposé d'intensifier nos efforts jusqu'à l'aboutissement des revendications contenues dans l'Appel de Stockholm : interdiction absolue de l'arme atomique et dénonciation comme criminel de guerre du Gouvernement qui, le premier, emploierait cette arme. Je soutiens également la proposition de compléter la revendication de l'interdiction de l'arme atomique par celle de l'interdiction absolue de l'arme chimique et bactériologique.

A l'Appel de Stockholm pour l'interdiction de l'arme atomique, on a entendu des voix répondre que, dans certains pays, c'était une sorte d'armement qui dominait et qu'ailleurs c'en était une autre; que l'interdiction d'une sorte d'armement serait avantageuse pour les uns et désavantageuse pour les autres. Ces voix étaient hypocrites, ne serait-ce que parce qu'elles partaient en majeure partie du camp où a lieu une course effrénée aux armements de toute sorte sans exception.

Nous, Partisans de la Paix, représentants des Nations les plus diverses, nous avons dit plus d'une fois que l'interdiction de la bombe atomique et des autres moyens d'extermination massive est le premier pas, et le plus important, vers l'établissement et la coopération pacifique entre les pays.

En même temps, la course à n'importe quelle sorte d'armement, l'accroissement des forces armées terrestres, navales et aériennes, font non seulement peser un lourd fardeau économique sur les peuples, mais sont la source de conflits armés qui peuvent

être des moyens d'agression, ainsi que les peuples ont pu s'en rendre compte dans le passé comme dans le présent.

Désireux d'apporter ma contribution au Statut de la Paix qui sera élaboré par notre Congrès à la suite des propositions constructives d'une série de délégations, au nom de mes amis de la délégation soviétique et au mien propre, je fais les propositions suivantes que je soumets à l'examen préliminaire des commissions du Congrès.

Au nom du Congrès, proposer aux grandes puissances de procéder au cours des années 1951 et 1952 à une réduction régulière et progressive de toutes les armées, y compris les forces navales et aériennes, dans une proportion allant du tiers à la moitié de leur effectif actuel. (*Applaudissements.*)

Former auprès du Conseil de Sécurité un organisme de contrôle international disposant d'inspecteurs autorisés qui contrôleraient tant l'application de la réduction des armements que l'interdiction de l'arme atomique, bactériologique et chimique. (*Applaudissements.*)

Un efficace contrôle international ne doit pas seulement concerner l'armement et la production d'armes déclarés par chaque pays. Sur réclamation de la Commission de Contrôle International, il peut procéder à une inspection de l'armement ou de la production d'armes supposée en dehors de ceux qui ont été déclarés. (*Applaudissements.*)

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

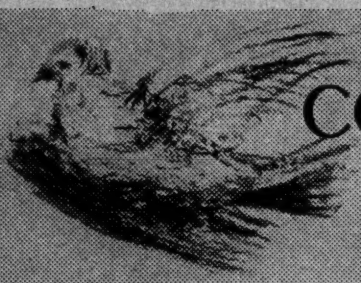
ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue
de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 8 fr.



DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Ilya EHRENBOURG

DISCOURS (Proposition d'une loi internationale contre la propagande de guerre

PREMIERE SEANCE DU SAMEDI 18 NOVEMBRE 1950

Le Président : JAMES ENDICOTT (Canada) :

— La parole est à :

M. Ilya EHRENBOURG

Un poids énorme est tombé sur nos épaules. L'homme n'a pas le droit de se ménager, d'être insouciant ou insensé. Ce n'est pas à notre propre destin que nous pensons maintenant. Sur nous pèse la responsabilité de tous les enfants bruns ou blonds, les enfants de Londres et Moscou, de Paris et Pékin, les enfants qui jouent parmi les gratte-ciel de New-York et ceux qui errent parmi les ruines de Corée. Sur nous pèse la responsabilité de tous les amoureux, de tous les livres du monde, de toutes les villes, de tous les jardins. Angoissés, les gens se demandent : « La guerre encore, est-ce donc possible ? » Peut-on vivre dans un tel désarroi ? Peut-on élever des enfants en se demandant si un jour une bombe ne tombera pas sur eux ? Peut-on penser, créer, pousser la civilisation humaine en avant quand plane l'ombre de la guerre ? La guerre c'est l'œuvre des hommes, et les hommes peuvent l'éviter. La menace est grande, tout le monde le comprend. Nous ne sommes pas réunis ici pour faire un meeting, pour parler et discuter. On attend de nous des mots pesés, des propositions concrètes, des décisions acceptables pour tous. Nous devons éviter la guerre. C'est l'espoir de tous les hommes et de toutes les femmes, en quelque endroit qu'ils vivent.

On dit que la guerre est inévitable car le monde s'est brisé en deux. Parce qu'à Moscou il y a d'autres lois qu'à New-York et qu'il existe des Etats où les communistes sont mis hors la loi et d'autres Etats où les communistes édictent des lois. Les Etats-Unis et les autres nations animées d'un même esprit se trouvent directement contrecarrés par un régime dont les buts sont contraires et la conception totalement différente. Ce régime

tient à une philosophie fausse. M. Acheson a repris récemment cette idée de M. Truman en disant :

> « *Plusieurs aspects de ce système philosophique, en particulier la façon dont il est mis en pratique en Union Soviétique et ailleurs, non seulement nous sont profondément antipathiques mais posent la notion élémentaire du bien et du mal.* »

J'accepte volontiers que, du point de vue de M. Truman, le marxisme soit une philosophie fausse et que M. Acheson ait de l'antipathie pour le système soviétique. Je ne veux pas dire ce que je pense du système philosophique de M. Truman et quel est mon sentiment envers la conduite de M. Acheson. Mais cependant la supériorité d'un système philosophique ne sera jamais prouvée par la guerre. Cent bombes jetées sur cent universités soviétiques ne démontreront jamais que le pragmatisme de James est supérieur au matérialisme historique.

La guerre n'est pas une compétition d'idées. Ce n'est pas une discussion philosophique. La guerre est la plus grande calamité qui frappe tous les peuples et toutes les expressions de leur culture. Si certains Américains n'aiment pas trop les idées ou les livres soviétiques, qu'ils essayent donc de combattre les idées par les idées, d'humilier les livres par les livres. Dans ce domaine les bombes sont impuissantes.

Ceux des Américains qui veulent garder leur économie, leurs idées, leur mode de vie, ne seraient pas raisonnables de miser sur la guerre. Les événements des quarante dernières années ont montré que les guerres accélèrent le changement social. Mais si la guerre ne peut préserver le monde capitaliste de l'influence des idées socialistes, elle n'est pas non plus la voie vers le socialisme. Les gens qui veulent marcher de l'avant comprennent bien qu'une nouvelle guerre mondiale rejetterait l'humanité en arrière en détruisant cette base matérielle qui est indispensable pour la construction d'une société plus perfectionnée. Il n'y a pas un seul citoyen aimant sincèrement l'avenir qui serait prêt à payer la victoire de ses idées un tel prix. La guerre n'est pas la sage-femme de l'histoire, c'est la faiseuse d'anges qui détruit la fleur de l'humanité. La guerre est contraire à notre philosophie soviétique, à notre éthique, à nos aspirations ; nous avons confiance en l'avenir, car tous les enfants du monde, pas seulement les enfants de Moscou mais aussi les enfants de New-York, sont notre espoir, nos amis, nos alliés.

Je crois que l'ordre social américain ne m'afflige pas moins que l'ordre social soviétique n'afflige M. Acheson. Et pourtant

je suis pour la paix. Pour la paix non seulement avec l'Amérique de Howard Fast ou de Paul Robeson, mais pour la paix avec l'Amérique de M. Truman et de M. Acheson. Je sais que dans le monde il y a beaucoup de gens à qui le socialisme ne plaît pas. J'espère que M. Truman et M. Acheson à leur tour savent qu'il y a dans le monde pas mal de gens qui préfèrent le socialisme au capitalisme. Il n'y a qu'une seule planète mais elle est bien assez vaste. Il y a bien assez de place pour les partisans des différents systèmes sociaux. On peut s'entendre pour que personne n'enfonce la porte d'une autre maison sous prétexte d'antipathie pour les idées du propriétaire de cette maison et pour que personne ne lance de pierres dans les fenêtres du voisin pour la seule raison que ce voisin pense autrement, parle différemment et vit d'une autre manière.

« *Si tu veux la Paix, prépare la guerre.* » Cette maxime dangereuse d'un orateur des plus belliqueux d'un Etat également très belliqueux est répétée maintenant par les gens qui préparent la guerre et qui la veulent. Ils tâchent de convaincre leurs concitoyens que plus il y a dans le monde de bombes et d'obus plus est tranquille le sommeil des enfants. Tchekov a dit une fois que si, dans le premier acte d'un drame, on voit sur le mur un fusil suspendu, dans le dernier acte quelqu'un va tirer avec ce fusil-là. On ne peut éviter la guerre en augmentant les armes. On ne peut l'éviter qu'en diminuant et en détruisant les armes.

***

Nous tous, nous voulons mettre un terme à l'augmentation des armements. Et je suis convaincu que nous y arriverons. Mais cela ne suffit pas. On ne peut pas commencer la guerre, même en accumulant des centaines de milliers de bombes, sans empoisonner la conscience de millions d'hommes, car pour faire la guerre il faut des soldats. Ecrivain, je connais le pouvoir de la parole, je le dis avec fierté et avec amertume. La parole peut amener l'homme à devenir un héros, l'appeler à des actes généreux, attirer l'amour dans son cœur. Mais la parole peut abaisser l'homme, le stupéfier, endormir sa conscience. Quand Hitler a jeté ses armées sur les pays paisibles, les gens se demandaient comment les bourgeois bien pensants, les honnêtes travailleurs pouvaient suivre ces bandits, ces assassins. Lors des différents procès où l'on a jugé les scélérats nazis, il y avait des gens qui ne comprenaient pas d'où sont sortis ces bourreaux cyniques, d'où sont venus ces assassins qui ont allumé les fours d'Auschwitz, d'où est issue une Ilse Koch qui faisait des abat-jour de

peau humaine ; les gens se souvenaient de Weimar, de Heidelberg; ils évoquaient la modestie, la sensibilité de l'Allemand se promenant sous les tilleuls séculaires; ils se rappelaient les quilles, ce jeu innocent des grands-pères des SS, les travaux de broderie qui passionnaient les grand-mères d'Ilse Koch. La férocité n'est pas tombée du ciel. Le culte de la force n'était pas caché dans le sang d'un Allemand moyen, le mépris pour les gens des autres races n'était pas la substance mystique des gens de Weimar ou de Heidelberg; l'esprit de rapine, la morgue raciste et nationaliste, la férocité, l'amoralité ont été inculqués à l'homme allemand par les politiciens nazis, par la presse nazie, par l'école nazie.

Quel peuple peut désirer la répétition des horreurs vécues ? Est-ce que Varsovie doit de nouveau revoir les étrangleurs et les incendiaires ? Est-ce que Paris doit de nouveau entendre résonner le pas de fer des occupants ? Est-ce que Londres doit de nouveau prêter l'oreille au bourdonnement du ciel et cacher ses enfants sous terre ? Est-ce que le peuple américain, qui connaît surtout la guerre par les films faits à Hollywood, doit voir sur son sol le feu, le sang et la mort ? Est-ce que nous tolérerons une guerre ? Est-ce que nous ne pourrons pas maîtriser ceux qui la préparent, qui non seulement cultivent des bacilles capables de frapper les peuples dans leur chair mais qui attentent à leur âme en essayant de leur inculquer l'idée de la supériorité nationale, de la haine des autres peuples, et le goût de l'assassinat collectif.

La guerre, pour un homme simple, c'est l'horreur, c'est le sang d'un enfant, c'est le regard fixe d'une mère qui a perdu son fils. Mais il y a des gens pour qui la guerre c'est le salut. Ils ne cachent même pas leurs calculs. Devant tout le monde ils s'installent à table et déploient leur serviette. L'*United States News*, journal des financiers américains, écrit : « *Si la paix est vraiment assurée, tout s'écroule.* » Ces gens ont peur de la Paix, et ils ne se calment qu'en voyant l'inquiétude générale.

L'agence de bourse de Zurich offre à ses clients des actions d'usines d'avions américaines en les appelant « *War Babies*, Bébés de la guerre » ! Rappelons-nous les enfants tués par les bombes, les enfants de Léningrad et de Coventry, les enfants de Corée, et disons : « Il faut mettre un terme à cela. » (*Applaudissements.*)

Le *Times Herald*, qui paraît à Washington, écrit :

> « *Nous enverrons des avions qui voleront à la hauteur de* 40.000 *pieds, nous les munirons de bombes atomiques, incendiaires et bactériologiques, de trinitroto-*

luol, pour tuer les enfants au berceau, les vieillards en prière et les ouvriers au travail. »

Je ne dirai jamais que de tels appels émanent d'Américains honnêtes, mais je regrette que dans une ville qui porte le nom d'un homme grand et noble peuvent vivre, agir et ouvertement inciter au meurtre, des assassins d'enfants, des assassins des peuples. (*Applaudissements.*)

On peut me répondre que les journaux sont faits par des gens irresponsables. Je me permettrai alors de citer quelques aphorismes de gens qui malheureusement sont suffisamment responsables, des membres du Congrès américain :

« *Le temps s'approche où l'Amérique en colère submergera la Russie de bombes atomiques. Ce ne sera pas une seule bombe, ce sera un vrai déluge. Nous avons au moins 450 bombes et des centaines de moyens d'arriver jusqu'à la Russie.* » (M. Stennis, sénateur du Mississipi.)

« *Les Etats-Unis ne feront plus la guerre dans les régions excentriques du monde. Ils vont la transporter dans le cœur même de la Russie communiste.* » (M. Johnson, sénateur de la Caroline du Sud.)

« *Nous devons frapper Moscou et n'importe quelle autre ville russe dans les trois premières semaines du commencement de la guerre future. En trois semaines nous devons transformer en ruines tous les centres militaires de l'Union Soviétique.* » (M. Cannon, député du Missouri.)

On pourra me dire qu'il y a beaucoup de congressmen en Amérique et qu'ils ne sont pas tous connus pour leur bon sens et leur honnêteté. Moi je crois que les membres du Parlement doivent représenter la Nation, et que si parmi eux se trouvent des criminels ou des aliénés il faut les éloigner de ces organes suprêmes du pouvoir. Mais les appels à la guerre d'agression n'émanent pas seulement de députés; ils viennent aussi de représentants officiels des Etats-Unis, ministres ou vice-ministres. Il y a deux mois M. Matthews, ministre de la Marine des Etats-Unis, a proposé à ses concitoyens ce procédé pour établir la Paix :

« *Nous devons être prêts à déclarer la guerre pour obliger les autres à collaborer à la construction de la Paix. Cela nous donnera une caractéristique nouvelle pour une vraie démocratie : nous serons les initiateurs de la guerre d'agression.* »

Cet été, l'adjoint du ministre de la Guerre, M. Griffith, a déclaré qu'il a déjà proposé à M. Truman en 1947 de jeter la bombe atomique sur l'Union Soviétique. Si le ministre de la Marine d'Union Soviétique avait exprimé l'idée qu'il faut déclarer la guerre aux Etats-Unis pour les obliger à la collaboration, il serait sans doute poursuivi pour cela. Si l'adjoint du ministre de la Guerre d'Union Soviétique avait proposé de jeter une bombe sur l'Amérique, il serait sans doute placé dans une maison de santé.

Les appels à l'agression, les discours et les articles qui veulent éveiller la passion pour l'assassinat collectif se font aussi dans les autres pays et avant tout dans ce pays dont le Gouvernement offre aimablement à chaque amateur de la guerre la possibilité de lancer des appels pour une tuerie effroyable. C'est justement dans ce pays qu'un vieux philosophe, Bertrand Russel, qui était considéré autrefois comme un humaniste pacifique, insiste maintenant pour que l'on commence au plus vite la troisième guerre mondiale. C'est justement dans ce pays que le très honorable Lord Tranchard chante les louanges de la bombe atomique qui, selon lui, est capable de détruire de 10 à 20 millions d'hommes par mois. Les appels à la guerre affligent davantage quand ils viennent des Anglais, parce que ces appels ne correspondent pas aux sentiments pacifiques du peuple britannique et parce qu'ils démontrent l'aveuglement de certains Anglais qui oublient que leur île serait l'une des premières victimes de cette guerre qu'ils souhaitent.

Les appels à la guerre se font même dans un pays qui se souvient bien des horreurs de la guerre, la France. Je connais ce pays, je l'aime. Et je veux dire d'avance que les gens qui en France appellent à la guerre parlent et écrivent en français mais ne doivent sans doute pas être appelés Français. Leur passé comme leur présent témoignent de ce qu'ils ne font que traduire en français des idées qui ne sont pas françaises. Je ne veux pas évoquer le rapport du Comité international pour l'étude des questions européennes. Sous ce document qui a ému l'humanité entière on voit la signature d'un politicien, Paul Reynaud, qui en son temps a nommé comme son remplaçant le traître Pétain, et celle du poète Paul Claudel qui en son temps a dédié à ce traître une ode enthousiaste. Ce rapport glorifie la destruction en masse. Pour tuer de 60 à 70 millions d'hommes, il propose les bombes atomiques et à hydrogène, les bacilles et le poison, la destruction du bétail et des récoltes, le gaz asphyxiant et tous autres moyens d'extermination des populations interdits par les conventions internationales. Les auteurs de ce rapport n'ont pas été inculpés et, autant que je sache, ils continuent à s'occuper de leur travail

rien moins qu'humanitaire. Le passage des paroles à l'action met certaines personnes en extase, et le journal *La France* de Marseille écrit :

> « *Ce que l'on va faire pour la Corée, il faut en étendre le bénéfice à la Hongrie, à la Roumanie, à la Bulgarie, à l'Allemagne orientale, aux Etats Baltes.* »

Les événements terribles de Corée donnent au rêve toute sa réalité. Les communiqués signés par le général Mac Arthur se montrent tellement sanguinaires qu'ils stupéfient même des gens qui ont vécu les horreurs de l'invasion nazie. Le journal *le Monde*, qui exprime l'opinion des milieux industriels de France, ayant publié le communiqué de Mac Arthur du 14 octobre, note que ce communiqué est conçu en des termes « *parfois surprenants* ». Voici un extrait de ce communiqué, qui est vraiment surprenant :

> *Tirant à la cadence de* 15.000 *coups à la minute, le puissant croiseur américain « Missouri » a déversé hier, en moins d'une heure, plus de* 800.000 *livres de mort et de destruction sur les objectifs militaires ennemis de la ville de Chongjon qui se trouve à* 56 *kilomètres de la frontière de Mandchourie et à environ* 160 *kilomètres du grand port russe de Vladivostok.*

Tout est surprenant : et l'extase au sujet de mort et de destruction, et la notion de proximité de Vladivostok qui trahit le rêve du général Mac Arthur. On peut ajouter à cela que, le 1er octobre à New-York, une bande de fascistes a organisé une manifestation dans lequelle les admirateurs de Mac Arthur portaient des banderoles avec l'inscription : « *Après le* 38e *parallèle, Moscou.* »

On ne fait pas des assassins en une heure. Les assassins on les élève, on les prépare dès l'enfance. Dans différents journaux pour enfants en Amérique on peut voir des dessins qui montrent comment un « *superman* », cette variété nouvelle de « l'*Uebermensch* » nazi, tue le Russe.

Il y a des dessins qui montrent les exploits d'Ilse Koch arrachant la peau des hommes. Dans le journal pour les petits, *Sparkler*, j'ai trouvé une réclame pour jouets : le fameux Moxley 32 espagnol « copie exacte » était utilisé par les phalangistes espagnols contre la Russie pendant la seconde guerre mondiale. Ce revolver à six balles est fait sur le modèle américain. Le fameux Luger allemand à six balles est fait sur le modèle américain. Le fameux Luger allemand à 9 mm., l'arme la plus parfaite qui existe à ce jour, a servi comme revolver de

poche aux officiers. On propose aux enfants de jouer avec les revolvers des phalangistes et des SS. On peut prévoir ce que feront ces enfants quand ils passeront des jouets aux vraies armes.

En Suisse neutre, un professeur de lycée classique, un certain Centinetta, a dicté à ses élèves le texte suivant :

> « *Que les Russes viennent, ils verront notre courage. Nous allons nous venger de ces ours pour nos amis étranglés et nos femmes enlevées. En avant à la rencontre de l'ennemi. Punissons-le de tous ses crimes. Mort aux Russes.* »

Certainement on pourrait rire devant l'intellect d'un professeur de lycée classique en lui demandant quels étaient les Suisses étranglés par les Russes et quelles femmes des élèves mineurs d'un lycée suisse les Russes ont pu enlever. Pourtant tout cela n'est pas drôle. De pareilles méthodes d'éducation présentent le plus grand danger pour tous les pays et pour tous les peuples.

Dans les manuels destinés aux officiers qui s'occupent de la préparation militaire des écoliers aux Etats-Unis il est dit : « *L'instructeur doit stimuler l'instinct naturel de combattre et tuer.* » Après cela on comprend que le recteur de l'Université de Floride, le Dr Nanus, puisse déclarer :

> « *Nous devons faire une préparation totale basée sur la loi de la jungle. Chacun doit apprendre l'art de tuer. Je ne demanderai pas la miséricorde envers les malades, les églises, les écoles ou envers d'autres groupes de population.* »

L'idéologie des nazis n'est pas seulement prolongée, elle est dépassée.

***

Partisans de la Paix, c'est avec la plus grande fermeté que nous devons nous opposer à l'arme la plus dangereuse, la plus mortelle, la propagande pour une nouvelle guerre. Nous devons le faire tant qu'il n'est pas trop tard, tant que l'on peut éviter la troisième guerre mondiale.

Si on me dit que je suis partial, que j'accuse seulement une seule partie, je répondrai qu'on peut trouver dans nos journaux des défauts et des erreurs. On peut démontrer que tel ou tel critique émet des jugements superficiels ou injustes sur tel ou tel événement de la vie culturelle de l'Occident. Mais jamais un

homme politique, ni député, ni journaliste, ni pédagogue de l'Union Soviétique, pas un seul n'a appelé à la guerre contre les Etats-Unis ou un autre Etat. Dans nos journaux on peut trouver des articles durs dirigés contre la politique menée par les Etats-Unis, contre le système capitaliste. Mais personne ne trouvera dans nos journaux une invitation à jeter des bombes sur New-York, à attaquer Londres, à occuper Paris. Dans nos écoles on n'enseigne pas la haine envers les autres peuples, en particulier envers le peuple américain. Au contraire nos pédagogues soulignent toujours qu'à part l'Amérique de M. Johnson ou du général Mac Arthur, il existe une Amérique vivante qui a donné au monde Lincoln et Roosevelt, Longfellow et Whitman, l'Amérique des grands savants et des travailleurs honnêtes et énergiques.

Je veux, en tant que citoyen soviétique et en tant qu'écrivain, déclarer en toute franchise que la cessation de la propagande de guerre en Amérique et dans certains pays d'Europe occidentale nous aidera à faire connaître mieux chez nous, d'une façon plus complète et plus amicale, la vie et la culture des peuples des Etats-Unis, d'Angleterre ou de France.

Nous sommes venus ici non pour nous disputer, non pour augmenter la méfiance déjà bien assez grande sans cela.

Nous sommes venus ici pour nous entendre sur le maintien et le raffermissement de la Paix.

C'est justement pour cela que je propose à ce grand Congrès de prendre la résolution suivante, qui demande l'interdiction de la propagande d'une nouvelle guerre et qui aide à la compréhension mutuelle des peuples (*Applaudissements*) :

Le deuxième Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, considérant que :

1° *La propagande d'une nouvelle guerre menée dans certains pays représente la plus grande menace pour la collaboration pacifique des peuples;*

2° *Qu'il s'ensuit que cette propagande est le crime le plus grave contre l'humanité,*

S'adresse aux Parlements de tous les pays en leur demandant d'édicter une loi spéciale, la « loi sur la défense de la Paix », qui établisse la responsabilité juridique pour la propagande d'une guerre nouvelle sous n'importe quelle forme, orale ou écrite, qu'elle se présente : journaux, radio, cinéma.

Le Congrès s'adresse en même temps aux Parlements de tous les pays en leur demandant d'assurer dans l'intérêt du raffermis-

sement de la Paix l'éducation des jeunes générations dans l'esprit de collaboration avec les autres peuples et le respect des autres races et nations.

*
**

Cette résolution n'est pas dirigée contre tel ou tel Etat ni contre un groupe d'Etats. Elle défend l'intérêt de tous les peuples. Elle ne porte pas atteinte à la liberté de parole ou de presse, de quelque façon que l'on comprenne cette liberté. Car dans tous les pays civilisés il existe des lois qui interdisent l'incitation au meurtre. Par exemple dans la loi française assurant la liberté de la presse le paragraphe 24 établit la responsabilité juridique pour l'appel à l'assassinat, au pillage et à l'incendie. Pourquoi serait-il interdit d'appeler au meurtre d'un seul homme et permis d'appeler au meurtre de centaines de millions d'hommes ? Pourquoi serait-il interdit de pousser à saccager une boutique mais permis de pousser à l'invasion d'un pays étranger ? Pourquoi serait-il interdit d'inciter à l'incendie d'une grange ou d'une meule de foin mais permis d'inciter à l'incendie d'une moitié de l'univers ?

Nous devons nous préoccuper non seulement de l'interdiction de la propagande de guerre mais de la création des conditions morales qui sont indispensables pour la coexistence pacifique des différents Etats. Il faut abandonner dans la génération qui grandit le mépris et l'animosité envers les autres peuples. Il faut lutter contre toutes les démonstrations de morgue nationale ou raciste. Le développement de la culture humaine est incompatible avec l'isolement, avec l'érection de barrières, avec les attaques injustifiées contre la culture et la vie des autres peuples. Nous devons appeler les Parlements du monde à prendre des mesures qui assureront l'éducation des enfants, des adolescents, des jeunes, dans l'esprit de collaboration paisible, de compréhension mutuelle et d'échanges des cultures nationales de tous les peuples.

Je ne parle pas de l'unité philosophique ou politique du monde car il existe dans le monde des partisans des différents systèmes. Les soviétiques critiquent et critiqueront le système capitaliste. De leur côté, les défenseurs du système capitaliste peuvent critiquer l'économie ou l'idéologie soviétiques. Par les critiques même les plus sévères ne s'écroulent pas les villes, ne meurent pas les enfants. Les critiques, même les plus âpres, n'empêchent pas l'échange de valeurs matérielles et spirituelles indispensables au développement de l'humanité. Cet échange est maintenant entravé, et tous les peuples souffrent également des barrières artificiellement dressées. Il est indispensable de changer

le climat du monde, de dissiper la méfiance mutuelle; il faut éloigner de la conscience de l'homme l'idée de l'inéluctabilité et de la proximité de la guerre. L'interdiction de la propagande de guerre rétablira la confiance perdue. Je suis convaincu que ma proposition sera soutenue à l'unanimité, car je propose de prendre des mesures non contre l'un ou l'autre Etat, non contre l'un ou l'autre parti, contre l'un ou l'autre homme, mais contre la guerre. (*Applaudissements.*)

J'ai confiance en l'esprit. Je crois au savant qui donne toutes ses forces pour épargner aux gens les maladies les plus pénibles; je crois au poète dont la conviction ardente réchauffe les nuits du terrassier et du maçon ; je crois en la semence dans la main du jardinier et au cœur d'une mère qui sait ce que c'est que donner la vie et protéger la vie. Les gens qui espèrent une nouvelle guerre ont fait tout pour nous empêcher de nous réunir. Le Gouvernement d'un pays fier de son ancienne culture a fermé ses portes devant l'un des plus grands savants de notre siècle pour la seule raison qu'il défend la Paix. Ce Gouvernement, qui se dit socialiste, a fermé la porte au nez d'un des socialistes les plus notoires de notre époque pour la seule raison qu'il est pour la Paix. Les gens qui souhaitent une nouvelle guerre ont beaucoup d'argent, beaucoup de cellulose et beaucoup d'ondes longues ou courtes. Mais que signifient toutes leurs voix à côté du battement d'un cœur humain ? Nous ne permettrons pas à la guerre de commencer. Nous éloignerons les canons de fusil des poitrines d'hommes. Nous sommes tous unis dans cette volonté : communistes et catholiques, libéraux et socialistes, Russes et Américains, Anglais et Chinois.

Délégués du peuple soviétique, de ce peuple qui a connu tout le poids de la guerre et qui, de tout cœur, hait la guerre, nous serrons la main de ceux qu'on veut présenter comme nos ennemis, la main des Américains, des Anglais, des Français, avec la foi inébranlable qu'il n'y a pas de force au monde capable de désunir ces mains.

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

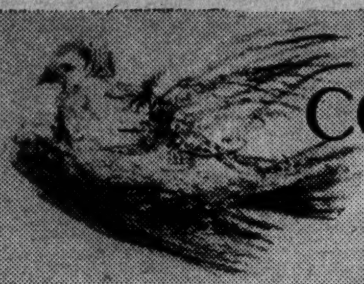
ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 10 fr.



DEUXIEME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Eugénie COTTON

DISCOURS

PREMIERE SEANCE DU VENDREDI 17 NOVEMBRE 1950

La Présidente, Mme JESSIE STREET :
(Australie)

— *La parole est à :*

Madame COTTON

Chers Amis,

C'est un grand honneur pour moi d'être, au deuxième Congrès des Partisans de la Paix, comme au premier, le porte-parole de millions de femmes, à commencer par les 91 millions de la F.D.I.F., fermement résolues à barrer la route à la guerre.

C'est en leur nom que je veux d'abord remercier chaleureusement tous nos amis britanniques, hommes et femmes, du grand effort qu'ils ont accompli pour que le deuxième Congrès Mondial ait lieu à Sheffield. La preuve est faite que c'est le gouvernement britannique qui a empêché, de la manière la plus discourtoise, que l'Angleterre fût le siège du deuxième Congrès Mondial. Le peuple britannique, si jaloux de sa réputation traditionnelle d'hospitalité, ne l'oubliera pas. Comme il est aussi plein d'humour, il n'aura pas manqué de remarquer que l'une des rares personnalités autorisées à aller à Sheffield a été le grand artiste Pablo Picasso, celui-là même qui a doté les Partisans de la Paix de leur insigne universellement connu, de la colombe qui va vers son but d'un vol si assuré. Et la présence de Picasso à Sheffield aura communiqué à beaucoup d'hommes et de femmes, soyons-en sûrs, le grand élan vers la Paix qui emporte la colombe.

Sans se laisser paralyser par les brimades indignes d'un grand pays, les Partisans de la Paix ont immédiatement accepté l'hospitalité du peuple qui, tout au long de l'histoire, a donné au monde l'exemple de la grandeur et de la générosité.

Merci au peuple et au gouvernement polonais !

Dans cette ville de Varsovie si durement martyrisée, les Partisans de la Paix comprendront mieux encore les raisons profondes de leur action et ils sauront trouver les moyens concrets d'écarter de notre terre la menace d'une troisième guerre mondiale.

Cette menace, les femmes l'ont sentie grandir depuis le prin-

temps de 1949, date du premier Congrès des Partisans de la Paix.

A la vérité, la guerre n'a jamais cessé de sévir en Indonésie et en Indochine. Mais la possibilité d'un nouveau conflit mondial n'a jamais paru plus proche que depuis le déclenchement des hostilités en Corée.

Quelqu'opinion que l'on puisse avoir sur les origines de la guerre de Corée, et de quelque côté que nous viennent les informations, il apparaît aux yeux de tous qu'il y a dans ce malheureux pays de nombreux et d'effroyables massacres d'innocents.

C'est ainsi que le correspondant de guerre du *Monde*, le journaliste français Favrel, nous fait assister à la destruction systématique d'un heureux petit village coréen au mois d'août dernier. Pendant deux heures, les escadrilles succédant aux escadrilles s'acharnèrent à ensevelir l'objectif sous une monstrueuse avalanche d'explosifs. « Ce matin-là, à voir cette nature ensoleillée devenir un champ de mort, à regarder les « G.I's » se faire tuer pour cent mètres de terrain, à penser que là-bas, à quelques milles, des femmes et des enfants, crucifiés au sol suffoquaient d'angoisse, je ne me sentais pas particulièrement fier d'appartenir à l'espèce humaine. »

Même son de cloche dans les journaux anglais et américains.

Mr Philipp Deane, de l'*Observer*, raconte qu'il se trouvait dans une petite maison paysanne quand trois avions à réaction ont entrepris de la faire sauter... Après le bombardement, une vieille femme s'est approchée de lui. Elle portait le cadavre de son petit-fils. Elle ne disait rien, mais les larmes coulaient de ses yeux.

Grande est l'horreur que nous inspirent ces drames isolés ; mais plus grande encore est celle que nous éprouvons devant les massacres en masse.

Voici comment s'exprime le communiqué 513 du Q.G. de Mac Arthur du 30 septembre 1950 :

« ... Aujourd'hui, la ville nord-coréenne de Uijongby est morte sous une pluie de fusées, de bombes et de balles lâchées par l'escadrille de Marines du brigadier général Thomas J. Gushan...

» Lâchant toute leur fureur pour la première fois pendant le conflit actuel sur le front nord, les pilotes de Marines, sur ordre du commandant du Xe Corps, le major général E.M. Almond, ont attaqué à plusieurs reprises la ville de Uijongby, à 20 km. au nord de Séoul, dans une opération qui a duré une heure et après laquelle ce bastion stratégique communiste n'était plus qu'un amas de décombres embrasés...

» A la fin de l'après-midi, Uijongby avait été nivelée et des pilotes de marines bombardaient en piqué et aux fusées ce qui restait et aussi des objectifs dans les environs... »

Arrêtez ce massacre insensé des civils, se sont écrié seize prêtres australiens ! exprimant l'opinion de tous les hommes dignes de ce nom.

Et les femmes, toutes les femmes, qui ont pour mission de donner et de protéger la vie, ont été révoltées jusqu'au fond d'elles-mêmes par ce gaspillage éhonté des richesses vivantes du monde. C'est dans leur chair qu'elles souffrent quand elles pensent que leurs enfants peuvent mourir ou demeurer infirmes. C'est pour sauvegarder la vie de leurs petits, comme le font toutes les mères de toutes les créatures vivantes, qu'elles veulent mettre fin à la barbarie des guerres.

Voilà pourquoi elles ont voulu être parmi les meilleurs Partisans de la Paix.

A la suite du Ier Congrès mondial, on a pu voir, dans nombre de pays, des femmes à la tête des Mouvements nationaux en faveur de la Paix. Cela a été le cas en Norvège, au Danemark, au Brésil, en Tchécoslovaquie, etc., etc...

Leurs initiatives ont été nombreuses et très variées. Partout et très vite, elles ont eu le souci de grouper le plus grand nombre possible de femmes d'opinions différentes mais ayant toutes la volonté commune d'agir efficacement pour sauver la Paix.

C'est ainsi que la Guilde des Coopératives anglaises a envoyé à M. Bevin un télégramme où il est dit :

« ... 60.000 coopératrices anglaises et galloises s'adressent au gouvernement de Sa Majesté, sûres qu'il emploiera tous les moyens dont dispose la Grande-Bretagne pour arriver à une solution pacifique du conflit coréen. La majorité des femmes d'Angleterre ne veut pas admettre la guerre comme moyen de résoudre les différends qui peuvent naître entre les nations. »

L'organisation pacifiste aux Etats-Unis « Les mères contre la guerre » a envoyé, au nom de deux mille trois cents mères de quarante-deux Etats, des lettres à Staline et à Truman, dans lesquelles elles déclarent qu'elles feront tout ce qui est dans leur pouvoir pour que leurs fils et filles ne deviennent chair à canon dans une nouvelle guerre.

L'Union des Femmes Italiennes a créé dans le pays un vrai mouvement féminin des « Messagères de la Paix ». Une grandiose démonstration, organisée à Rome le 17 septembre dernier par l'Union des Femmes Italiennes, a été une puissante expression du rôle qu'ont joué les femmes italiennes dans la lutte pour la Paix. Les femmes italiennes, au 16 juillet, ont été félicitées par le Comité des Partisans de la Paix pour avoir déjà collecté sept millions de signatures pour l'Appel de Stockholm.

En France on a fait circuler des « Cahiers de la Paix » dans lesquels les femmes expriment leurs revendications. Une très

grande action est menée contre la guerre impopulaire et anti-constitutionnelle du Viet-Nam. Les femmes soutiennent courageusement les dockers, qui se refusent à charger des armes, et l'héroïque Raymonde Dien n'hésite pas à se jeter sur les rails pour empêcher le départ d'un train de munitions.

Les femmes d'Algérie ont envoyé une délégation auprès des marins américains stationnant à Alger. Cette délégation leur a remis le message suivant pour qu'ils le transmettent aux femmes américaines :

« Nous savons très bien que le peuple américain, que les femmes américaines ne peuvent accepter de gaîté de cœur la guerre et le massacre de millions d'enfants, d'hommes et de femmes. Nous les mères algériennes et les mères américaines, pleurons déjà quand on nous annonce le départ de nos fils pour la Corée ou le Viet-Nam. Mais nous aurions à pleurer bien davantage si une troisième guerre mondiale éclatait.

» Notre pays subit le joug colonial, et nous savons par expérience combien est dure et coûteuse la lutte pour la paix. Nous comprenons donc que la lutte pour la paix doit être particulièrement difficile en Amérique, où les fauteurs de guerre sont à la tête de ministères importants.

» C'est pourquoi toutes les actions que les femmes américaines mènent ou mèneront en faveur de la paix seront joyeusement accueillies et appuyées de tout cœur par toutes les femmes qui, dans le monde entier, craignent pour la vie de leurs enfants.

» Nous sommes profondément convaincues que la guerre peut être évitée. Chaque femme, aujourd'hui, porte la responsabilité de centaines de millions de vies humaines et a le devoir impérieux de jouer son rôle dans la lutte commune pour le bonheur, la liberté et une paix durable. »

En Allemagne occidentale, où les réunions en faveur de la Paix sont étroitement surveillées et même interdites, des femmes se rencontrent cependant clandestinement, groupant des chrétiennes, des social-démocrates, des communistes, pour s'élever contre les méthodes fascistes dont elles ont tant souffert sous Hitler et, comme en Allemagne orientale, s'opposer au réarmement allemand pour une nouvelle guerre d'agression.

Et pour la même raison les femmes espagnoles se dressent contre le régime odieux de Franco. Elles demandent que le dictateur soit traité conformément aux accords de Potsdam et que les 20.000 femmes emprisonnées soient libérées enfin !

Ce désir universel des femmes de travailler efficacement, pratiquement pour la paix, s'est trouvé concrétisé par l'Appel de Stockholm. Pour toutes les femmes donneuses de vie, la bombe atomique est apparue comme la forme la plus odieuse du mépris

de la vie humaine. C'est pourquoi les femmes ont signé en très grand nombre l'Appel, c'est pourquoi elles l'ont fait largement connaître autour d'elles, réussissant à collecter un très grand nombre de signatures par les moyens les plus variés.

Les femmes soviétiques et le peuple soviétique tout entier sont animés du grand désir de travailler pour la paix. Au moment même où les aviateurs américains bombardent les villes coréennes, les ingénieurs soviétiques construisent sur les rives de la Volga, dans le désert de Kara-Koum, en Crimée ou en Ukraine, d'immenses édifices, des canaux et des centrales hydro-électriques, pour améliorer la condition des hommes. Ne voit-on pas avec évidence qui, dans le monde, travaille pour la guerre et qui soutient le grand effort des travailleurs pour l'édification de la paix ?

En signant l'Appel de Stockholm, parmi les cent quinze millions de signatures collectées en Union Soviétique, les femmes soviétiques toutes ensemble demandent « la Paix dans le monde entier ». C'est comme un appel ardent que se fait entendre la voix de l'institutrice soviétique Catherine Martianova : « Je m'adresse à vous, simples femmes de tous les pays, institutrices, mères... Entrez dans les rangs des Combattants pour la Paix, ne permettez pas qu'on sème dans les cœurs de vos enfants les graines du mal, de la soif du sang et de la guerre. »

Et en Pologne, en Hongrie, en Roumanie, les femmes comme les hommes s'emploient, comme en Tchécoslovaquie, à justifier cette résolution : « En reconstruisant ta patrie, tu travailles pour la Paix. »

Beaucoup de femmes déléguées à ce Congrès ont été élues précisément parce qu'elles avaient été les meilleures collecteuses, et je les salue chaleureusement.

Je salue tout spécialement les courageuses femmes d'Argentine qui sont arrivées à rassembler cinq cent mille signatures dans un pays où elles sont en butte à la répression la plus sévère, aux violences les plus odieuses. Dans ces conditions, comment ne pas admirer cette ouvrière du textile de Buenos-Aires par exemple, qui a réussi à collecter à elle seule près de quatre mille signatures ?

L'ingéniosité des femmes leur a permis d'atteindre le succès de bien des manières différentes. C'est ainsi que les femmes du 7e arrondissement de Paris ont organisé un lâcher de ballons pour les enfants. Un Appel de Stockholm était attaché à chaque ballon, et deux cent cinquante-sept signatures, dont certaines venues d'Allemagne, ont encore grossi la collecte de noms.

A Pékin, dans le 2e arrondissement, deux vieilles mamans, Kao-Yon Chang et Chang-Yan-Tsé, ont brodé sur leurs robes des colombes blanches avec la devise « Contre l'agression des impé-

rialistes américains en Corée et dans l'Ile de Formose ». Elles ont quitté leur maison de bonne heure et ne sont rentrées que tard dans la soirée, après avoir collecté huit mille deux cent trente-quatre signatures.

Begoun Chamson, jeune Indienne musulmane du Bengalor, voilée, n'ayant pas le droit d'aller elle-même voir les voisins, a écrit comme elle le pouvait faire, pas très correctement, en langue Canda, tout ce qu'elle pensait de la Paix, et elle a envoyé sa petite sœur porter la lettre et collecter les signatures à sa place.

On pourrait trouver de tels exemples dans tous les pays et citer des femmes qui ont, comme Jackie Clark de Los Angelès, collecté au prix des difficultés qu'on imagine quatre mille signatures, ou Jeanne Plusquellec de Brest, en France, dix mille cinquante-six signatures, ou Firmina Marzi, de Rome, qui a obtenu à elle seule dix-huit mille signatures. Elles sont ici, et je les félicite chaleureusement.

A côté de toutes ces initiatives particulières il faut signaler une large entreprise de la Fédération Mondiale de la Jeunesse Démocratique et de la Fédération Démocratique internationale des Femmes : la création de la Journée Internationale de l'Enfance, le 1er juin dernier. Cette journée a été l'occasion de faire comprendre à des millions de gens que les enfants que nous appelons à la vie ont sur nous des droits sacrés : droit à la vie, droit à la santé, droit au développement de leurs aptitudes. Le premier de ces droits, le droit à la vie, conditionne tous les autres; c'est pourquoi le premier devoir de tous les hommes et de toutes les femmes est de s'élever contre les massacres d'innocents et en particulier contre l'usage de la bombe atomique, qui entraîne de si terribles hécatombes d'êtres humains.

Au spectacle des milliers d'enfants débordant de vie que la fête du 1er juin avait rassemblés, nombreuses ont été les signatures qui sont venues tout naturellement s'inscrire sous l'Appel de Stockholm.

Et maintenant que l'Appel de Stockholm a opéré le ralliement de centaines de millions de consciences, il faut aller plus loin et rassembler tous ceux qui veulent sincèrement la Paix, même avec des divergences d'opinions sur des points importants.

C'est dans cet esprit qu'a été lancé l'Appel de Prague dont il sera discuté en ce IIe Congrès Mondial.

Les femmes auront à participer au même titre que les autres Partisans de la Paix aux discussions qui décideront de la marche du mouvement dans les mois à venir.

Elles ont reçu des Assemblées Nationales qui les ont élues à ce Congrès des mandats dont je voudrais citer quelques-uns.

Voici par exemple le mandat qui nous est venu du Canada :

« Les femmes canadiennes s'inquiètent des actions militaires en Corée. Il ne doit pas être permis que les différends entre les Etats dégénèrent en guerre, et il n'existe pas de différends qui ne pourraient être réglés pacifiquement et non par l'envoi des avions et des escadres de guerre. Nous, femmes canadiennes, voulons que prennent fin ces massacres, nous ne voulons pas qu'ils se renouvellent quelque part ailleurs, et nous soutenons tous les efforts dirigés vers la réduction de la menace de guerre.

» Nous avons soutenu la campagne pour l'interdiction de l'arme atomique, parce que nous la considérons comme le premier pas vers l'éloignement de la guerre, mais nous soutenons également de tout notre cœur la réduction des armements dans tous les pays. Nous sommes très inquiètes de ce que le Canada soit submergé par la propagande de guerre, dans les journaux, les revues, les éditions humoristiques, au cinéma et à la radio.

» Nous sommes contre toute sorte de propagande de guerre d'où qu'elle vienne. Et avant tout nous n'approuvons ni ceux qui affirment que la guerre est inévitable ni ceux qui parlent d'une guerre préventive contre l'Union Soviétique, voisine au nord du Canada. »

Et voici le mandat des femmes de Finlande :

« Au IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix :

» Nous n'avons pas oublié les horreurs de la guerre, les lourdes pertes occasionnées à nos villages par la guerre. Presque une famille sur deux avait perdu pendant la guerre le père, le fils, ou tout autre proche parent masculin. Les jeunes mutilés ou ceux dont la santé avait été affaiblie pendant la guerre sont nombreux parmi nous. Ils nous rappellent constamment les terribles destructions que la guerre apporte avec elle.

» C'est pourquoi nous avons signé l'Appel de Stockholm. Nous avons pris beaucoup de peine pour la collecte de signatures et nous avons accompli la tâche qui nous a été fixée par notre organisation.

» Nous considérons que l'union et l'action actives des peuples épris de Paix et travaillant pour celle-ci sont capables de détourner les crimes contre l'humanité de ceux qui préparent une nouvelle guerre.

» Nous attendons du IIe Congrès une série de nouvelles mesures susceptibles d'encourager l'action pour la Paix. Les délégués de notre propre pays doivent faire tout leur possible, afin que le Congrès ait le plus grand succès. »

Dans les vœux formulés par les Françaises je ne relèverai que cette simple phrase qui en dit très long dans sa simplicité :

« Notre plus grand désir est de vivre en travaillant. »

Elle est suivie de cent quinze signatures de femmes du Rhône. Et je terminerai par le mandat qu'une mère roumaine, Hélène David, adresse à une compatriote, déléguée au Congrès, Constancia Cracium :

« Camarade Constancia, dites là-bas où vous allez, au Congrès, que je me nomme Hélène David et que j'habite 34, chaussée Jiulesti. J'ai eu un enfant, et la guerre me l'a pris. Je suis restée les mains vides, mais mon cœur est rempli de haine à l'égard de ceux qui veulent la guerre et déborde d'amour pour les enfants qui grandissent sous mes yeux. Il me semble qu'ils sont tous à moi. Il me semble que je dois travailler pour eux. Il me semble que je dois lutter de tout mon cœur avec toutes les autres mères pour défendre la Paix qui assurera le bonheur et la vie de leurs enfants. »

Ce mandat est celui que toutes les mères déposent à ce Congrès.

Travaillons donc, chers amis, pour que les mères n'aient plus à pleurer leurs fils morts à la guerre, pour que les cœurs n'aient plus de haine, mais ne connaissent plus au contraire que la joie merveilleuse d'élever leurs enfants pour le bonheur et pour le progrès.

Vive la Paix !

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 8 fr.

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Pierre COT

(FRANCE)

LA DEFINITION DE L'AGRESSION

Introduction

CE QUE FUT LE IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

L'INITIATIVE du Deuxième Congrès Mondial de la Paix fut prise par le Comité émanant du Premier Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, qui eut lieu à Paris, salle Pleyel, en avril 1949.

Le principe de la convocation du Second Congrès Mondial fut adopté en mars 1950, à Stockholm, en même temps que le célèbre Appel contre la Bombe atomique, qui devait recevoir l'approbation signée de plus de 500 millions d'hommes et de femmes par le monde.

Le 16 août 1950, le Bureau du Comité, réuni à Prague, lança des propositions de discussion pour de larges débats publics en vue de la préparation du Congrès qui devait avoir lieu à Sheffield (Grande-Bretagne).

Ces propositions portaient sur les points suivants :

— Interdiction des armes atomiques;
— Réduction des armements;
— Dénonciation de l'agression;
— Solution pacifique du conflit de Corée;
— Interdiction des propagandes de guerre.

Sur la base de ces propositions, se tinrent dans le monde des milliers d'assemblées populaires et de réunions d'organisation, qui discutèrent et élirent, démocratiquement, des délégués.

★

Le Congrès empêché par les autorités britanniques de se tenir, comme prévu, à Sheffield, à la date du 13 novembre, se transféra à Varsovie, où il siégea du 16 au 22 novembre.

Ces Assises Mondiales rassemblèrent 2.065 délégués et invités de 83 pays. Une discussion large s'ouvrit sur les rapports présentés par le Président JOLIOT-CURIE et le Vice-Président Pietro NENNI.

145 orateurs se succédèrent à la tribune des séances plénières, et des débats importants, auxquels participèrent des centaines de délégués, se poursuivirent dans les sept commissions de travail constituées par des membres des délégations de l'ensemble des pays.

Cette ample et franche discussion aboutit à l'élaboration et au vote démocratiques de dix résolutions importantes ainsi qu'à l'élection d'un Conseil Mondial de la Paix, comprenant 235 représentants, placé sous la Présidence du grand savant Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE.

Ces décisions, mises aux voix, furent adoptées à la presque unanimité des délégués (moins trois abstentions).

Les résolutions adoptées par le Congrès constituent tout un programme, qui trouve son expression dans deux textes fondamentaux : le « Manifeste aux Peuples » et l' « Adresse à l'Organisation des Nations Unies ».

Tous ces actes et résolutions du Congrès auront la force que leur donneront la volonté de Paix et le soutien des peuples. Le Congrès Mondial n'est pas une fin, mais un nouveau départ pour une action plus ample de tous les peuples en faveur de la paix.

PREMIERE SEANCE DU SAMEDI 18 NOVEMBRE 1950

Le Président, M. KUO-MO-JO :
(Chine)

— *La parole est à M. Pierre Cot.*

M. PIERRE COT
(France)

Monsieur le Président,

Mesdames, Messieurs, chers Amis,

Nous avons entendu hier les magnifiques rapports de notre Président Joliot-Curie et de notre ami Pietro Nenni et je pense que nous approuvons tous, sans réserve, l'argumentation qu'ils nous ont présentée et le programme du travail qu'ils nous ont proposé.

Mais, après ces discours, nous avons écouté également d'autres beaux discours et vous me permettrez de dire que ces discours rendaient tous un peu le même son de cloche et je crois qu'il est grand temps que la discussion commence et que nous puissions confronter, à cette tribune, des thèses différentes. (*Applaudissements.*)

Cette discussion, en effet, est la principale raison d'être de notre Congrès et de notre venue à Varsovie. Il est naturel que nous ne soyons pas tous d'accord dans cette salle sur des questions posées et peut-être plus encore sur la façon de poser ces questions et de formuler certains jugements.

Il ne pourrait en effet pas en être autrement. Nous venons de pays très différents, nous appartenons à des mouvements et à des partis politiques qui, souvent, sont opposés les uns aux autres.

On trouve parmi nous des admirateurs de la démocratie populaire ; mais on trouve aussi des partisans du capitalisme, des

chrétiens convaincus, des athées qui ne le sont pas moins. Dans ces conditions, si nous essayions de masquer ces différences, peut-être pourrions-nous nous faire illusion à nous-mêmes. (*Applaudissements.*) Mais nous ne tromperions personne et nous ne pourrions pas aboutir au grand rassemblement de tous les hommes et de toutes les femmes pour la Paix et contre la guerre, rassemblement que nous voulons et que nous devons réaliser. C'est en effet la diversité de nos origines et de nos convictions qui fait la force de ce Congrès et qui inquiète nos adversaires, ceux qui prétendent que nous agissons toujours en amis de l'Union Soviétique et en ennemis des Etats-Unis d'Amérique. Ce n'est pas vrai. Cela ne doit pas être vrai. Nous sommes les amis de la Paix et nous sommes les ennemis de la guerre. Cela doit nous suffire. (*Applaudissements.*)

D'autre part, à cette tribune j'ai entendu à peu près tous les orateurs répéter qu'ils étaient et que nous étions partisans des deux systèmes, des deux régimes. Cette affirmation serait vide de sens si les hommes qui vivent sous les deux régimes et qui n'ont pas à en rougir n'étaient pas capables de confronter ici leurs opinions.

C'est dans la confrontation de ces opinions et par cette confrontation seulement, que nous pourrons arriver à dégager les bases du grand appel à la négociation et au compromis qui doivent servir de fondement à la Paix. Il est bien évident que dans un monde aussi divisé que le nôtre, la Paix doit au moins commencer par des négociations et par des compromis et, pour bien préciser ma pensée, pour mettre peut-être tout à fait à l'aise certains membres de cette audience, je voudrais montrer à nos amis de l'Union Soviétique et des Démocraties Populaires comment, sur certains problèmes particuliers, une grande partie de l'opinion publique dans les pays occidentaux a pu trouver un point de rencontre avec eux sans pour cela faire adopter forcément, d'une manière en quelque sorte mécanique, tous leurs points de vue et tous leurs jugements.

⁂

Mes observations porteront sur quatre problèmes :

— *l'affaire de Corée;*
— *la question de la neutralité;*
— *le problème allemand;*
— *la question délicate de la définition nécessaire de l'agression.*

Prenons tout d'abord l'affaire de Corée. J'ai écouté hier avec beaucoup d'attention et d'intérêt ce qu'en a dit notre ami Fadeev d'Union Soviétique. A nos amis soviétiques et à nos amis des démocraties populaires, cette affaire est apparue dès son origine comme tout à fait claire. Ils ont vu là une agression des Etats-Unis contre un petit peuple héroïque qui ne demandait rien que sa liberté, et notre ami Fadeev semblait indiquer que, sauf peut-être aux Etats-Unis, tous les honnêtes gens souscrivaient à ce jugement.

Je me permets d'indiquer que je ne suis pas tout à fait d'accord avec notre ami Fadeev. Personnellement je souscris sans aucune réserve à son opinion et à son analyse, mais je voudrais que vous vous rendiez compte que beaucoup de nos compatriotes ont éprouvé d'abord quelques hésitations avant de se prononcer, et que ces hésitations ne prouvaient pas forcément qu'ils étaient des agents de l'impérialisme américain, pour employer pendant une minute seulement le langage qui fut parfois tenu avant moi à cette tribune.

Sur quoi pouvaient-ils en effet asseoir leur jugement sinon sur les informations qui nous étaient données ? Mais ces informations, rendez-vous-en compte, étaient de nature telle que ces hommes et ces femmes, n'ayant pas autre chose pour asseoir leur conviction, pouvaient penser légitimement que le gouvernement de la Corée du Nord avait déclenché les hostilités contre la Corée du Sud ; et les premiers succès des armées coréennes en démontrant un grand état de préparation militaire, dont pour ma part je me suis réjoui, rendaient au moins vraisemblable cette opinion première. Et puis, peu à peu, leurs yeux se sont dessillés et ils ont vu clair. C'est le président Truman qui, le premier, les a conduits à réfléchir. Je ne vous propose pas d'envoyer au nom du Congrès un message de félicitations au président Truman, mais il est bien certain qu'il a rendu un grand service à la cause de la Paix et de la vérité lorsqu'il a fait savoir que pour défendre la Corée, il fallait que les Etats-Unis s'intéressent aussi à Formose et à l'Indochine.

Les braves gens dont je vous parle ont été ensuite choqués quand ils ont vu que le Conseil de Sécurité condamnait les Coréens du Nord sans leur donner l'occasion de s'expliquer et, le cas échéant, de se défendre contre les accusations portées contre eux ; car c'est, vous le savez, une règle élémentaire de droit et, ce qui est beaucoup plus important que le droit, c'est un principe élémentaire de bon sens qu'on n'a pas le droit de condamner quelqu'un sans l'avoir entendu, et c'est pourtant ce que les Nations Unies n'ont pas hésité à faire.

Ensuite, quand ces compatriotes, ces braves gens dont je vous parle et dont beaucoup sont dans la salle, ont vu que non seulement les forces des Nations Unies sous le commandement du général Mac Arthur — un autre homme qui a beaucoup contribué à la vérité — se conduisaient en Corée comme les bandits hitlériens l'avaient fait chez nous, mais qu'après avoir reconquis la Corée du Sud pour le compte de M. Syngman Rhee, ses troupes franchissaient le 38e parallèle, ils ont tout à fait compris. Ils ont compris que les défenseurs du droit et de la démocratie, selon les conceptions de Wall Street, se conduisaient à ce moment-là comme de véritables agresseurs. Leurs jugements préalables sur l'affaire de Corée se sont modifiés. Maintenant ils sont d'accord avec nous.

J'ai voulu par cet exemple vous montrer ce qui s'était passé dans l'esprit de ces hommes qui n'avaient pas les mêmes lumières et les mêmes informations que celles que vous pouviez avoir dans les démocraties populaires et les autres pays.

***

Je vais aborder maintenant un problème délicat et qui est celui de la neutralité. Il existe en Europe occidentale un fort courant en faveur de la neutralité. Je suis bien à mon aise pour vous parler de la neutralité de l'Europe occidentale parce que, par mon tempérament et par conviction, je n'aime ni le mot ni la chose. Mais je dois vous rendre, vous, attentifs à ceci. Si vous voulez que nous puissions en Europe occidentale et peut-être aussi dans d'autres parties du monde élargir notre mouvement, il faut prendre très sérieusement en considération cette question de la neutralité. Nous avons intérêt à la bien connaître. Je pense qu'après avoir touché du doigt son importance, vous me permettrez de conclure que nous avons peut-être intérêt à favoriser son développement.

Pourquoi beaucoup de gens d'Europe occidentale sont-ils partisans de la neutralité ? Est-ce par lâcheté ? Est-ce par refus de prendre parti ou est-ce seulement parce qu'ils refusent de servir d'outil à ceux qui, dans d'autres continents, voudraient bien faire la guerre, mais à condition que leur pays ne soit pas ravagé et que leurs soldats se fassent moins tuer que ceux que la France, l'Allemagne occidentale, l'Angleterre ou la Belgique leur fourniraient ? Le courant en faveur de la neutralité est alors un courant susceptible de rallier dans nos pays beaucoup d'hommes et de femmes qui jusqu'à présent étaient décidés à ne pas joindre les rangs des Partisans de la Paix. Ces

hommes et ces femmes sont disposés à se battre pour la neutralité. Ils préfèrent lutter pour la neutralité plutôt que d'être utilisés par les fauteurs de guerre dans une guerre d'agression.

Certains pensent surtout à leur pays. D'autres, tout en étant partisans du régime capitaliste ou tout en ayant même de la sympathie pour le gouvernement des Etats-Unis, sont inquiets du manque d'expérience, de la maladresse qui caractérise sa conduite dans les affaires internationales, et ils craignent que les Etats-Unis les entraînent en quelque sorte malgré eux, jusqu'à un point où ils ne voudraient pas aller. D'autres enfin sont partisans de cette neutralité parce que, à tort ou à raison, ils estiment que pour réussir non pas seulement une coexistence hargneuse en quelque sorte des deux régimes, mais une coexistence harmonieuse des deux régimes, l'Europe occidentale peut jouer un rôle important. Ils sont fiers de la civilisation de leur pays et ils pensent qu'en adoptant cette position de neutralité ils faciliteront la recherche des compromis dont je parlais tout à l'heure.

La position de ces hommes et de ces femmes est extrêmement importante. Supposez, Mesdames et Messieurs, que l'Europe occidentale puisse se rallier dans son comportement à la thèse de la neutralité. Les conséquences de ce ralliement seraient immédiatement : d'abord la dénonciation du Pacte Atlantique, ensuite l'obligation pour ceux qui préparent la guerre de refaire leur plan, de ne plus songer à utiliser, tout au moins dès le début de leurs opérations, la plate-forme occidentale. Cela leur créerait des difficultés supplémentaires, cela demanderait du temps, et gagner du temps c'est souvent gagner du temps pour la Paix. (*Applaudissements.*)

Voilà la raison pour laquelle, dans l'état politique actuel de l'Europe, la thèse de la neutralité est une contribution extrêmement importante à la cause de la paix. Je me souviens, qu'il me soit permis de le dire, qu'à Stockholm, notre grand ami Pietro Nenni avait fait une observation à laquelle j'ai beaucoup réfléchi : « Si demain nous prenions le pouvoir en Italie — et la question se pose dans les mêmes termes en France, étant donnée la composition politique et sociale de l'Italie ou de la France — la seule position progressiste que nous pourrions adopter au début serait sans doute la position de la neutralité. »

C'est à cette conclusion que nous conduit l'observation de la réalité politique. Voilà la raison pour laquelle, pour ma part et pour tous nos amis de la délégation française, en accord avec eux nous ne refusons pas le concours des partisans de la neutralité, nous appelons à nous les partisans de la neutralité pour défendre la Paix et pour lutter contre la guerre.

⁂

Ma troisième observation se rapporte au problème allemand. Je vous dirai que j'ai entendu hier avec beaucoup d'émotion les très nobles paroles qui ont été prononcées par le représentant de la délégation d'Allemagne qui venait, je crois bien, de l'Allemagne orientale.

Parlant en tant que Français et en homme qui a fait toute la guerre, tout au moins de 1914, contre des soldats allemands, je dois dire que je considère qu'il fallait beaucoup de courage à ce délégué pour venir à cette tribune reconnaître, comme il l'a fait avec beaucoup de noblesse, la responsabilité du peuple allemand dans la guerre et dans certains crimes de guerre, et d'autre part pour affirmer au nom de sa délégation qu'il considérait que la frontière entre son pays et la Pologne était une frontière définitive. Nous avons tous salué cet acte de courage et cette contribution des Allemands de l'Allemagne orientale à la grande cause de la Paix. (*Applaudissements.*)

Mais je voudrais aussi vous dire que si dans mon pays et dans tous les pays d'Europe occidentale nous suivons avec un intérêt passionné les progrès de la démocratie véritable en Allemagne orientale, nous n'en prêtons pas moins un très grand intérêt, et je dirai le même intérêt, aux nouvelles qui nous parviennent de l'Allemagne occidentale.

Excusez-moi de citer encore à titre d'exemple mon propre pays et la presse de mon pays. Dans deux grands journaux français dont l'un est un journal conservateur, pour ne pas dire plus, et l'autre est un journal franchement réactionnaire, — le premier c'est *le Monde*, le second c'est *le Figaro* — nous avons vu il y a quelques semaines publier des relations de voyages de journalistes qui s'étaient rendus en Allemagne occidentale, et ces informations, ces enquêtes ont produit en France une très grande impression en raison de ce que nous avons vu à travers ces témoignages d'hommes qui ne sont pas suspects d'être des Partisans de la Paix.

Nous avons vu que dans la jeunesse allemande se manifestaient surtout à l'heure actuelle l'horreur de la guerre et le refus de s'engager dans une armée nouvelle. C'est là un phénomène extrêmement important pour le développement de l'Allemagne de demain et pour la compréhension entre l'Allemagne et ses voisins de l'Occident.

C'est là une nouvelle qui intéresse tous ceux qui, dans le passé, ont eu quelques raisons légitimes, vous le pensez bien,

d'avoir quelque inquiétude quand ils voyaient certains frémissements dans le passé de la jeunesse allemande.

De même, nous avons suivi avec beaucoup d'intérêt la position prise par M. Heiman et surtout peut-être encore plus par la position du pasteur Niemöller, et je veux dire à nos amis de l'Europe orientale que nous désirons travailler non seulement avec eux, mais avec ces jeunes Allemands qui ne veulent pas se battre pour l'Amérique, et avec le pasteur Niemöller. (*Applaudissements.*)

Dans ce courant en faveur de la neutralité qui existe en France (peut-être moins en Belgique ou en Angleterre) et dans cette orientation nouvelle de l'Allemagne, même à l'ouest, je vois pour ma part les bases d'une politique que nous devons développer et qui, par son caractère négatif au début, ensuite par un caractère positif, peut être un facteur très important de paix et d'organisation européenne. Je voudrais alors vous indiquer la position que le petit parti auquel j'appartiens, le parti progressiste, a prise récemment en France sur le problème allemand. Nous avons résumé notre pensée dans les quatre points suivants que je livre à vos méditations.

D'abord, nous pensons que l'Allemagne doit être unie, car nous ne voulons pas aller contre l'histoire. Nous pensons ensuite que l'Allemagne doit être neutralisée. Nous pensons que cette neutralité doit être garantie par les grandes puissances. Nous pensons enfin qu'elle doit être internationalement contrôlée de manière à donner à la fois aux Allemands les garanties qu'ils demandent et la base qui leur est nécessaire pour se réunir et pour devenir un grand peuple pacifique, contrôlée de manière à donner également à toute l'Europe les garanties qu'elle a le droit d'obtenir pour se prémunir contre de nouveaux malheurs qui atteindraient aussi bien les Français que les autres Occidentaux.

***

Et j'en arrive alors au quatrième point de mon intervention. Je voudrais vous faire des propositions pratiques que je soumettrai par déférence pour les instructions qu'on nous a données au bureau de notre Congrès en demandant que l'on veuille bien les transmettre à la commission compétente.

Il s'agit de l'agression et de la définition de l'agression. Notre président Joliot-Curie, dans son rapport, a dit sur ce point l'essentiel. Je n'ai pas l'intention de revenir sur les arguments qu'il a présentés, mais je voudrais, si vous me le permettez, compléter par quelques observations de caractère un peu technique, un peu juridique, l'exposé d'ensemble qu'il vous a fait.

D'abord, simple observation de fait, l'affaire de Corée, vous le savez, a jeté sur la question de l'agression un coup de projecteur, si vous me permettez cette expression familière. La question de l'agression est désormais posée et posée dans le monde entier. Pour les uns, ceux qui d'après moi sont mal informés, il s'agit d'une agression communiste par la Corée du Nord ; pour les autres, et je me rallie à ce point de vue, il s'agit d'une agression américaine. Mais enfin l'affaire de Corée gravite autour de cette notion d'agression et nous nous apercevons alors combien il est nécessaire, quand nous employons le terme d'agression, que nous parlions de la même chose, d'où la nécessité de définir l'agression.

Il faut arriver à une définition de l'agression. Ce n'est pas chose commode. Il y a dans cette salle des juristes et ils savent combien une telle définition est difficile et peut même être dangereuse. Mais comme vous le savez, la politique est, dit-on, l'art de choisir entre les inconvénients. Je pense quant à moi qu'il y aurait beaucoup plus d'inconvénients à ne pas définir l'agression qu'à la définir imparfaitement.

Comment pouvons-nous définir l'agression ? Je voudrais rappeler un travail extrêmement important qui a été fait il y a environ dix-sept ans, en 1933, à la conférence du désarmement, sur une proposition présentée à cette conférence du désarmement par le délégué de l'Union Soviétique, M. Litvinov. Après des études extrêmement sérieuses auxquelles avaient participé à peu près tous les pays occidentaux, on était arrivé à un projet de convention. Ce projet de convention n'est sans doute pas parfait ; peut-être également convient-il de le modifier pour tenir compte de l'évolution de la situation politique. Mais j'attire l'attention du Congrès sur le grand avantage que nous aurions à le prendre pour point de départ de nos travaux. D'abord parce que, étant paresseux de nature, j'aime beaucoup quand les autres ont déjà fait le travail : cela m'évite d'avoir à le refaire d'une façon complète, mais aussi pour une autre raison plus importante et qui est une raison politique, c'est qu'il serait très difficile à certaines puissances occidentales qui avaient pris en 1933 des positions qui, à ce moment, étaient favorables à la lutte la plus saine contre l'agression, de revenir en arrière aujourd'hui. Et si par conséquent nous pouvons greffer la résolution de notre Congrès sur le projet de convention de 1933, vous voyez quel intérêt nous aurions à le faire.

Après avoir ainsi indiqué l'intérêt politique que nous aurions à nous référer au projet de convention de 1933, je voudrais

vous résumer ce projet. Il comportait essentiellement trois points :

Le premier point c'était une définition des différentes occasions des actes d'agression. Je ne veux pas énumérer ces actes. Il y en avait cinq catégories; elles se rattachent toutes à l'idée fort importante que l'agression est une intervention armée d'un Etat dans les affaires d'un autre, mais c'est tout; c'est assez, mais c'est bien plus. L'agression en matière internationale est une affaire entre les Etats. Ce qui est prohibé par le droit international, c'est l'agression d'un Etat contre un autre Etat. C'est la force qui vient de l'extérieur pour imposer une volonté à un Etat déterminé, pour lui voler ses biens, son territoire ou sa liberté.

Mais il est bien évident que lorsqu'à l'intérieur de l'Etat nous avons des phénomènes éruptifs de violence, dans ce cas-là, on ne peut ni ne doit parler d'agression, car les peuples ont le droit chez eux de faire ce qu'ils veulent. (*Applaudissements.*)

Ils ont le droit légal de renverser leur gouvernement par les procédures légales et ils ont le droit révolutionnaire de renverser ce gouvernement par des moyens révolutionnaires s'ils le veulent. (*Applaudissements.*)

Je ne supporterais pas que vous applaudissiez la dernière phrase, parce qu'elle n'est pas de moi; elle est à peu près textuellement extraite d'un discours d'un homme qui vivait jadis en Amérique, et qui était le grand républicain Abraham Lincoln. (*Applaudissements.*)

Et lorsque le président Truman nous paraît appliquer aujourd'hui une autre doctrine, nous avons très envie de lui conseiller, lorsqu'il aura quelque loisir sur son yacht *le Potomac*, de relire le discours de Lincoln ; de songer également que, si à une certaine période de l'histoire, des hommes, qui étaient des colons sur la terre d'Amérique, n'avaient pas pris le droit de se dresser contre l'Angleterre, il n'y aurait pas aujourd'hui de République des Etats-Unis d'Amérique pour vouloir empêcher d'autres peuples de conquérir leur liberté. Je demande respectueusement aux délégués des Etats-Unis de nous pardonner et de pardonner aux malheureux Coréens ou à tous les hommes de la terre, s'ils ont pris cette leçon des pères de la révolution américaine, mais ils sont bien décidés à l'appliquer envers et contre tous. (*Applaudissements.*)

Et dans la seconde partie à laquelle j'arrive maintenant, la Convention de 1933 précisait d'ailleurs ces points en déclarant de la manière la plus exacte que la situation existant à l'intérieur d'un Etat, désordres ou troubles, ne pouvait permettre à un autre

Etat de lancer ses forces contre lui. Cela a été dit de la manière la plus nette par la Convention de 1933. Là encore nous avons intérêt à nous référer à ce précédent.

En effet, si vous regardez l'Histoire — et je pense notamment à certaines pages que je ne trouve pas très belles de l'histoire de mon pays ou de la Grande-Bretagne — vous verrez que toujours, lorsque les Etats colonisateurs ont conquis leurs colonies, ils ont donné comme prétexte à leur intervention et à leur agression armée le désordre qui existait dans les pays qu'ils pensaient conquérir. (*Applaudissements.*) C'est toujours pour « rétablir l'ordre », même chez vous, chers amis algériens, qu'on sacrifie la liberté, et il est bon que nous rappelions sur ce point les principes du droit et que, non seulement nous les rappelions et que nous les appliquions chez nous, mais aussi qu'on les applique partout dans le monde.

Le troisième point de ma proposition est qu'il faut une procédure qui permette de constater les agressions. Là encore la Convention de 1933 nous offre un précédent important, et dans la proposition qui sera déposée au Bureau vous trouverez cette affirmation dont je parlais tout à l'heure, à savoir que, lorsqu'on accuse quelqu'un d'une agression il faut le prouver avant de prendre des sanctions contre lui, et que l'on n'a pas le droit d'affirmer, mais qu'il faut prouver.

Par métier je suis juriste, j'aime beaucoup les preuves; je dirai très humblement que j'attends encore que les Américains, et notamment le président Truman, nous apportent les preuves qu'ils auraient dû produire devant la conscience internationale avant de lancer sur la Corée les bombardiers et les lance-flammes du général Mac Arthur. (*Applaudissements.*)

Voilà, mes chers amis, les trois points précis : définition de l'agression comme l'usage de la force dans les relations internationales, c'est-à-dire entre les Etats et non pas à l'intérieur les Etats ; précaution prise pour que, si l'on se dresse contre l'agression, on n'empêche pas les peuples de disposer d'eux-mêmes, par tous les moyens qui sont en leur pouvoir, moyens légaux s'ils le peuvent, moyens révolutionnaires si c'est nécessaire; et enfin procédure de constatation donnant à tous les peuples, et notamment aux petits peuples, les garanties dont ils ont besoin, avant de voir déclencher contre eux un mécanisme de sanctions qui, dans le cas présent, permettez-moi de le dire, apparaissent non pas comme des sanctions destinées à rétablir le droit, mais comme un prétexte permettant à certains pays

de conquérir les bases pour des opérations ultérieures qui peuvent satisfaire la vanité des généraux et que les peuples ont le droit et le devoir de dénoncer.

*
**

En terminant, permettez-moi de vous dire quelque chose de très simple et presque de très banal. J'ai voulu discuter à cette tribune des problèmes afin que nous sortions — ce n'est pas une critique à ceux qui ont parlé avant moi — des discours académiques, pour entrer dans les discussions qui sont nécessaires.

J'ai rempli le rôle souvent un peu ingrat de l'avocat du diable, mais je crois qu'il est bon que nous discutions, que nous confrontions nos idées, que nous arrivions à être d'accord, mais après discussion, comme il convient à des hommes libres. On parle beaucoup, vous le savez, du rideau de fer, et je pense que ceux qui pour la première fois sont venus en Europe orientale se sont aperçu que matériellement le rideau de fer n'existe pas.

Mais ne nous faisons pas d'illusions, il existe, et non pas seulement entre les deux parties du monde, mais dans tous les pays, un rideau de calomnies, de préjugés que nous devons également déchirer et supprimer. Nous devons inviter les hommes et les femmes de bonne volonté qui ne pensent pas comme nous à venir discuter avec nous. Nous devons tenir compte de leurs positions, même quand elles sont fausses, de leurs impressions ou de leurs préjugés. Nous ferons le monde avec des hommes et des femmes tels qu'ils sont, et non pas tels que nous voudrions qu'ils soient (*Applaudissements*), et si nous arrivons à faire cette large concentration nous trouverons un terrain d'entente.

Alors je souhaite qu'un jour vienne où ce ne seront pas seulement les exclus de Sheffield ou les gens qui, par miracle, ont pu obtenir des passeports qui viendront à Varsovie, mais tous les hommes et toutes les femmes du monde, qui verront tout à la fois ses ruines qui proclament l'horreur de la guerre, et tous ces nouveaux bâtiments qui sont l'espoir de l'avenir.

Le jour où tous les hommes et toutes les femmes, même d'Amérique, pourront venir, même avec le président Truman, à Varsovie, croyez-moi, tous ces hommes et toutes ces femmes diront : « Nous nous étions trompés. » Et, voyant l'effort admirable du peuple polonais, ils commenceront par l'aimer et permettez à un homme qui n'est plus jeune de vous le dire : aimer les hommes c'est la meilleure façon de les comprendre. (*Le Congrès, debout, applaudit Pierre Cot.*)

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
II° CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIII°)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-II°

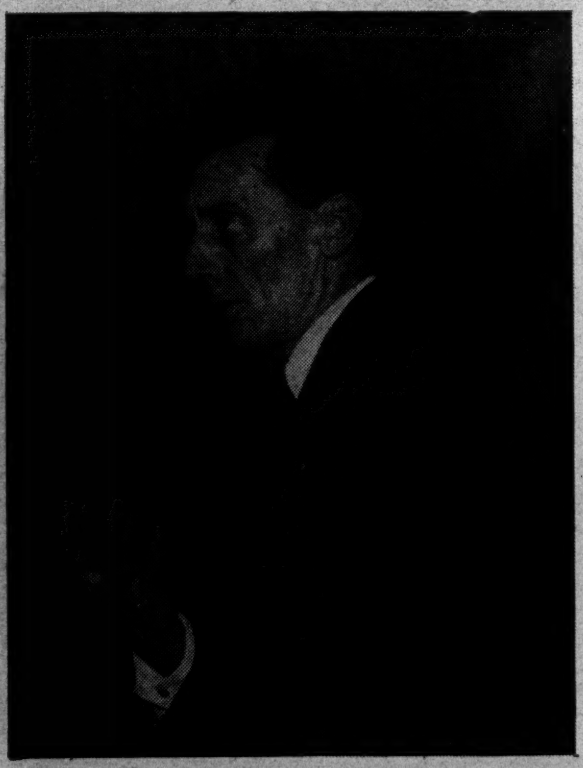
PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Prix : 15 fr.

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX



VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE

DISCOURS D'OUVERTURE ET RAPPORT

PREMIERE SEANCE, JEUDI 16 NOVEMBRE 1950 (19 H. 30)

Le Président : FRÉDÉRIC JOLIOT-CURIE :

« JE DECLARE OUVERT LE 2e CONGRES MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX »

Excellence, Mesdames, Messieurs, Chers amis,

Je voudrais tout d'abord vous apporter le salut du Comité du Premier Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix et vous souhaiter en son nom la bienvenue.

En voyant cette salle magnifique, si rapidement organisée, et après tous les témoignages d'affection que nous avons déjà reçus, j'exprime, sans aucun doute, votre pensée à tous, en remerciant chaleureusement le Gouvernement Polonais et la Présidence de la ville de Varsovie, le Comité des Partisans de la Paix Polonais.

Je suis convaincu, chers délégués et invités, d'être l'interprète des millions et des millions d'hommes et de femmes épris de paix, de la foule immense des Partisans de la Paix en vous exprimant notre reconnaissance d'avoir consenti avec tant de compréhension et d'énergie à faire les efforts nécessaires aux divers et grands déplacements qui nous furent imposés ; cela prouve que nous avons tous ici le sens précis de nos responsabilités et que rien ne peut nous arrêter pour le manifester.

Mais il me faut dire, tout de suite, combien ces efforts ont été rendus plus aisés grâce aux initiatives extraordinairement efficaces de nos amis Tchécoslovaques et Polonais. Si le transfert de 2.000 délégués et invités s'est effectué sans heurts, sans erreurs, si des solutions furent rapidement trouvées pour surmonter les nombreuses difficultés, si nos amis Polonais ont réussi l'étonnant exploit d'installer ce Congrès en trois jours, c'est parce que tous les citoyens de ces pays et leurs gouvernements en tête, sont profondément attachés à la grande cause de la Paix que nous défendons. Je tiens, en votre nom à tous, au nom de tous les

Partisans de la Paix, à leur adresser le témoignage de notre admiration et de notre vive reconnaissance. Ce sont les mêmes sentiments que nous adressons à notre Secrétaire général, Jean LAFFITTE, au secrétariat, pour le succès avec lequel ils ont assuré une tâche particulièrement difficile.

Mais je voudrais maintenant saluer ici les membres du Comité préparatoire britannique. Je veux leur dire combien nous avons apprécié leur dévouement, la ténacité avec laquelle ils ont tenté de surmonter les difficultés que dressait sur leur chemin un gouvernement sans doute déjà décidé à falsifier ou à rendre impossible notre Congrès. Nous imaginons l'indignation, la douleur qui s'est emparée de nos amis britanniques lorsqu'ils constatèrent que le gouvernement de leur pays, démasquant brutalement ses intentions, interdisait en fait la tenue en Grande-Bretagne du 2e Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

Chers amis Britanniques, nous vous apportons le témoignage de notre reconnaissance. Soyez bien convaincus que vos efforts n'auront pas été vains. Votre indignation, notre indignation, est celle de tous les honnêtes gens qui considèrent la Paix comme un bien suprême.

L'éclatant succès du meeting de protestation que vous avez tenu à Sheffield est une preuve que le peuple anglais ne s'associe pas aux mesures prises par son gouvernement.

En fait, ces mesures, en suscitant dans le monde l'étonnement et l'indignation, auront un effet contraire à celui qu'escomptaient ceux qui les provoquèrent et ceux qui les ont prises. En voulant étouffer la voix de la Paix, ils ont exalté l'énergie de ceux qui luttent pour imposer la Paix et éclairer quantité d'hommes et de femmes qui, hier encore, hésitaient, et qui, aujourd'hui, viendront rallier la foule des Partisans de la Paix.

Certes, nous regrettons sincèrement qu'il nous ait été interdit de pouvoir parler librement de la Paix dans une ville anglaise, mais si le lieu d'un Congrès a une importance, nous savons que ce qui est fondamental est ce qu'on y débat et ce qu'on y décide. Rien ne peut empêcher les idées fécondes de vérité, de justice et de paix, de franchir les frontières et de se répandre dans le monde.

Et c'est le même Congrès qui devait se tenir à Sheffield qui se tient ces jours-ci à Varsovie.

Il ne tenait qu'au gouvernement anglais que ce fût à Sheffield qu'échut l'honneur d'être le siège d'un tel Congrès.

C'est l'honneur du gouvernement Polonais d'avoir permis qu'il se déroule dans sa capitale.

Il ne fait aucun doute que le succès éclatant du transfert de notre Congrès à Varsovie constitue en lui-même un acte d'une grande portée internationale.

Il est un exemple concret de la force que nous représentons. Celle qui concentre et rend agissantes les aspirations des peuples épris de Paix.

Notre Congrès suscite en ce moment dans le monde un intérêt majeur. Vos travaux auront pour objet de rendre plus efficace encore la force que nous représentons en vue d'en faire l'instance internationale la plus haute capable d'imposer la volonté des peuples chaque fois que les organismes chargés de son maintien failliront à leur tâche.

Telles devraient être nos ambitions en ouvrant ce Congrès.

DEUXIEME SEANCE, VENDREDI 17 NOVEMBRE 1950

La Présidente, MADAME COTTON :

La parole est à :

M. Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE

C'EST, il y a un peu plus de dix-huit mois, le 20 avril 1949, que se réunissait à Paris le premier Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

Je ne veux pas ici entrer dans le détail de ce qui a été réalisé depuis ce moment, mais en traçant les grandes lignes je tenterai de discerner les leçons qui orienteront nos délibérations ici et nos actions dans nos pays respectifs quand nous nous serons séparés.

Mais je voudrais tout d'abord dire, au nom du Comité, avec quel enthousiasme, quelle persévérance et quelle valeur notre Secrétaire général, le Secrétariat et le personnel attaché à notre siège central ont assumé leurs responsabilités et combien nous devons les féliciter et leur témoigner notre reconnaissance.

Il me faut aussi souligner les grands efforts faits pour publier et améliorer sans cesse notre *Revue des Partisans de la Paix* et féliciter les divers rédacteurs à qui incombe cette tâche difficile, et notamment notre ami Claude Morgan.

Devant un danger de conflit mondial qui se manifestait si paradoxalement quelques années à peine après la cessation des hostilités, il était urgent de rassembler les forces qui, dans le monde, étaient susceptibles de s'opposer à la catastrophe.

Nous devions, sans nous laisser le moins du monde décourager par les échecs d'efforts qui ont précédé la deuxième guerre mondiale, tenir compte de l'expérience acquise, appeler à lutter pour la paix les hommes et les femmes innombrables qui ne veulent pas revoir les désastres de la guerre; et au premier rang de ceux-ci, ceux qui avaient lutté, ceux qui avaient souffert.

Des millions d'hommes, ceux qui sont entraînés dans les guerres, qui font effectivement les guerres, qui souffrent de la guerre et sans le consentement desquels la guerre ne serait pas possible, se sentaient, devant cette menace, isolés et impuissants — en leur donnant la possibilité de se rassembler, en provoquant

leur réflexion, leur action, nous voulions rompre cet isolement et leur donner conscience de leur force.

Nous n'avons pas encore réussi à écarter le spectre de la guerre, mais je ne crois pas exagéré de dire qu'un très important mouvement a été déclenché et que, si nous le voulons, avec suffisamment de clairvoyance, de courage et de persévérance, il s'amplifiera de telle sorte que l'angoisse d'une mort collective sera éliminée de nos consciences.

En analysant les événements qui se sont succédés depuis ce premier Congrès, il est impossible de ne pas voir que les idées développées dans le Manifeste étaient bien celles qu'il convenait de mettre en œuvre, et nous aurons intérêt, dans les débats qui vont s'ouvrir tout à l'heure, à nous y reporter.

Ne devons-nous pas, comme en avril 1949, nous affirmer « *contre le fardeau écrasant des charges militaires responsables de la misère des peuples* » ?

Ne devons-nous pas « *nous dresser contre toutes les entreprises qui, pour ouvrir les voies à la guerre, s'acharnent à restreindre, puis à supprimer les libertés démocratiques* » ?

Ne devons-nous pas « *réduire à l'impuissance les propagandes qui disposent l'esprit public à la guerre* » et « *condamner le bellicisme hystérique, la prédication de la haine des races* » ?

L'appel des initiateurs du premier Congrès avait été entendu, et des représentants venant de soixante-douze nations se réunirent salle Pleyel à Paris.

L'action définie par le Manifeste, dont je viens de citer quelques extraits, a été menée partout dans le monde, et nous avons vu se rassembler tous ceux qui comprennent la gravité du danger de guerre et qui acceptent pour conjurer celui-ci de baser leur action sur ces principes généraux.

Ce Manifeste devait nous permettre, et nous a, en fait, permis de nous adresser à tous ceux qui désirent sincèrement la paix.

Ce Manifeste était et reste le témoignage de notre sincère désir de paix et que c'est uniquement pour la paix que nous agissons, sans vouloir en aucune manière nous faire les champions d'un régime politique ou économique particulier.

On pouvait déjà, en avril 1949, nous juger sur ce Manifeste.

On peut aujourd'hui nous juger beaucoup mieux sur nos actes.

Le Premier Congrès Mondial avait confié à un Comité élu, composé de 140 personnalités, la charge de mettre en œuvre ses décisions, et j'eus le très grand honneur d'en être élu président.

A Rome, fin octobre 1949, le Comité dressait un premier bilan. Depuis le Congrès, la République Démocratique allemande avait

été proclamée, la Chine s'était libérée et, dans le monde entier, le 2 octobre 1949 avait été une grande journée de la paix.

Après avoir pris acte à Rome de l'action entreprise et de ses résultats, le Comité que le Congrès avait élu à Paris constatait qu'il était maintenant suffisamment soutenu par l'opinion publique pour pouvoir s'adresser directement aux Assemblées et aux Gouvernements qui ont la responsabilité politique dans les divers pays. Des « propositions pour la paix » furent élaborées et publiées et, dans un grand nombre de pays, des délégations importantes par leur nombre et par leur composition les transmirent aux autorités responsables. Toutes ces délégations ne furent pas reçues. Des délégations furent reçues et leurs propositions écartées. Dans d'autres cas enfin ces propositions de paix furent approuvées et acceptées.

Ce premier sondage, ce premier appel aux dirigeants a eu une grande valeur pour l'information des citoyens de tous les pays et nous a également fourni des indications souvent précieuses sur l'attitude des gouvernements.

Cependant, tandis que le rassemblement et l'organisation des forces de paix se poursuit dans le monde, la « guerre froide » se durcit.

Dans cette atmosphère d'inquiétude générale se produisent, en novembre 1949, des « indiscrétions » sur la bombe à hydrogène. En février 1950 le Président des États-Unis d'Amérique rend publique sa décision relative à la mise en fabrication de cet engin. Je ne voudrais, sur ce sujet, que vous demander de méditer à nouveau les avertissements lancés au monde le 13 février 1950 par le plus grand savant de notre temps, Albert Einstein. J'en extrais les phrases suivantes :

> *« Derrière des murailles de mystères, on perfectionne avec une hâte fébrile les moyens de destruction collective.*
>
> *» Si ce but est atteint, l'empoisonnement de l'atmosphère par la radio-activité et, par suite, la destruction de toute vie sur terre, est entrée dans le domaine des possibilités techniques. Tout semble s'enchaîner dans ce sinistre déroulement des événements. Chaque pas apparaît comme la conséquence inévitable de celui qui l'a précédé. Au bout du chemin se profile de plus en plus distinctement le spectre de l'anéantissement général. »*

Il était plus que jamais devenu nécessaire d'agir. Notre Comité, réuni à Stockholm, constata que les problèmes posés par la défense de la paix sont multiples et complexes.

C'est parce qu'elles voulaient embrasser les principaux aspects de ce problème que les « propositions de Rome », dont il n'est pas question de mettre en cause l'exactitude ni la portée, n'avaient pas eu dans le monde tout le retentissement souhaitable.

La marche vers une paix stable doit se faire par étapes, et les objectifs à atteindre successivement doivent être simples. C'est progressivement que le problème de la paix sera compris et senti par tous, et c'est progressivement que s'établira la confiance internationale sans laquelle la paix n'est pas possible.

C'est l'avènement progressif de cette confiance mutuelle qui rendra plus aisée la solution des problèmes.

Il fallait donc poser le problème le plus clair et le plus urgent.

Il existait, — et, nous devons le reconnaître, il existe encore, en dépit de notre action, un danger majeur pour l'humanité : les armes atomiques et autres armes de destruction en masse.

Ces armes atomiques ce sont précisément celles qui sont considérées dans la résolution prise le 27 décembre 1945 à Moscou par les trois Ministres des Affaires Etrangères, MM. Bevin, Byrnes et Molotov. Cette résolution demandait notamment à la Commission qui devait être créée à l'Organisation des Nations Unies de formuler des propositions spécifiques *pour l'élimination des armements nationaux des armes atomiques et de toutes les autres armes majeures susceptibles de provoquer des destructions en masse.*

Il fallait en demander l'interdiction en même temps qu'il convenait d'exiger que fussent mises en œuvre les mesures indispensables de contrôle à la fois international et rigoureux qui s'assureraient du respect des engagements souscrits. Il fallait enfin, se basant sur la jurisprudence internationale que constituent les jugements de Nuremberg, caractériser le crime du gouvernement qui violerait ces engagements.

C'est ainsi que, le 19 mars 1950, le Comité lançait l'Appel de Stockholm qui, en plus des trois idées fondamentales que je viens de rappeler, faisait « appel à tous les hommes de bonne volonté dans le monde ».

Cet appel a été entendu, les centaines de millions de signatures qui ont été recueillies et auxquelles d'autres millions de signatures s'ajouteront, devront absolument s'ajouter demain, en sont le témoignage.

Dans de nombreux pays les gouvernements et la presse ont d'abord fait le silence complet sur cet appel. Mais cette attitude n'a pu être que temporaire, car la pression de l'opinion publique s'est manifestée. Au mépris, à l'ignorance, a succédé la colère.

Des chefs d'Etat, des présidents du Conseil et des ministres se sont cru finalement obligés de prendre la parole publiquement dans leur pays et même à la tribune de l'Organisation des Nations

Unies pour combattre ces idées simples. Examinez objectivement les arguments mis en avant et vous pourrez vous convaincre une fois de plus que nous avions vu juste.

C'est également ce que prouvent des résolutions prises indépendamment de nous, mais dans le même sens, par des groupements d'hommes ou par des organisations telles que la Croix Rouge Internationale, les Quakers et de nombreuses autorités religieuses ou ecclésiastiques.

Sur les propositions simples et claires formulées à Stockholm, une consultation populaire sans précédent s'est instituée.

Je voudrais dire ici qu'on ne rendra jamais suffisamment hommage aux femmes et aux hommes de bonne volonté qui, dans tous les pays, sont allés trouver individuellement leurs concitoyens pour leur parler de ces problèmes, entendre leurs objections, répondre à leurs questions, réfuter leurs erreurs et prendre note de leurs suggestions.

Grâce à eux, partout, dans les villes et dans les campagnes, dans les logements privés, dans les lieux de réunion publics, dans les usines, aux champs, dans les trains, les navires et les avions, la question a été posée et débattue : Doit-on interdire l'usage des armes atomiques ?

Le seul fait que des milliers d'hommes se soient posé la question ne permet plus d'éluder le problème et oblige à tenir compte des opinions formulées. Maintenant ceux qui se posent ou se poseront la question de savoir s'ils vont ou non faire usage de la bombe atomique ne devront plus seulement analyser des rapports d'experts militaires et se préoccuper de considérations tactiques ou stratégiques. Ils ne peuvent plus ignorer que leur décision sera examinée par des millions d'hommes et de femmes qui pourraient bien un jour devenir des juges.

J'ai la ferme conviction que nous parviendrons, au prix encore d'un effort immense et soutenu, à sauver la paix. J'ai aussi la conviction que de cette immense œuvre collective, nos messagers de la paix ont accompli la tâche la plus rude et la plus efficace.

Je suis certain d'être votre interprète à tous en les assurant de notre profonde reconnaissance.

Cette large consultation populaire internationale a amené ceux qui y ont pris part à examiner des problèmes qu'ils ne soupçonnaient parfois pas, à réfléchir sur l'efficacité des mesures proposées, à se demander si, bien que nécessaires, ces mesures étaient suffisantes.

Et, par un retour naturel des choses, grâce aux divers mouvements nationaux, les préoccupations qui s'étaient manifestées sont parvenues à votre Bureau, et ce dernier a cru les traduire cor-

rectement en formulant à Prague, le 18 août 1950, les propositions pour la convocation du second Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix.

Dès que l'Appel de Stockholm eut été proclamé nous avons vu nos messagers de la paix aller de foyer en foyer, appeler l'attention et demander à tous les citoyens de prendre leurs responsabilités.

Les consciences se sont émues. Beaucoup ont commencé à réaliser simultanément qu'un grand danger les menaçait et qu'il leur était possible d'agir pour éloigner puis supprimer ce danger. Et ces citoyens sont venus dans des assemblées de discussion rejoindre des concitoyens avec lesquels, il y a seulement quelques mois, l'idée ne leur serait pas venue d'amorcer le dialogue. Dans ces assemblées populaires, les questions posées et les solutions suggérées à Prague ont été soigneusement examinées et débattues. C'est en conclusion de ces assemblées, puis des Assises, que vous avez été désignés pour venir ici discuter des moyens propres à faire reculer la guerre. Dans les résolutions dont vous êtes porteurs figurent certainement des idées analogues à celles que le Comité avait mises en avant à Rome, puis à Prague. Il en est d'autres sans doute, et nous devrons faire la synthèse de tout cela.

Mais cette brève histoire de notre mouvement en montre le caractère et le fonctionnement démocratique, et je pense que cet exemple aurait intérêt à être suivi dans d'autres instances internationales.

Ce deuxième Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix rassemble des délégués représentant des hommes et des femmes en nombre beaucoup plus grand que notre premier Congrès, dont les confessions, les opinions, les activités sont les plus diverses. Notre mouvement, déjà très large dès son origine, s'est considérablement accru et étendu.

Nous ne sommes sans doute pas ici d'accord sur tous les problèmes, et nos conceptions politiques, éthiques ou philosophiques peuvent être différentes. Nous sommes cependant persuadés de la nécessité qu'il y a à nous réunir pour discuter ensemble et pour trouver ensemble les moyens d'empêcher un nouveau conflit armé.

De très nombreux problèmes ont été abordés dans les Assemblées de discussion que je rappelais à l'instant, et sans vouloir les aborder tous ni les traiter de manière exhaustive, je voudrais simplement en mentionner quelques-uns.

Il existe, depuis que l'opinion publique *dans tous les pays du monde* a sanctionné l'Appel de Stockholm, une pression importante en faveur de l'interdiction des armes atomiques.

Vous connaissez certainement tous les arguments qui militent

en faveur de cette mesure internationale qui retirerait des inquiétudes qui pèsent sur les relations entre les peuples, la hantise de l'agression atomique avec ses horribles conséquences.

Il ne suffit pas de dire que cet appel est « frauduleux » ou qu'il a été « approuvé derrière le rideau de fer » pour enlever leur valeur aux raisons qui ont imposé la logique de l'Appel de Stockholm. Et d'ailleurs nombreux sont les signataires de cet appel qui n'avaient et qui n'ont toujours pas de sympathie particulière pour les régimes de démocratie populaire. Mais ces citoyens ont simplement examiné les données intrinsèques du problème, et ils ont répondu en leur âme et conscience. C'est ce que nous devons tous faire, pour toutes les questions, et nous nous apercevrons que, d'avoir abandonné les exclusives, d'avoir rejeté les refus à priori, nous permettra d'obtenir des solutions constructives et unanimes dans un grand nombre de cas.

Comme je le disais il y a un instant, nous continuerons à réclamer l'interdiction des armes atomiques.

Lorsque l'honorable Premier Ministre du Royaume Uni veut assimiler cette requête aux plaintes ridicules et inefficaces de ceux qui, au Moyen Age, auraient voulu conserver la licence de piller et de voler, il omet de mentionner que tous les gouvernements, celui de son pays en particulier, ont signé des conventions internationales interdisant l'utilisation des gaz de combat et des armes bactériologiques. Pas plus que ces dernières armes, les bombes à plutonium, à uranium 235 ou à hydrogène ne peuvent être considérées et tolérées comme constituant des armes défensives.

Le physicien américain J.-R. Oppenheimer, le principal constructeur de la bombe atomique, n'a-t-il pas déclaré dès 1947 que :

> *« le schéma général pour l'utilisation des armes atomiques a été établi à Hiroshima. Ce sont des armes d'agression, de surprise et de terreur ».*

Il est exact que dans la série des opérations industrielles qui se déroulent entre l'exploitation des mines d'uranium et la mise en marche des grands réacteurs nucléaires, rien ne permet à priori de discerner des intentions pacifiques ou agressives. Il en est de même dans la grande industrie chimique où le chlore et le phosgène continuent à être produits — et c'est heureux — en dépit de l'interdiction qui les frappe — comme gaz de combat. D'où la nécessité d'un contrôle international rigoureux, exercé partout par un personnel spécialisé, d'allégeance internationale. Et il est simplement contraire à la vérité de dire comme l'a fait M. le Premier Ministre Attlee, après beaucoup d'autres, que nous ré-

clamions un contrôle qui « opérerait seulement dans les pays libres, mais n'apporterait aucune restriction dans les Etats totalitaires ». Je me refuse ici à commenter l'emploi des expressions « pays totalitaires » et « états libres ».

Et lorsque ces notions sont admises il est parfaitement normal — et indispensable — de qualifier comme nous l'avons fait le gouvernement qui, le premier, utiliserait les armes atomiques.

Les répercussions de la libération de l'énergie nucléaire sur les relations entre les Nations étaient prévisibles, et elles ont été senties et formulées par de nombreux scientifiques bien avant que la décision n'ait été prise d'utiliser deux bombes atomiques en août 1945. Cette décision, que certains ont sûrement recommandée de bonne foi, a été pour le moins une tragique erreur, et nous souffrons encore du choc qui a été produit.

Le président Romulo avait proposé, pour sortir de l'impasse diplomatique, un armistice atomique de courte durée; d'autres ont repris une idée formulée par un grand expert atomiste, Szilard, en juin 1945, et qui tendait, devant l'impossibilité probable d'arriver à un accord sur le contrôle, d'organiser en quelque sorte un moratoire de l'utilisation de l'énergie atomique. J'ai mentionné, *à titre indicatif*, ces deux idées, bien que la seconde, celle du plan dit zéro-zéro, représente une inadmissible abdication du citoyen devant le problème de l'utilisation pacifique de progrès scientifiques. Adopter une telle attitude serait l'aveu du manque de confiance dans l'entendement humain et créerait un précédent dangereux. Ce serait un recul de la civilisation. On mesure mieux ce que serait cet abandon, même provisoire, lorsqu'on connaît les immenses possibilités et le potentiel de bien-être que peut donner l'énergie atomique.

Au contraire, si nous supposons l'accord réalisé sur l'interdiction et sur les voies du contrôle international, toutes les nations se verraient informées des activités des autres dans le développement des applications de l'énergie atomique et également des progrès de la science nucléaire. Le secret, si néfaste en matière scientifique et cause des suspicions conduisant à la course aux armements, serait enfin banni pour le plus grand profit de tous.

Il est absolument fondamental que les négociations internationales reprennent sur ce problème-clef de l'énergie atomique, et notre Congrès devra rechercher toutes les suggestions qui pourraient permettre d'arriver à un accord.

Ce problème était évidemment le plus urgent, il s'attaquait à la menace la plus directe et la plus grave, puisqu'elle peut mettre en cause les possibilités de vie sur notre planète. Il n'en faudra pas moins qu'en adoptant une position aussi forte et qu'il faudra encore renforcer, nous ne pouvons ni ne devons ne pas

nous préoccuper des immenses dangers que présentent les autres armes et que les destructions de la dernière guerre ont laissé présents à tous les esprits.

Vous aurez donc également à examiner dans quelles conditions pourrait être obtenue la réduction générale et contrôlée des armements de toute nature.

Il est clair, ainsi que nous l'avons proclamé à Prague, que l'accroissement des armements aggrave le danger de guerre et impose aux peuples les plus lourds sacrifices. Nous savons fort bien que l'euphorie économique qui accompagne parfois le début d'une course aux armements n'est que factice et temporaire et que si des profits importants sont distribués à une petite minorité, l'immense majorité des citoyens éprouve bientôt une diminution appréciable de son niveau d'existence. Il est impossible de consacrer des centaines de millions d'heures de travail à des tâches improductives sans que les biens de consommation ne se raréfient.

La thèse qui semble prévaloir depuis quelques mois et que de nombreux discours officiels précisent outre-Atlantique est que des conversations sur le désarmement ou sur toute autre question ne seront possibles que lorsque l'équilibre des forces armées sera rétabli. Et au nom de cette nécessité, sans qu'ait été défini le critérium de cet équilibre, le monde s'engage dès maintenant dans une politique de production d'armements dont nous connaissons tous les dangers.

Il me paraît que la discussion, au contraire, serait infiniment plus facile, plus fructueuse si elle s'engageait avant qu'une longue course aux armements n'ait avivé les craintes, développé les suspicions et aggravé la peur réciproque.

Décider tout d'abord une réduction des armements constitue la première étape vers un désarmement général : une telle décision étant acceptée, sa mise en vigueur ne devient possible qu'après un recensement des armes existantes, y compris les armes atomiques, et un contrôle international permanent de l'exécution des décisions prises. Ce processus aura pour effet, en donnant à chacun des informations contrôlées de la situation chez l'autre, d'éviter les hypothèses alarmantes et les appréhensions. Il est dans le sens du rétablissement de la confiance, de la détente internationale et se traduirait immédiatement par un grand allégement des charges budgétaires de tous les pays.

Tout ceci suppose naturellement que soit prohibée l'arme d'agression type, l'arme atomique, qui posséderait autrement pendant cette période intermédiaire une valeur potentielle terriblement accrue.

Là encore nous retrouvons intimement mêlés les problèmes

de réduction des armements et de mise hors la loi des armes atomiques.

Attendre d'être assez armé avant d'envisager de discuter, c'est d'abord rendre un hommage, involontaire sans doute, au partenaire qui, disposant d'une grande marge de supériorité, n'en a pas profité pour imposer sa loi au monde. C'est aussi courir plus tard le risque de se croire, pour un intervalle de temps très court, dans un état de supériorité tel qu'il vous permette de poser, sous forme d'ultimatum, des conditions inacceptables et ainsi provoquer la guerre qu'on se flattait de vouloir éviter et que l'atmosphère de suspicion, que la psychose de guerre entraînées par la course aux armements auront rendu presque inévitable.

Cette atmosphère de suspicion n'est d'ailleurs pas créée sans arrière-pensée.

Le prétexte de la menace d'une agression permet de trouver les armes de la répression sociale. Il permet d'éliminer, en les traitant de criminels, d'incendiaires ou de traîtres, ceux qui ne commettent d'autre crime que de s'élever contre l'injustice sociale et de dénoncer les dangers — et les profits particuliers — de la course aux armements.

Cette attitude odieuse et pleine de périls pour la paix devrait révolter toutes les consciences honnêtes. Nous l'avons dénoncée, nous continuerons de le faire, et c'est ce qui explique en partie les attaques et les injures dont nous avons été l'objet.

L'accumulation des stocks de bombes atomiques, des chars, des avions, des canons mènerait, si l'on en croit M. Winston Churchill, à une paix d'un genre particulier : « la paix par la terreur mutuelle ».

Une expérience millénaire a cependant démenti ce pronostic, et le délégué de la Belgique à l'Organisation des Nations Unies rappelait fort opportunément, le 4 novembre 1949, quelques lignes du livre écrit au soir de sa vie par un ministre des Affaires étrangères du Royaume Uni, Sir Edward Grey, qui avait en particulier la responsabilité de la politique étrangère de l'Angleterre en août 1914 :

> *« La morale est claire : c'est que de grands armements conduisent inévitablement à la guerre ; s'il y a des armements d'un côté, il doit y en avoir des autres côtés; si une nation arme, les autres nations lui rendent l'agression tentante en demeurant sans défense. Les armements nécessitent un équipement; les armées ne peuvent être d'utilité sans chemins de fer stratégiques.*

Chaque mesure prise par une nation est notée et conduit à des contre-mesures chez les autres.

» L'accroissement des armements, qui est destiné dans chaque nation à produire un sentiment de puissance, de sécurité, ne produit pas ces effets; il développe la conscience de la puissance des autres Etats et un sentiment de peur. La peur engendre la suspicion, la défiance, et des imaginations mauvaises de toutes sortes, jusqu'à ce que chaque gouvernement sente qu'il serait criminel, que ce serait une trahison pour son propre pays de ne pas prendre toutes les précautions. Cependant chaque gouvernement considère chaque précaution de tout autre gouvernement comme une preuve d'intentions hostiles. »

Et Sir Edward Grey termine par ce verdict :

« L'énorme accroissement des armements en Europe, le sentiment d'insécurité et de peur causé par eux, c'est cela qui a rendu la guerre inévitable.

» Telle est, à mon avis, la véridique interprétation de l'histoire et la leçon que le présent doit apprendre du passé dans l'intérêt de la paix future, l'avertissement que nous devons transmettre à ceux qui viendront après nous. »

Comment ne pas mettre en parallèle avec les dangers de cet énorme accroissement des armements tout ce que la science et la technique permettraient de donner à l'humanité si on les appliquait pour la paix. L'effort de guerre poursuivi pendant un seul mois, comme l'a mentionné récemment Arnold Zweig, permettrait par exemple d'irriguer le Sahara et d'accroître ainsi considérablement la production agricole du globe.

Notre humanité est encore décimée par de grands fléaux comme la tuberculose et le cancer.

Pourquoi ne pas organiser la lutte contre ces fléaux à l'échelle, par exemple, de ce qui a été fait pour produire les bombes atomiques ou les autres armes de destruction. Les recherches dans ces domaines sont assez avancées pour que la victoire soit certaine au bout d'un tel effort.

Cette victoire-là ne vaut-elle pas de provoquer les enthousiasmes ? Ne mériterait-elle pas, pour être acquise, de mobiliser les richesses et les hommes ? Alors, pourquoi ne le fait-on pas ? Parce que la pression de l'opinion n'est pas assez grande. Ceci sans doute parce que beaucoup s'imaginent que cette lutte est

déjà entreprise sur une grande échelle. Là réside l'erreur, il faudrait développer l'effort à une échelle *totalement différente*, aussi différente qu'un petit atelier. de mécanique l'est d'une grande usine de production d'automobiles. Même ce qu'on est accoutumé d'appeler les « grands travaux » pour l'accroissement du bien-être sont peu de chose comparés à l'effort que les Nations savent organiser pendant les guerres. Trop de citoyens ne l'ont pas encore compris ou ont trop négligé d'agir dans ce sens.

Comme si les événements voulaient encore marquer davantage les périls tragiques de la course aux armements, voici que l'Allemagne va se voir incluse dans le programme.

Nous sommes nombreux ici cependant qui avons cru que le danger du militarisme allemand était définitivement écarté, et les souvenirs que nous avons sont trop vifs dans les pays qui subirent l'invasion notamment, pour que nous ne mesurions pas l'importance de la tentative qui est en cours d'exécution.

Rappelons-nous les luttes terribles menées en commun. Rappelons-nous les engagements pris.

Les principes furent posés à Yalta, confirmés et précisés à Potsdam :

1° *Destruction de la force militaire et de l'industrie de guerre de l'Allemagne;*

2° *Châtiment des criminels de guerre;*

3° *Réparations;*

4° *Dénazification et démilitarisation de la vie allemande.*

> « *Notre but,* disait la déclaration finale, *n'est pas de détruire le peuple allemand; mais ce n'est que lorsque le nazisme et le militarisme auront été annihilés que les Allemands pourront avoir l'espérance d'une vie décente et d'une place dans le concert des nations.* »

Ces principes, déjà en 1946, n'ont pas été suivis.

Les responsables nazis qui avaient soutenu, financé et armé Hitler ont été ré-investis dans leurs fonctions dans la Ruhr.

L'abandon des réparations, le retour à l'état antérieur dans le bassin rhéno-westphalien étaient si nets et si rapides qu'après un discours caractéristique du secrétaire d'Etat. James Byrnes, dès le 26 septembre 1946, le conseiller du président Roosevelt, M. Morgenthau, s'écriait :

> « *Si M. Byrnes a vraiment l'intention de rejeter le plan de Potsdam et de laisser une Allemagne industriellement puissante, je prévois alors la répétition des er-*

reurs fatales de Versailles, qui conduiront inévitablement à une troisième guerre mondiale. »

Ne devons-nous pas nous demander les raisons qui poussent à reconstruire avec tant de hâte la « Wehrmacht » ? Et ne devons-nous pas redouter — car déjà des propos bien révélateurs ont été tenus en Allemagne — que ces nouvelles légions vont se proposer de libérer Prague de la tutelle tchèque et l'Alsace de l'oppression des Français ?

La solution qui m'apparaît comme préférable et dont vous étudierez les moyens de réalisation est de réaffirmer et de maintenir la démilitarisation de l'Allemagne. Des contrôles, des enquêtes seront nécessaires, de manière à lever là également toutes les suspicions. Il faut pour cela reprendre les entretiens entre ceux qui ont combattu le fascisme hitlérien. Il vaut mieux négocier pour maintenir l'Allemagne désarmée que d'être bientôt obligé de se battre à nouveau pour lui retirer les armes qui lui auraient été données.

Sans examiner sous tous leurs aspects les propoitions de Prague concernant la dénonciation de l'agression où qu'elle se produise et la condamnation de l'intervention armée étrangère dans les affaires intérieures des peuples, ainsi que le règlement pacifique de la guerre de Corée, je crois utile de me reporter fidèlement aux commentaires que nous avons déjà publiés en vue d'éclairer les débats publics auxquels la convocation de notre deuxième Congrès Mondial donna lieu.

Les tâches essentielles de ces commentaires sur ces questions sont résumées ainsi :

Les conditions dans lesquelles naissent les guerres sont toujours entourées de mystère, voire de mensonges. Et c'est la volonté même de ceux qui les provoquent d'échapper ainsi à la responsabilité qu'ils encourent. Il nous appartient de percer ces mystères et de dénoncer l'agresseur. Il n'est pas possible de laisser impunis et camouflés ceux qui engagent le monde dans un désastre.

Oui, l'agresseur est un criminel qu'il faut dénoncer et condamner. Sur ce point tout le monde est d'accord. Les avis sont divergents lorsqu'il s'agit de définir l'agresseur.

Quand par exemple de grandes nations comme les Etats-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne ou la France, envoient en Grèce, en Malaisie, au Viet-Nam ou en Corée des bateaux et avions de guerre, de véritables armadas pour y débarquer tanks, avions et troupes et poursuivre les hostilités, il est évident pour quiconque

que ce ne sont point ces petits peuples qui ont menacé ou agressé ces grandes nations, mais ces dernières qui viennent les frapper à des milliers de kilomètres de leurs frontières, avec l'intention de leur imposer directement ou indirectement leur domination.

Mais pour ceux que ne satisfait pas ce simple jugement il est une juridiction établie et signée par les représentants des grandes nations : c'est la Charte des Nations Unies. Elle permet de définir et de sanctionner l'agresseur.

Si ses principes avaient été respectés par tous, les conflits sanglants qui se sont produits depuis cinq ans auraient été évités. Généralement ces foyers de guerre sont allumés par telle ou telle nation qui, pour justifier son agression armée, s'arroge le droit d'intervenir au nom de la « démocratie », de la « justice » ou du « droit » dans les affaires intérieures de petites nations.

C'était aussi au nom de formules de ce genre, pour les délivrer du judaïsme... du bolchévisme... des influences négroïdes... voire même de l'impérialisme anglais ou américain et pour leur apporter un prétendu socialisme et une « Europe nouvelle » qu'Hitler et ses acolytes envahirent les nations pour les coloniser.

C'est pour reconquérir leur indépendance nationale et être maîtres chez eux que les patriotes de tous les pays ont livré contre l'envahisseur la bataille de la résistance. Non, la liberté, la démocratie, la justice, la civilisation ne sauraient être apportées aux peuples à la pointe des baïonnettes étrangères.

Les interventions armées dans les affaires intérieures d'un peuple doivent cesser, car elles ne peuvent apporter de solution durable et elles sont grosses de dangers immenses pour le monde entier.

Un exemple tragique de conflit à propos duquel, sur la désignation de l'agresseur, de nombreuses controverses se sont établies, est constitué par la guerre de Corée.

S'il existe parmi nous des opinions différentes sur les origines et les conditions de déclenchement de cette guerre, nous devrions cependant nous préoccuper d'abord d'appuyer toutes les initiatives qui ont pu ou qui pourraient être prises pour faire cesser le conflit.

En particulier nous considérerons comme un acte en faveur de la paix la proposition du Pandit Nehru « de localiser le conflit et de coopérer à un règlement pacifique et rapide », proposition immédiatement acceptée par le généralissime Staline et repoussée, après trois messages, par le secrétaire d'Etat Dean Acheson.

Depuis cette époque, l'intervention étrangère décidée par le

Conseil de Sécurité, sans entendre les parties en cause et sans que les deux grandes puissances voisines de la Corée soient présentes, a développé ses ravages et avait d'ailleurs débuté avant même que ne fut prise cette décision juridiquement sans valeur.

Pour l'instant cette campagne militaire, accompagnée d'effroyables bombardements des populations civiles, d'extermination des vies et de destruction des richesses, a aussi eu pour effet de confier l'administration de ce malheureux pays qui désirait l'honnêteté et l'unification, à un gouvernement corrompu qui, dans sa propre zone, avait été largement battu aux élections et ne s'était maintenu que par un régime de terreur, condamné par le rapport même de la Commission de l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'année 1949. Pourquoi des Nations qui se réclament de la Liberté, de la Démocratie et de la Paix, ont-elles choisi la voie de la paix par la force et par les ruines, alors que d'autres solutions étaient certainement possibles dans le cadre de la Charte des Nations Unies ?

La véritable raison de cette action concertée n'est-elle pas rendue plus claire par le lien intime qui existerait entre la Corée, l'Indochine, Formose et les Philippines, selon les termes même de la déclaration solennelle faite à Washington le 27 juin 1950 par le président Truman ?

Ne serions-nous pas conduits, si nous suivions cette conception, à qualifier d'agresseurs les Coréens en Corée, les Indochinois au Viet-Nam, les Chinois à Formose et peut-être les Philippins à Manille ?

Je me permettrai de constater en toute objectivité qu'un lien existe entre les régimes que l'intervention étrangère veut imposer par la force à ces peuples.

Un lien existe entre Syngman Rhee, Bao-Daï et Tchang-Kaï-Tchek, c'est celui de la corruption, de même qu'un lien existe entre ces divers peuples : le désir d'indépendance, de justice et de liberté.

Nous devrons développer de toute urgence un grand mouvement d'opinion pour imposer le retour à une procédure qui respecterait la lettre et l'esprit de la Charte des Nations Unies. Il est grand temps d'agir, car la guerre de Corée constitue un foyer très dangereux de conflit généralisé.

Il est une décision de l'Assemblée Générale des Nations Unies, adoptée dans sa seconde session, à laquelle tous les Partisans de la Paix attachent une très grande importance : c'est celle qui condamne la propagande en faveur de la guerre.

Le Bureau a donc décidé à Prague de vous demander de dé-

libérer sur l'interdiction de toutes les formes de propagande favorisant la guerre, en quelque pays que ce soit.

Il suffit de parcourir les journaux et publications, d'écouter les émissions radiophoniques et les discours de personnalités, parfois considérables, pour se rendre compte à quel point cette résolution des Nations Unies n'est pas respectée.

Cette propagande systématique tend à la fois à créer un climat de guerre, à persuader que la guerre est inévitable et à fournir de prétendues « justifications morales » à une politique de force qui ne peut que conduire à une nouvelle guerre mondiale.

Je ne vise pas spécialement, en dénonçant ces propagandes, la violence des mots, les qualificatifs injurieux et en général les excès de langage, sans nier toutefois qu'ils contribuent à créer un climat peu propice à la discussion sur les problèmes mondiaux.

Je pourrais viser les propagandistes des mensonges et des calomnies destinés à abuser la bonne foi et à armer psychologiquement puis matériellement des millions d'hommes dont on voudrait faire les chevaliers d'une nouvelle croisade. Certes je n'ignore pas que ce sont là précisément les termes qu'emploient ces propagandistes pour caractériser notre action. Ces attaques ne réussiront pas à nous ébranler, car nous ne redoutons pas la confrontation entre nos paroles, la réalité et nos actes.

Les Partisans de la Paix ne se font pas les champions d'un régime particulier et ne prétendent pas se transformer en policiers ou en chiens de berger pour empêcher les peuples de vivre en se donnant le régime et le gouvernement de leur choix. Nous avons trop confiance dans le jugement des peuples pour nous permettre de les comparer à des moutons que l'on envisage tantôt de tondre et tantôt de mener à l'abattoir. Notre seul souci est d'éveiller la conscience universelle à temps pour éviter au monde la catastrophe.

Mais je voudrais dénoncer ceux qui, possédant de grandes responsabilités sociales ou politiques, comme les journalistes, les écrivains, les hommes politiques, excitent directement à la guerre, recommandent la guerre comme seul moyen de régler les différends entre les Nations.

La liste serait malheureusement longue des exemples que l'on pourrait citer.

Par exemple M. Nance, Recteur de l'Université de Floride, déclarait récemment :

> *« Je considère que nous devons faire une préparation en nous inspirant de la loi de la jungle. Chacun*

doit apprendre l'art de tuer. Je ne pense pas que la guerre doive se limiter à l'action d'armées, de flottes de guerre et de forces de l'air. Il ne doit pas exister de limitations quelconques dans le choix des méthodes ou des armes de destruction. J'approuverai la guerre bactériologique, l'emploi des gaz, les bombes atomiques ou à hydrogène et des raquettes interplanétaires. Je n'interviendrai pas en faveur des précautions à prendre envers les hôpitaux, les églises, les établissements scolaires ou quelques groupes de populations civiles. »

C'est le général Anderson qui s'écrie :

« *Que l'on m'ordonne de le faire et je fais saute d'ici une semaine les cinq nids atomiques des Russes... Et quand je paraîtrai devant le Christ je pense pouvoir lui expliquer que j'ai sauvé la civilisation.* »

C'est le secrétaire d'Etat à la Marine des Etats-Unis d'Amérique, M. Matthews, qui déclare :

« *Les Etats-Unis devraient accepter de payer cher pour donner la paix du monde, même en faisant naître une guerre qui contraindrait à la coopération pour la paix...*

» *Les forces qui ne veulent pas la paix voudraient stigmatiser notre programme du nom « agression impérialiste ». Nous pourrions accepter cette calomnie avec satisfaction, car la poursuite d'une politique de paix vigoureuse et positive, bien qu'elle nous confère un caractère nouveau pour une démocratie, celui d'initiateur d'une guerre d'agression, nous vaudrait l'orgueil d'un titre populaire : celui d'être les premiers agresseurs pour la paix.* »

Ce qui doit nous apparaître à tous d'une extrême gravité c'est qu'après avoir vu ces propos criminels démentis par ses supérieurs, ce ministre, qui sans doute éprouve une délectation morbide en comptant dans son esprit des centaines de millions de morts, *ait été maintenu en fonction.*

Si le désaccord sur un point aussi fondamental de la politique d'une nation avait été total, on imagine difficilement de voir un ministre aussi désavoué conserver sa fonction, son autorité et ses responsabilités. Le démenti donné par le Secrétaire d'Etat risque fort d'être interprété comme une attitude provisoire dictée par l'opportunisme.

Nous devons dénoncer ceux qui excitent à la guerre et demander qu'ils soient punis par un tribunal international appliquant la résolution de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de même que dans les nations civilisées est réprimé par le code pénal le fait de proférer des menaces de mort.

A côté de ces provocations qui devraient aussitôt conduire leurs auteurs devant une cour de justice, il y a les poisons insidieux, aussi dangereux, que l'on distille particulièrement à la jeunesse sous forme de jouets, de journaux, de films et de radio. Vous aurez à examiner les formes les meilleures pour lutter contre cet empoisonnement psychologique de la jeunesse, par exemple par le boycott massif et par une action commune avec d'autres organisations qui se seraient éventuellement émues de ce problème.

Parallèlement nous devrons continuer à favoriser et à appuyer toutes les expressions de pensée qui concourent à fortifier l'idée de la Paix. Les prix de la paix, créés par le premier Congrès Mondial et qui vont être décernés ici, sont un premier exemple de ce que nous pouvons entreprendre à cet effet.

Si notre devoir est de combattre sans merci les propagandes criminelles qui excitent à la guerre, nous devons parallèlement nous attacher à promouvoir et à favoriser toutes les activités qui peuvent établir une collaboration profitable et pacifique entre les peuples.

La Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies prévoit explicitement à cet effet le développement des échanges économiques et culturels entre les Nations.

C'est le Conseil Economique et Social qui a reçu la mission de traiter de ces problèmes. Nous pensons que ces échanges sont possibles et souhaitables entre tous les pays quels que soient leurs régimes, car le monde constitue un « tout » économique.

En se reportant à l'histoire nous observons que les migrations humaines au dix-neuvième et au début du vingtième siècle, la constitution des empires coloniaux, les mesures protectionnistes prises par les Etats ont conduit à la formation de ces impérialismes économiques, ceux-ci prennent des formes différentes suivant les Etats.

L'Angleterre constitue l'empire britannique avec ses colonies et ses dominions. En Europe les Etats industrialisés exportent marchandises et capitaux tout en se concurrençant âprement, tandis que les Etats-Unis, déjà depuis plus d'un demi-siècle, ont imaginé une nouvelle formule que l'on appela alors l'impérialisme du dollar. Celui-ci exerce rapidement un protectorat financier sur d'autres pays sans annexion véritable ou avouée.

A cette époque où n'existait qu'une seule forme de régime

— le régime capitaliste — des obstacles furent dressés contre la libre circulation des richesses, en raison de la concurrence pour l'obtention des débouchés. C'est ainsi que les impérialismes économiques se heurtaient et provoquaient les conflits armés soit pour conquérir des marchés, soit pour éviter l'asphyxie économique.

Actuellement il existe un autre mode de production et de distribution des richesses : c'est celui des Etats à économie socialiste. Nous n'avons pas ici à nous prononcer sur les mérites comparés de ces régimes. Nous réaffirmons une fois de plus que c'est le droit de chaque peuple de choisir le système qui lui plaît.

Mais des causes de guerre se retrouvent aujourd'hui comme hier si des obstacles toujours plus grands sont dressés devant les échanges économiques. Aux mobiles anciens se superposent d'autres mobiles, mais le résultat risque d'être le même : la guerre.

Nous pensons et nous nous efforcerons de convaincre l'opinion mondiale que des échanges économiques conçus sur des bases profitables à chacune des parties, ne portant aucune atteinte à leur indépendance, sont des gages de paix.

Il nous faut dénoncer les coalitions économiques, les mesures de sujétion exercées contre l'indépendance des peuples — quels qu'en soient les prétextes, plan Marshall ou autres — qui, contrairement à la Charte des Nations Unies, établissent des blocus économiques.

Il est alarmant de lire dans le Bulletin de l'Ambassade des Etats-Unis à Paris, en date du 31 octobre 1950, l'explication suivante de la position du Département d'Etat sur ces problèmes :

> « *La position des Etats-Unis au sujet de ce problème, comme l'a expliqué le porte-parole du Département d'Etat, repose sur les grands principes suivants :*
>
> » 1° *Les Nations de l'Europe occidentale devraient éliminer de leurs expéditions en direction des Nations de l'Est européen des articles représentant environ 25 % de leurs exportations actuelles;*
>
> » 2° *Une grande partie des pertes résultant de cette élimination pourraient être compensées par une augmentation des exportations d'articles d'une nature moins stratégique;*
>
> » 3° *Les Nations participant au Plan Marshall ne devraient pas exporter en direction des Nations du bloc soviétique des produits sur lesquels les Etats-Unis ont mis un embargo mais que par le passé les Etats-Unis avaient livrés aux pays d'Europe occidentale;*

» 4° *Les pays d'Europe occidentale devraient en général adopter la définition américaine de ce qui constitue des produits stratégiques. En plus de l'interdiction d'exporter des munitions, la définition américaine prévoit l'interdiction d'exporter des produits découlant des grands progrès techniques et scientifiques.* »

Ainsi donc si demain une découverte analogue à celle de la pénicilline était faite, par exemple pour lutter contre la tuberculose ou le cancer, les nations de l'Europe occidentale se verraient interdire, au nom de la stratégie atlantique, de la défense de la liberté et du progrès, d'exporter dans tout le monde ce « *produit découlant des grands progrès techniques et scientifiques* ».

Il est impensable que les citoyens des Etats-Unis, de ce grand pays qui a tant fait pour le progrès scientifique, pour les développements techniques, soient d'accord avec de telles positions. Je demande à tous les scientifiques et à tous les techniciens, et je le demande en particulier à mes collègues des Etats-Unis, s'ils ne pensent pas que leur devoir est de s'élever contre de tels reniements de la tradition scientifique et de la conception même de notre civilisation.

C'est dans le même esprit, toujours en nous inspirant de la Charte des Nations Unies, que nous devons agir pour développer les échanges culturels et la circulation des idées entre tous les peuples. Des accords culturels peuvent et doivent être conclus sur des bases profitables à chacune des parties.

Il est évident que ces échanges culturels contribueraient rapidement à une meilleure connaissance des uns et des autres et feraient s'effondrer beaucoup de préventions, de jugements *a priori*, tout cela concourant sérieusement à établir la confiance. Dans le domaine scientifique, les résultats devraient être loyalement diffusés, ce qui accélérerait le progrès et contribuerait à créer des conditions favorables à la Paix.

Je profiterai de cette occasion pour m'adresser aux Partisans de ce « monde ouvert » que réclamait récemment le grand savant Niel Bohr, un monde où serait assurée la libre diffusion des informations scientifiques.

Ne pensent-ils pas qu'il leur faut se préoccuper comme nous le faisons tout d'abord, de lutter contre les menaces immédiates de guerre pour faire reculer celle-ci pas à pas et pour arriver par étapes successives à la réalisation de leurs si louables désirs ?

Nous venons d'examiner différents aspects des actions nécessaires à entreprendre pour éloigner la menace de guerre qui plane aujourd'hui sur nous. Aucune de ces actions n'a de sens

si nous ne posons pas comme principe fondamental que nous considérons qu'il est possible de faire coexister des systèmes économiques et politiques différents dans le monde.

Admettre ce principe n'a de valeur que si cela résulte d'une étude réfléchie de la situation et avec la claire conscience des concessions réciproques que cela suppose. Ces concessions peuvent d'ailleurs être parfaitement guidées par l'intérêt général.

Il est possible également de concevoir et d'affirmer que, dans notre monde du vingtième siècle, ne peuvent pas coexister le système capitaliste et le système socialiste. Admettre cela — qui est faux — c'est en même temps se rallier à la thèse de la fatalité de la guerre.

Ceux qui soutiennent cette thèse sont des fauteurs de guerre et nous devons les dénoncer quels que soient leur rang ou leur fonction.

Admettre au contraire — et c'est notre cas — que des régimes différents puissent coexister, cela suppose que l'on est décidé d'agir pour permettre cette coexistence. Cela signifie que l'on est décidé à rétablir par des actes la confiance mutuelle.

Cela signifie surtout que l'on n'a pas comme arrière-pensée de vouloir imposer à l'un par la force la dictature de l'autre. Cela signifie aussi que l'on accepte de laisser les peuples décider du régime qu'ils désirent se donner, et que l'on n'assimile pas à une « agression intérieure » qui doit mettre en branle la machinerie des pactes de guerre le fait, pour ces citoyens, de changer de gouvernement ou de régime.

La Charte des Nations Unies est l'expression même du principe de la coexistence des régimes différents. C'est pourquoi nous considérons comme une grave contradiction à l'esprit de cette Charte le fait pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies d'avoir accepté, il y a quelques jours, un plan contre la prétendue agression, présenté par M. Dean Acheson.

L'objet essentiel de cette réforme est de supprimer le fameux droit de veto.

Ce droit, ou plus exactement la règle d'unanimité des cinq grands, avait été introduit dans la Charte à la demande du président Roosevelt précisément pour sauvegarder les droits d'une minorité éventuelle contre les abus d'une majorité.

Acquérir l'unanimité pour les décisions qui intéressent le maintien de la paix, c'est reconnaître que l'on désire la coopération, la collaboration entre des régimes différents, et non pas que l'on désire voir s'établir une course vers les pressions directes et indirectes pour la création d'une docile majorité.

Comment ne pas voir que cette règle d'unanimité est indispensable, en particulier tant que les votes au sein de l'Organi-

sation des Nations Unies ne tiennent pas compte des données démographiques, que la Belgique dispose d'une voix comme les Etats-Unis, et la Tchécoslovaquie d'une voix comme les Indes. Ceci sans mentionner que Formose dispose d'une voix et que les quatre cents millions de citoyens de la République Populaire chinoise ne disposent d'aucune.

Ces votes pondérés ne sont plus nécessaires si l'on admet — comme le faisait la Charte — que sur les questions essentielles au maintien de la paix rien ne serait ni ne pourrait être négligé pour arriver à une solution d'unanimité.

A partir du moment où cette règle fondamentale est abandonnée, on passe de la recherche des moyens de collaboration à la recherche des moyens de pression, puis à la recherche des moyens de *légitimer* la guerre préventive réclamée par M. Matthews.

L'Organisation des Nations Unies, ainsi détournée de son but, tend à se transformer purement et simplement en une nouvelle Sainte-Alliance.

C'est ce qu'exprimait le Pandit Nehru le 16 octobre 1950 à New Delhi :

> « *Quoi qu'en disent ses auteurs, il s'agit là d'une tentative pour modifier le caractère de la Charte de l'Organisation des Nations Unies. Ce n'est pas là une chose qui devrait être faite hâtivement et sans en avoir longuement pesé les conséquences.*
>
> » *Nous ne sommes pas d'accord avec les propositions tendant à créer dans chaque pays des forces armées séparées, en vue de leur utilisation par l'Organisation des Nations Unies. CELA REVIENDRAIT POUR AINSI DIRE A FAIRE DE L'ORGANISATION DES NATIONS UNIES UNE ANNEXE DU PACTE ATLANTIQUE ET UNE ORGANISATION ORIENTEE VERS LA GUERRE PLUS QU'UNE ORGANISATION CONSACREE A LA PAIX INTERNATIONALE.* »

C'est également la raison que donnait le délégué de l'Inde, M. A.-C.-N. Nambar, à la Commission politique de l'Organisation des Nations Unies :

> « *Le plan contre l'agression donne l'impression que les Nations Unies sont occupées à perfectionner leur dispositif pour la guerre.* »

Nous avions déjà dénoncé lors de notre premier Congrès le fait que le Pacte Atlantique était contraire à la lettre et à l'esprit

de la Charte des Nations Unies, sur laquelle les peuples avaient fondé et sur laquelle nous fondons encore nos espoirs.

Il est d'autant plus grave de constater que, comme le disait le Pandit Nehru, c'est la Charte que l'on aligne sur le Pacte Atlantique.

Je parlais à l'instant de Sainte-Alliance. C'est la pensée qui vient immédiatement à l'esprit lorsqu'on étudie les justifications données à ces propositions de détournement de la Charte par leur auteur M. Dean Acheson, par son représentant M. Warren Austin et même par M. René Pleven, premier ministre français.

M. Warren Austin déclarait le 26 octobre 1950 à la Commission politique de l'Organisation des Nations Unies :

> « *La résolution qui nous est soumise par le représentant soviétique indique en résumé une obsession suivie de la bombe atomique d'une part et, de l'autre, une indifférence marquée envers les autres armes d'agression. Mais le crime réel est la conduite d'une guerre d'agression, que ce soit avec des bombes atomiques, des divisions blindées ou la subversion.* »

M. René Pleven, prenant la parole à l'Assemblée Nationale le 24 octobre 1950, parlant des contacts directs entre la Grande-Bretagne, les Etats-Unis, l'Union Soviétique et la France, disait :

> « *Pour que de tels contacts soient fructueux, il faut que personne ne puisse avoir aucun doute sur l'inébranlable détermination des démocraties occidentales de défendre leur territoire contre toute agression et « le régime des peuples libres contre toute subversion* ».

On précipite les peuples dans la course aux armements, on contracte des alliances militaires, on abandonne la Charte des Nations Unies... A quelles fins ?

Tout d'abord pour interdire, en la qualifiant de crime de subversion, toute modification aux régimes économiques et politiques établis. Les peuples ne sont plus libres de disposer d'eux-mêmes puisqu'ils doivent savoir que le fait de désirer ou de décider un changement vers plus de justice signifiera le déclenchement de la guerre.

La vogue volontaire du terme de subversion qui revient sans cesse dans les adjurations des chefs responsables de la nouvelle Sainte-Alliance, signifie clairement que cette dernière est bien décidée, comme premier objectif, à fixer le monde dans son état actuel, à stopper tout progrès social.

De tous les événements qui se sont produits depuis notre pre-

mier Congrès, je considère que cette profonde atteinte portée à la Charte est une des plus graves et des plus menaçantes. Une de nos préoccupations dominantes devra être d'obtenir un retour à la véritable Charte des Nations Unies, celle qui fut inspirée par les peuples et reflétait bien leurs aspirations.

En conclusion nous pouvons affirmer aujourd'hui que l'action des Partisans de la Paix entrave et souvent même bouscule le développement des plans des bellicistes. Il est maintenant impossible à ceux-ci de cacher le succès de notre action et leur inquiétude de voir ruiner leur entreprise de mort. Leur inquiétude est si vive qu'ils prennent et font prendre des mesures qui révoltent les consciences honnêtes et par cela même contribuent à éclairer ceux qui n'avaient pas encore confiance dans la valeur et la sincérité de notre action. A ces excitations, capables des pires effets, la foule des Partisans de la Paix oppose toujours plus résolument sa volonté de paix. Elle ne cède pas à la facilité en se laissant aller sur le chemin de la violence. Ce n'est pas par des chemins de ruines et de morts qu'elle veut imposer la paix. La calme résolution qui caractérise notre action est la preuve de notre confiance dans la valeur de l'entendement humain; elle ne traduit aucune faiblesse devant les menaces. Cette caractéristique de nos actes est due à la conviction qu'a profondément en lui chaque Partisan de la Paix que la guerre n'est pas fatale, que les forces de paix déjà rassemblées et en potentiel, sont immenses, qu'il existe une solution pacifique à tous les différends, que la coexistence pacifique de systèmes politiques et économiques dans le monde est possible, et enfin que ce n'est qu'une minorité d'affairistes qui, pour leur propre domination, source d'immenses profits personnels, trompent une foule encore très nombreuse d'honnêtes gens et les entraînent vers la guerre.

Votre Congrès devrait s'inspirer de ces principes.

Dans ces débats que nous souhaitons très larges et très ouverts, il s'agira d'examiner les problèmes qui se posent objectivement avec l'esprit scientifique, en vue de rechercher les points d'accord et sans se perdre en stériles polémiques.

Dans une Assemblée comme la nôtre, qui reflète les opinions mondiales, il est bien clair que nous devrons procéder par étapes dans la recherche de ces points d'accord. Il s'agit de problèmes multiples et complexes, et nous devrons les prendre dans l'ordre d'urgence en nous attachant à résoudre d'abord les plus menaçants.

Nous devrons envisager de soutenir d'autres organisations internationales lorsqu'elles prendront des initiatives justes et efficaces en faveur de la paix. Je mentionnerai par exemple les initiatives prises par la Croix-Rouge Internationale, la Société

Religieuse des Amis (Quakers), des groupements de personnalités dans divers pays, le Conseil pour la Paix animé par Lord Boyd Orr et les Partisans du Gouvernement Mondial, et je suis convaincu que toutes ces organisations, qui éprouvent un désir sincère de la paix, pourront trouver des points d'accord avec notre Mouvement. Ces points d'accord se multiplieront au fur et à mesure que ces groupements se préoccuperont plus en détail des processus successifs d'établissement d'une paix durable.

Par exemple, il y a ceux qui pensent que la paix ne peut être établie que par l'instauration d'un gouvernement mondial, et parmi eux se trouve le grand Einstein. Mais encore faut-il se préoccuper de ce que serait ce gouvernement mondial et par quels chemins on parviendrait à l'installer. Est-ce par le chemin de la guerre ou par les voies de la paix ?

Il est un protagoniste du gouvernement mondial avec lequel nous sommes en désaccord — et Einstein aussi je pense — c'est l'un des conseillers de la Maison Blanche, M. James Burnham, qui envisage « *un ordre mondial démocratique, dirigé à ses débuts par les Etats-Unis, premier stade de l'établissement d'un véritable gouvernement mondial et d'une société mondiale* ».

Les conclusions de ce Congrès pourraient donner lieu à la rédaction d'un appel aux peuples du monde. Celui-ci, ainsi que les résolutions, seraient ensuite examinés en vue de ratification par des assemblées populaires. De larges délégations pourraient être envoyées auprès des assemblées élues, auprès des gouvernements, auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies, et je suis convaincu que le Congrès et le Comité que vous élirez sauront trouver encore d'autres formes d'action.

Ceux d'entre vous qui assistaient déjà à notre premier Congrès sont revenus ici enrichis d'une expérience précieuse et animés du même désir d'action. Ceux qui se sont joints depuis à notre Mouvement représentent souvent des hommes et des femmes qui n'auraient pas envisagé, il y a quelque temps encore, d'être obligés d'agir pour défendre la Paix. Tous ensemble nous allons travailler avec une ardeur nouvelle pour accomplir cette œuvre qui mérite qu'on s'y dévoue : faire de la force que nous représentons l'instance internationale la plus haute, capable d'imposer la volonté des peuples chaque fois que les organismes chargés du maintien de la paix failliront à leur tâche.

Nous allons travailler en gardant dans nos esprits et dans nos cœurs le souvenir des horreurs de la guerre et de l'oppression fasciste, des préoccupations et des angoisses de tous nos concitoyens, avec lesquels nous avons débattu avant de venir ici de la meilleure manière d'aboutir. S'il était encore besoin d'un stimulant nous le trouverions sans doute dans les mesquines

embûches qui ont été jetées sur notre chemin. Nous le trouverions sûrement dans le fait que plusieurs délégués n'ont pas pu remplir leur mandat, car ils sont actuellement détenus pour avoir lutté pour la Paix.

Il n'est pas possible que les souffrances éprouvées l'aient été en vain.

Il n'est pas possible que les hommes dirigent vers leur propre anéantissement les forces naturelles qu'ils ont su découvrir et asservir.

C'est parce que nous sentons profondément tout ceci, c'est parce que nous sommes décidés à nous dévouer pour la défense de cette belle cause que nous sommes ici aujourd'hui et que nous repartirons demain dans nos patries pour poursuivre l'œuvre entreprise, c'est parce que nous avons confiance dans le jugement des êtres humains lorsqu'ils sont suffisamment éclairés et aussi parce que nous savons que le nombre des honnêtes gens dans le monde est incomparablement plus grand que celui des gens malhonnêtes.

C'est parce que nous sommes conscients d'agir en toute sincérité et en toute objectivité pour la Paix que nous serons les plus forts, que nous parviendrons à éveiller à temps la conscience universelle qui s'opposera victorieusement à la guerre.

I.C.C. (J. LONDON Impr.), 13, r. de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

PUBLIÉ PAR LE CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

Prix : 20 fr.

DEUXIÈME

CONGRÈS MONDIAL DES PARTISANS DE LA PAIX

VARSOVIE 16-22 NOVEMBRE 1950

LES ACTES ET RÉSOLUTIONS

ADOPTES PAR LE CONGRES

LE CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

ELU PAR LE CONGRES

SOMMAIRE

Manifeste aux peuples 5

Adresse à l'O.N.U. 7

Résolutions :

Pour les victimes de la répression 12

Sur la définition de l'agression 13

Pour l'interdiction des armes atomiques et pour le désarmement 13

Contre la propagande de guerre 15

Sur la consolidation et le développement des relations économiques entre les pays 16

Sur la consolidation et le développement des relations culturelles entre les pays 16

Relative à l'organisation 18

Résolution financière 19

Conseil Mondial de la Paix élu par le Congrès 20

LES DEUX TEXTES ESSENTIELS VOTES PAR LE CONGRES

EN SEANCE PLENIERE, LE 22 NOVEMBRE 1950

I

MANIFESTE AUX PEUPLES

La guerre menace l'humanité, les enfants, les femmes et les hommes. L'Organisation des Nations Unies ne justifie pas l'espoir mis en elle par les peuples de conserver la Paix et la tranquillité. La vie des hommes et les acquisitions de la culture humaine sont en péril.

Les peuples veulent conserver l'espoir que l'Organisation des Nations Unies reviendra résolument aux principes qui étaient à la base de sa constitution après la deuxième guerre mondiale et qui consistaient à assurer la liberté, la Paix et l'estime mutuelle entre les peuples.

De plus en plus les peuples du monde mettent leur espoir en eux-mêmes, dans leur fermeté et dans leur bonne volonté. Tout homme conscient sait que celui qui ose dire : « La guerre est inévitable » calomnie l'humanité.

En lisant ce message lancé au nom des peuples de quatre-vingts pays représentés au IIe Congrès de la Paix de Varsovie, n'oubliez jamais que le combat pour la Paix c'est votre combat. Sachez que des centaines de millions de Partisans de la Paix en s'unissant vous tendent la main. Ils vous invitent à participer au plus beau des combats livrés par l'humanité, qui croit en son avenir.

La Paix ne s'attend pas, elle se gagne.

Joignons nos volontés pour demander que cesse la guerre qui ravage aujourd'hui la Corée et qui peut mettre le feu au monde.

Dressons-nous contre la tentative de rallumer des foyers de guerre en Allemagne et au Japon.

Avec les cinq cents millions d'êtres conscients qui ont signé l'Appel de Stockholm nous exigeons l'interdiction des armes atomiques, le désarmement général et le contrôle de ces mesures.

Le contrôle rigoureux du désarmement général et de la destruction des armes atomiques est techniquement possible. Il s'agit de le vouloir.

Imposons une législation qui réprime les propagandes de guerre.

Saisissons les parlements, les gouvernants et l'Assemblée des Nations Unies des propositions pour la Paix élaborées par le IIe Congrès Mondial. La puissance des forces pacifiques dans le monde est assez grande, la voix des hommes libres assez forte pour qu'ensemble nous puissions obtenir la rencontre des représentants des cinq grandes puissances.

Le IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix a fait la preuve, avec une force sans précédent, que les hommes accourus des cinq parties du monde peuvent, malgré les grandes divergences d'opinion, s'entendre pour conjurer le fléau de la guerre et conserver la Paix. Que les gouvernants suivent leur exemple et la Paix sera sauvée.

II

ADRESSE A L'O.N.U.

Lorsqu'ils ont créé l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les peuples du monde ont mis en elle de grands espoirs. Et le plus grand est celui de la Paix.

Cependant la guerre bouleverse aujourd'hui la vie paisible de certains peuples et demain elle risque de bouleverser celle de toute l'humanité. Si l'Organisation des Nations Unies ne justifie pas la grande espérance qu'avaient mis en elle les peuples du monde — tant ceux qui y sont représentés par leurs gouvernements que ceux qui n'y sont pas encore représentés — si l'Organisation des Nations Unies n'assure pas à l'humanité la tranquillité et la paix, c'est parce qu'elle est influencée par les forces qui se sont écartées du seul chemin possible de la Paix universelle : la recherche de l'entente générale.

Si l'Organisation des Nations Unies veut justifier les espoirs que l'humanité met toujours en elle, elle doit revenir dans la voie qui, depuis le jour de sa fondation, lui a été tracée par les peuples, et comme premier pas dans cette voie elle doit assurer dans le plus bref délai la réunion des cinq grandes puissances : Etats-Unis, France, Union Soviétique, Grande-Bretagne et République Populaire de Chine, pour l'examen et le règlement pacifique des différends en cours.

Le IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, composé de délégués de quatre-vingts pays et représentant la voix authentique de l'humanité pacifique, insiste pour que l'Organisation des Nations Unies et les organismes législatifs devant lesquels les gouvernements de différents pays sont responsables, examine de toute urgence les propositions suivantes appelées à rétablir la confiance entre tous les pays, indépendamment de leurs systèmes sociaux, et à maintenir ou rétablir la Paix.

1. — Devant le fait que la guerre menée actuellement en Corée n'apporte pas seulement des détresses innombrables au Peuple Coréen mais menace de se généraliser, nous insistons pour que cesse cette guerre, pour que soit effectué le retrait de Corée des armées étrangères et pour que soit trouvée une solution pacifique au conflit intérieur qui oppose les deux parties de la Corée, et cela avec la participation des représentants du peuple coréen.

Nous insistons pour que le problème soit résolu par le Conseil de Sécurité au complet, c'est-à-dire avec les représentants de la République Populaire de Chine. Nous demandons la cessation de l'intervention des troupes américaines contre l'île chinoise de Taiwan (Formose) et la cessation des hostilités contre la République du Viet-Nam, actions militaires qui, elles aussi, portent une menace de guerre mondiale.

2. — Nous condamnons d'une manière catégorique toute tentative faite ou mesure prise en violation des accords internationaux qui interdisent le réarmement de l'Allemagne et du Japon. Ces tentatives et mesures représentent une grave menace pour la Paix. Avec insistance nous demandons la conclusion d'un traité de paix avec une Allemagne unifiée et démilitarisée, ainsi qu'avec le Japon, et le retrait des troupes d'occupation de ces deux pays.

3. — Nous considérons les violences employées pour le maintien des peuples dans un état de dépendance et d'oppression coloniales comme une menace pour la cause de la Paix et nous proclamons le droit de ces peuples à la Liberté et à l'Indépendance.

De même nous nous élevons contre toutes formes de discrimination raciale, car elles engendrent la haine entre les Nations et compromettent la Paix.

4. — Nous estimons nécessaire de dénoncer les tentatives des agresseurs pour jeter la confusion sur la notion même de l'agression et pour donner ainsi prétexte à l'intervention étrangère dans les affaires intérieures des autres pays.

Aucune considération d'ordre politique, stratégique ou économique, aucune raison tirée de la situation intérieure ou de conflits internes dans tel ou tel Etat ne peuvent justifier l'intervention armée d'un autre Etat quel qu'il soit. L'agression est le fait criminel d'un Etat qui, le premier, emploie la force armée contre un Etat sous un prétexte quelconque.

5. — Nous considérons que la propagande en vue d'une nouvelle guerre crée la plus grande menace pour la collaboration

pacifique des peuples. Nous la considérons comme l'un des crimes les plus graves contre l'Humanité. Nous en appelons aux parlements de tous les pays pour qu'ils édictent une loi de protection de la Paix, établissent la responsabilité pénale en ce qui concerne la propagande pour une nouvelle guerre, sous quelque forme que ce soit.

6. — Tous les hommes honnêtes, indépendamment de leur tendance politique, considérant l'extermination massive et impitoyable des populations civiles de Corée comme un crime contre l'Humanité, nous demandons qu'une commission internationale compétente soit appelée à examiner les crimes commis dans cette guerre de Corée et en particulier la question de la responsabilité du général Mac Arthur.

7. — Interprètes des peuples qui ploient sous les lourdes charges des budgets de guerre, fermement résolus à garantir à l'Humanité une paix solide et continue, nous saisissons l'Organisation des Nations Unies, les parlements et les peuples des propositions suivantes :

— Interdiction absolue de toutes espèces d'armes atomiques, des armes bactériologiques, chimiques, toxiques, radioactives et de tous autres moyens de destruction massive ;

— Dénonciation comme criminel de guerre du gouvernement qui emploierait ces armes le premier.

Le IIe Congrès Mondial, conscient de sa responsabilité devant les peuples, s'adresse avec la même solennité aux grandes puissances et leur propose de procéder au cours des années 1951 et 1952 à une réduction progressive, simultanée et dans la même proportion, de toutes les forces armées de terre, de l'air et de mer, cette réduction allant du tiers à la moitié.

Une telle mesure, en mettant un terme décisif à la course aux armements, diminuera les risques d'agression.

Elle permettra d'alléger les charges qui grèvent le budget des Etats et pèsent lourdement sur toutes les couches du peuple.

Elle permettra également d'aboutir au rétablissement de la confiance internationale et de l'indispensable coopération entre toutes les nations, quel que soit leur régime social.

Le Congrès déclare que le contrôle concernant l'interdiction des armes atomiques et de destruction massive, ainsi que celui des armes dites conventionnelles, sont techniquement possibles.

Un organisme de contrôle international, disposant d'inspecteurs qualifiés, doit être constitué auprès du Conseil de Sécurité : il sera chargé de contrôler aussi bien la réduction des armes conventionnelles que l'interdiction des armes atomiques, bactériologiques, chimiques et autres.

Le contrôle, pour être efficace, doit porter non seulement sur les forces militaires, l'armement existant et la production d'armes tels qu'ils seront déclarés par chaque pays, mais encore sur réclamation de la Commission de Contrôle International, il doit s'étendre à l'inspection des forces militaires, de l'armement et de la production d'armes, qui seraient simplement supposées en plus de celles qui auraient été déclarées.

Ces propositions de réduction des forces armées constituent une première étape dans la voie du désarmement général et total qui reste l'objectif final des Partisans de la Paix.

Le IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, convaincu que la Paix ne peut être garantie par la recherche d'un équilibre de forces entraînant la course aux armements, affirme que ces propositions ne donnent aucun avantage de puissance militaire à quelque nation que ce soit, mais qu'elles auront pour effet certain de faire échec à la guerre et d'accroître le bien-être et la sécurité de tous les peuples du monde.

8. — Nous soulignons que, dans certains pays, le passage de l'économie de paix à l'économie de guerre trouble toujours davantage les relations économiques et les échanges internationaux de matières premières et de produits manufacturés. Nous considérons qu'il a une répercussion néfaste sur le niveau de vie de nombreux peuples, qu'il entrave le progrès économique et les courants commerciaux et que cette situation est la raison de conflits qui menacent la Paix du monde.

Défenseurs des intérêts vitaux des populations et désireux d'assainir la situation internationale, nous demandons que l'on revienne à des règles normales d'échange et de commerce entre les divers pays sur la base de la réciprocité. Ainsi seraient satisfaits les besoins des peuples, ainsi seraient écartées toutes formes de discrimination économique, ainsi serait assuré le développement économique des grands et des petits Etats.

9. — Nous considérons que les entraves apportées aux échanges culturels entre les peuples engendrent la discorde, l'incompréhension, créent un climat de méfiance et favorisent les propagandes de guerre. Nous considérons que le resserrement des

liens culturels entre les peuples crée les conditions les plus favorables pour leur entente mutuelle et raffermit leur confiance dans la lutte commune pour la Paix.

♣

Aussi nous appelons tous les gouvernements à contribuer à l'amélioration des relations culturelles entre les peuples pour leur permettre de mieux connaître leurs patrimoines respectifs dans le domaine de la culture. Nous leur demandons de faciliter l'organisation de conférences internationales, d'intellectuels, les visites de pays à pays, l'édition et la diffusion la plus large des œuvres littéraires et la connaissance des œuvres artistiques.

En invitant l'Organisation des Nations Unies à justifier les espoirs que les peuples avaient placés en elle, nous portons à sa connaissance la création par nos soins d'un Conseil Mondial de la Paix.

Le Conseil Mondial de la Paix sera un organisme représentatif des représentants de tous les peuples du monde, qu'il s'agisse des pays affiliés à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, de ceux qui n'y sont pas encore représentés, ou de ceux qui sont dépendants ou colonisés.

Il appelle l'Organisation des Nations Unies à accomplir effectivement les devoirs dont elle est chargée pour affermir et développer une collaboration pacifique entre tous les pays. Il assumera la tâche élevée d'assurer une paix solide et continue qui corresponde aux intérêts vitaux de toutes les nations.

Le Conseil Mondial de la Paix donnera enfin à l'humanité tout entière la certitude qu'en dépit de toutes les difficultés existantes qui ne doivent d'ailleurs pas être minimisées, il accomplira sa mission.

III

RESOLUTION

POUR LES VICTIMES DE LA REPRESSION

adoptée par acclamations unanimes du congrès.

DANS de nombreux pays, les défenseurs de la Paix sont aujourd'hui soumis aux persécutions policières.

En Amérique latine, aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique, en France, en Italie, dans les pays dépendants d'Afrique et du Proche-Orient, des milliers d'entre eux ont été emprisonnés.

Ils sont nombreux ceux qui, délégués à ce Congrès, n'ont pu y assister.

Les Assemblées en faveur de la Paix sont interdites. Les défenseurs de la Paix essuient le feu de la police, ils sont massacrés.

La persécution n'épargne pas les savants.

Le IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix salue les victimes de la terreur policière. Il élève une protestation solennelle contre les persécutions dont les défenseurs de la Paix sont l'objet.

Le Congrès réclame la libération immédiate de toutes les victimes de la répression policière. Il invite les peuples du monde entier à exprimer leur solidarité envers ces nobles défenseurs de la Paix, à les faire libérer, à les défendre et à protéger tous ceux qui luttent dans le monde pour la Paix.

TEXTES ELABORES PAR LES COMMISSIONS DU IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Les textes suivants ont servi de base à l'établissement des deux documents : « Manifeste aux Peuples » et « Adresse à l'O.N.U. ». Leur adoption par le Congrès était impliquée dans le vote de ces deux textes essentiels.

IV

RESOLUTION SUR LA DEFINITION DE L'AGRESSION

1° L'agresseur est l'Etat qui, le premier, emploie la force armée contre un autre Etat, sous n'importe quel prétexte.

2° Aucune considération politique, économique ou stratégique, aucune raison basée sur la situation intérieure d'un Etat ne peut justifier une intervention armée.

V

RESOLUTION POUR L'INTERDICTION DES ARMES ATOMIQUES ET POUR LE DESARMEMENT

Le IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, après avoir constaté avec une vive satisfaction que plus de cinq cents millions d'êtres humains à travers le monde ont déjà exprimé leur volonté d'assurer la Paix en signant l'Appel de Stockholm pour l'interdiction de l'arme atomique;

Interprète de cette exigence profonde de tous les peuples;

Interprète des angoisses que ressentent face aux périls de guerre les peuples écrasés par des dépenses militaires toujours accrues;

Désireux de contribuer à l'édification d'une Paix stable et durable;

S'adresse solennellement à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, aux parlements et aux peuples, et leur soumet les propositions suivantes :

— Interdiction absolue de toutes les espèces d'armes atomiques, bactériologiques, chimiques, toxiques, radioactives et de tous autres moyens de destruction massive;

— Dénonciation comme criminel de guerre du Gouvernement qui, le premier, emploierait ces armes.

Le IIe Congrès Mondial, conscient de sa responsabilité devant les peuples, s'adresse avec la même solennité aux grandes puissances et leur propose de procéder au cours des années 1951 et 1952 à une réduction progressive, simultanée et dans la même proportion, de toutes les forces armées de terre, de l'air et de mer. Cette réduction allant du tiers à la moitié.

Une telle mesure, en mettant un terme décisif à la course aux armements, diminuera les risques d'agression.

Elle permettra d'alléger les charges qui grèvent le budget des Etats et pèsent lourdement sur toutes les couches du peuple.

Elle permettra également d'aboutir au rétablissement de la confiance internationale et de l'indispensable coopération entre toutes les nations, quel que soit leur régime social.

Le Congrès déclare que le contrôle concernant l'interdiction des armes atomiques et de destruction massive, ainsi que celui des armes dites conventionnelles, sont techniquement possibles.

Le Congrès propose qu'un organisme de contrôle international comprenant un service d'inspection qualifié soit constitué auprès du Conseil de Sécurité et chargé de contrôler aussi bien la réduction des armements conventionnels que l'interdiction des armes atomiques, bactériologiques, chimiques et autres armes de destruction massive.

Le Contrôle, pour être efficace, doit porter non seulement sur les forces militaires, l'armement existant et la production d'armes tels qu'ils seront déclarés par chaque pays, mais encore, sur réclamation de la commission de contrôle internationale : il doit s'étendre à l'inspection des forces militaires, de l'armement existant et de la production d'armes qui seraient simplement supposés en plus de ceux qui auraient été déclarés. Ces propositions de réduction des forces armées constituent une première étape dans la voie du désarmement général et total qui reste l'objectif final des Partisans de la Paix. Le IIe Congrès Mondial, convaincu que la Paix ne peut être garantie par la recherche d'un équilibre de forces entraînant la course aux armements, affirme que ces propositions ne donnent aucun avantage de puissance militaire à quelque nation que ce soit, mais qu'elles auront pour effet certain de faire échec à la guerre et d'accroître le bien-être et la sécurité de tous les peuples du monde.

VI

RESOLUTION

CONTRE LA PROPAGANDE DE GUERRE

Le IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, considérant :

— que la propagande en vue d'une nouvelle guerre crée la plus grande menace pour la collaboration pacifique des peuples ;

— que cette progande constitue un des crimes les plus graves contre l'humanité;

— s'adresse aux parlements de tous les pays en leur demandant d'édicter une loi de protection de la paix, qui établisse le responsabilité pénale pour la propagande d'une nouvelle guerre, sous quelque forme que ce soit.

Le Congrès s'adresse aux Parlements de tous les pays en leur demandant d'assurer, dans l'intérêt du renforcement de la Paix, l'éducation des jeunes générations dans un esprit de collaboration avec les autres peuples et de respect pour les autres races et nations.

Le Congrès demande à tous les Partisans de la Paix, à tous les hommes et à toutes les femmes honnêtes dans tous les pays du monde de boycotter résolument les maisons d'édition et de production cinématographique, les organes de presse, les stations de radiodiffusion, les individus ou les organisations qui propagent directement ou indirectement la propagande de guerre; il leur demande également de protester énergiquement contre toutes les formes d'art et de littérature qui soutiennent une telle propagande.

Le Congrès s'adresse à tous les travailleurs de la presse, de la littérature, des arts, du cinéma, de l'éducation et de l'enseignement pour qu'ils se refusent à servir d'instruments à la propagande de guerre, propagande de meurtre et de haine entre les nations, et il leur demande de prendre une part active à la diffusion des idées de paix et à la compréhension entre les peuples.

VII

RESOLUTION SUR LA CONSOLIDATION ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DES RELATIONS ECONOMIQUES ENTRE LES PAYS

Le passage d'une série de pays à l'économie de guerre porte un préjudice de plus en plus grand aux relations économiques et à l'échange entre les pays tant des matières premières que des produits industriels; il a des répercussions désastreuses sur le niveau de vie de nombreux peuples et fait également obstacle au progrès et à la coopération économique entre tous les pays. En même temps, la violation des relations économiques normales entre les pays est une source de conflits constituant une menace pour la Paix.

Partant des intérêts vitaux de la population de tous les pays désireux d'assainir la situation internationale, le IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix estime indispensable :

— d'établir des relations commerciales normales entre les différents pays sur la base de conditions mutuellement avantageuses, satisfaisant les besoins des peuples, excluant la discrimination économique dans n'importe laquelle de ses expressions, assurant le développement de l'économie nationale et l'indépendance économique des Etats, grands et petits.

Prenant en considération le fait que le passage accéléré d'une série de pays à l'économie de guerre favorise les forces intéressées à la guerre et accentue par conséquent la menace de conflits militaires, le IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix propose aux Assemblées législatives de tous les pays d'adopter une loi abolissant les super-profits sur les commandes liées à la préparation à la guerre.

VIII

RESOLUTION SUR LA CONSOLIDATION ET LE DEVELOPPEMENT DES RELATIONS CULTURELLES ENTRE LES PAYS

En vue d'assurer une collaboration pacifique entre les peuples et leur compréhension mutuelle, le IIe Congrès des Partisans de la Paix estime nécessaire de prendre des mesures pour consolider et développer les relations culturelles entre les différents pays. Le Congrès recommande :

Dans le domaine de la Science :

— Contribuer à la création d'associations scientifiques internationales comprenant des savants de tous les pays;

— Organiser des congrès scientifiques dans les capitales des différents Etats à tour de rôle. Organiser des voyages de savants dans d'autres pays pour consolider des relations mutuelles et l'échange d'expériences scientifiques;

— Organiser l'échange des travaux scientifiques entre universités et grandes bibliothèques. Editer des bulletins périodiques avec des notices sur les travaux édités dans les différents pays;

— Organiser pendant les vacances des voyages de jeunes et d'étudiants, dans les autres pays.

Dans le domaine de l'Art :

— Organiser des tournées de troupes théâtrales, d'orchestres, d'ensembles d'artistes, ainsi que la diffusion de films;

— Organiser des festivals de musique familiarisant les auditeurs avec la musique des autres pays;

— Organiser des expositions artistiques; organiser des expositions d'art populaire;

— Inviter largement les représentants des autres pays à prendre part aux solennités nationales consacrées à des dates mémorables de l'Histoire, de la Science, de la Littérature et des Arts;

— Organiser la célébration de ces dates dans les autres pays;

— Contribuer à la traduction d'œuvres littéraires, à l'édition et à l'exécution d'œuvres musicales; échanger ces œuvres ainsi que des notices et des articles ou critiques de ces œuvres;

— Editer largement les classiques de la littérature, de la musique mondiale, du cinéma et reproduire les tableaux, sculptures et morceaux d'architecture de renommée mondiale;

— Contribuer au développement, dans chaque pays, de la technique de la traduction d'œuvres étrangères.

Pour l'élargissement du Mouvement de la Paix

IX

RESOLUTION RELATIVE A L'ORGANISATION

L'ACTION engagée par les Partisans de la Paix depuis le Congrès de Paris a trouvé par l'Appel de Stockholm une résonance universelle et l'appui de centaines de millions d'hommes et de femmes; elle s'est développée dans l'élan puissant des peuples qui ont participé activement au débat instauré autour du IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix.

L'importance et l'ampleur des perspectives de Paix que les propositions issues du Congrès ouvrent devant les peuples répondent à l'élargissement du mouvement pour la Paix, à la variété de la représentation nationale, politique, sociale et religieuse réalisée dans ces Assises Mondiales, à l'ampleur et à la liberté des débats qui se sont ouverts.

La discussion, l'approbation et le soutien actif de ces propositions par les peuples auxquels elles sont présentées peuvent imposer la réalisation des espoirs que l'Humanité a placés dans l'idée des Nations Unies.

Des volontés de Paix nouvelles et puissantes s'unissent aux nôtres.

Nous constatons avec satisfaction que les conditions sont réunies pour une collaboration avec de nombreuses associations, collectivités culturelles ou religieuses, organisations pacifistes ou courants d'opinion tels que les quakers, les mondialistes, les courants en faveur de la neutralité et autres, orientés vers l'effort pour le maintien de la paix.

Grâce à ces efforts communs, nous pourrons assurer de façon permanente une possibilité de rencontre et d'action pacifique des peuples tout en insistant auprès de l'O.N.U. sur sa mission, qui est d'être, non l'instrument d'une quelconque hégémonie, mais le terrain d'entente entre les gouvernements. Ce qui implique pour elle des devoirs impérieux vis-à-vis des peuples.

De telles tâches, que la responsabilité du mouvement nous commande, le rôle que la gravité de la situation internationale impose aux Partisans de la Paix, nous ont inspiré la proposition de créer le Conseil Mondial de la Paix. Tout peuple, tout groupement, tout courant d'opinion pacifique qui veut travailler pour la réalisation de telle ou telle proposition de Paix élaborée par le Congrès Mondial à sa place dans le Conseil Mondial de la Paix et pourra y envoyer ses représentants.

En conséquence, le Conseil Mondial de la Paix reçoit du Congrès Mondial le mandat d'accueillir dans son sein les représentants de toutes les forces qui s'engagent dans une action pratique en faveur de la Paix.

X

RESOLUTION FINANCIERE

Devant le développement sans cesse accru de notre mouvement et l'ampleur de ses tâches nouvelles qui exigent des ressources permettant d'assurer le fonctionnement régulier de ses organismes et l'établissement d'un appareil administratif et technique correspondant à son importance, le IIe Congrès Mondial décide ce qui suit :

1° Chaque Comité National ou Organisation Internationale adhérente versera une cotisation sur une base et dans des conditions qui seront déterminées par les organismes élus par le Congrès;

2° La campagne du Fonds Mondial de la Paix continue. Toutes les initiatives devront être recherchées et appliquées par les comités nationaux et locaux afin d'assurer son plein succès.

Il importe que chaque adhérent à notre mouvement participe à l'effort de collectage des fonds. La contribution personnelle de millions d'hommes et de femmes pacifiques doit être comprise par tous comme indispensable à la réalisation des objectifs de notre Congrès.

LE CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX ELU PAR LE CONGRES

AFRIQUE NOIRE

M. GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER, *Vice-Président de l'Assemblée de l'Union Française.*

M. SEKOU TOURE, *Secrétaire Général de l'Union des Syndicats de la Guinée.*

M. SAAR IBRAHIMA, *Secrétaire Général de la Fédération des Cheminots de l'A.O.F.*

AFRIQUE DU SUD

M. DESMOND BUCKLE.

Révérend D.-C. THOMPSON.

ALBANIE

Dr. MANOL KONOMI, *Président du Comité albanais, Président de l'Institut des Sciences.*

ALGERIE

M. ABDERRHAMAN BOUCHAMA, *Architecte.*

ALLEMAGNE

M. JOHANNÈS R. BECHER, *écrivain — compositeur du texte de l'hymne national allemand — Président de l'Association culturelle pour la rénovation démocratique de l'Allemagne.*

Prof. HANS ERTEL, *météorologiste, membre de l'Académie des Sciences, Député au Parlement.*

M. ERWIN ECKERT, *ancien pasteur évangélique, Député du Landtag, Président du Comité des Partisans de la Paix de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest.*

M. WALTER DIEHL, *étudiant en théologie (Mayence), Président des Jeunes Partisans de la Paix de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest.*

M. Heinrich FINK, *docker, conseiller municipal de Hambourg, premier délégué syndical de la « Deutsche Werft ».*
Mme Edith HOERETH-MENGE, *institutrice, Présidente du Comité des Partisans de la Paix de l'Allemagne de l'Ouest, conseillère municipale de Munich, membre du Conseil de la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme.*
Mme Anna SEGHERS, *écrivain, membre de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, Présidente du Comité allemand des Partisans de la Paix.*
Dr Arnold ZWEIG, *écrivain, Président de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts; Député de la Chambre populaire.*
Mme Hélène WEIGEL-BRECHT, *actrice, lauréate du Prix National.*
Dr Johannès HERZ, *pasteur et professeur de théologie.*

ARGENTINE

Mme Margarita DE PONCE, *professeur.*
M. Emilio GARCIA ITURRASPE, *avocat.*
M. José Luiz PELUFFO, *médecin.*

AUSTRALIE

Mme Jessie STREET, *membre du comité exécutif des Partisans de la Paix d'Australie, ancienne déléguée australienne auprès de l'Organisation des Nations Unies.*
M. James HEALEY, *Secrétaire Général de l'Union des travailleurs maritimes.*
Rév. Frank HARTLEY.

AUTRICHE

M. Ernst FISCHER, *écrivain, ancien Ministre.*
Professeur Josef DOBRETSBERGER, *professeur d'Université.*
Professeur Heinrich BRANDWEINER, *professeur d'Université en droit ecclésiastique.*

BELGIQUE

M. Max COSYNS, *professeur de physique, Président de l'Union belge pour la défense de la paix.*

BRESIL

M. Mario FABIAO, *scientifique.*
Mme BRANCA FIALHO, *professeur, Présidente de l'Union des femmes brésiliennes.*
M. Jorge AMADO, *écrivain.*
M. Palamède BORSARI, *ingénieur.*

BOLIVIE

Pr. HUMBERTO BILBAO LA VIEJA.

BULGARIE

M. LUDMIL STOYANOV, *Académicien.*
M. METHODI POPOV, *professeur.*
Dr GEORGE NADJAKOV, *scientifique.*

CANADA

Révérend J.-C. ENDICOTT, *professeur de théologie, Président du Comité de la Paix.*
M. ARTHUR WRAY, *membre du Parlement de la province Alberta.*

CEYLAN

M. PIETER KEUNEMAN, *Député, Président de la Fédération des Syndicats.*

CHILI

M. GUILHERMO DEL PEDREGAL, *industriel, ancien Ministre.*
M. PABLO NERUDA, *poète, écrivain.*

CHINE

Mme SUN YAT SEN, *Présidente de l'Association du Secours au peuple chinois.*
M. KUO MO JO, *Président du Comité chinois de la Paix.*
M. MA YIN CHU, *Président de l'Université de Chekiang.*
M. LIU NING I, *Vice-Président des syndicats chinois.*
M. EMI SIAO, *poète.*
Mme LI TEH CHUAN, *Vice-Présidente de la Fédération démocratique des femmes.*
M. CHANG PO CHUN, *Secrétaire général de la Ligue Démocratique Chinoise.*
M. TSAI TING KAI, *ancien général de l'armée antijaponaise.*
M. LIAO CHENG CHIH, *Président de la Fédération chinoise de la Jeunesse.*
M. WU LAN FU, *membre du Comité de la Paix chinois.*
M. Y. T. WU, *membre de l'Union Chrétienne de la Jeunesse de Chine.*

COLOMBIE

M. BALDOMIRO SANIN CANO, *écrivain.*
Mme GRAZIÉLA MENDOZA, *journaliste.*

COREE

M. HAN TSE RYTZ, *écrivain, Président de l'Association des Ecrivains.*

M. LI TCHIEN, *écrivain, Président du Bureau des échanges culturels de l'Association de l'Amitié Soviéto-Coréenne.*

Mme PAK DEN AI, *Présidente de l'Association des femmes démocrates de Corée.*

COSTA-RICA

M. JOAQUIM GARCIA MONGE, *professeur de l'Université de Costa-Rica.*

CUBA

M. JUAN MARINELLO, *écrivain, ancien Ministre.*

M. DOMINGO VILLAMIL, *juriste, professeur de théologie.*

Dr ELIAS ENTRALGO, *professeur d'Université.*

DANEMARK

M. ANDERSEN NEXOE, *écrivain.*

M. MOGENS FOG, *professeur, ancien Ministre.*

EGYPTE

M. MOHAMED KAMEL EL BINDARI PACHA.

M. FATBI RAWAN, *Président du Conseil Supérieur du Parti Nationaliste.*

M. AHMED SAAD EL DINE KAMEL, *avocat.*

EQUATEUR

Dr JUAN MORALES Y ELOY, *professeur.*

Dr. ANGEL MODESTO PAREDES.

ESPAGNE

M. JOSÉ GIRAL, *docteur, ancien premier Ministre du Gouvernement républicain espagnol.*

M. MANUEL SANCHEZ ARCAS, *architecte.*

M. JOSÉ BERGAMIN, *écrivain.*

ETATS-UNIS

Professeur W.-E. DUBOIS.

M. PAUL ROBESON, *chanteur.*

M. HOWARD FAST, *écrivain.*

Révérend ARTHUR MOULTON.

Révérend JOSEPH FLECHTER, *professeur à l'école de théologie de Harvard.*

M. CHARLES HOWARD, *avocat, vice-président du Parti progressiste.*

Dr. WILLARD UPHAUS, *révérend, dirigeant de la « National Fondation de la religion et du travail ».*
Mme THÉRÉSA ROBINSON.
M. EARLY LARSON, *syndicaliste.*
M. FRED STOVER, *Président de l'Union des Fermiers d'Iowa.*
M. ERNEST DE MAIO, *syndicaliste.*
Mme CLÉMENTINA PAOLONE, *physicienne.*
Révérend ROBERT MUIR.
Révérend JOHN DARR. Jr.

FINLANDE

M. VAINO MELLTI, *Préfet.*
Mme HAGAR OLSSON, *écrivain.*
M. FÉLIX IVERSEN, *professeur.*

FRANCE

Professeur JOLIOT-CURIE.
Mme EUGÉNIE COTTON, *Maître de Recherches.*
Mme IRÈNE JOLIOT-CURIE.
M. PABLO PICASSO, *peintre.*
M. LOUIS ARAGON, *écrivain.*
M. VERCORS, *écrivain.*
M. LOUIS SAILLANT, *Président du C.N.R.*
M. JUSTIN GODART, *ancien Ministre, membre de l'Académie de Médecine.*
M. YVES FARGE, *ancien Ministre, Président des Combattants de la Paix et de la Liberté.*
M. PIERRE COT, *ancien Ministre.*
M. EMMANUEL D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE, *ancien Ministre.*
Abbé JEAN BOULIER.
M. ALAIN LE LEAP, *Secrétaire général de la C.G.T.*
Mme FRANÇOISE LECLERCQ, *Secrétaire de l'Union des Femmes françaises.*
M. LAURENT CASANOVA, *ancien ministre.*
M. JEAN LAFFITTE, *écrivain.*
M. GUY DE BOYSSON, *conseiller de l'Union Française.*
M. GILBERT DE CHAMBRUN, *député.*
Professeur WEILL-HALLE, *membre de l'Académie de Médecine.*
M. ARMAND MITTERAND, *conseiller de l'Union Française.*
M. ROBERT CHAMBEIRON, *député.*

M. Fernand VIGNE, *Secrétaire général des Combattants de la Paix et de la Liberté.*
Pasteur Francis BOSC.
Mme CASSIN.
Docteur J.-P. MAY.
M. Marcel ALLEMANN, *mineur.*
M. Paul RODI, *membre du Comité directeur du Mouvement de libération du peuple.*

GRANDE-BRETAGNE

Professeur J.-C. CROWTHER, *physicien.*
Professeur J.-D. BERNAL, *physicien.*
Mme S.-O. DAVIES.
M. D.-N. PRITT, K. C., *avocat, ancien député.*
M. J. PLATT-MILLS, *avocat, ancien député.*
M. Steve LAWTHER, *mineur.*
Dr WOODARD, *médecin.*
Révérend Alexander REID, *Président du Comité écossais de la Paix.*
Miss Anne GEORGE, *fonctionnaire.*
M. J. SANDY, *ingénieur, Président du Comité de la Paix de Londres.*
Dr Nora JOHNS, *médecin.*
Miss Marian ROBERTSON, *Secrétaire du Comité de la Paix de l'Ecosse.*
M. Malcolm NIXON, *étudiant.*
M. Ivor MONTAGU, *journaliste.*
Dr Hewlett JOHNSON, *doyen de Canterbury.*

GRECE

Professeur KOKKALIS, *ancien Ministre.*

HOLLANDE

M. HORSMEIER.

HONGRIE

Mme Elisabeth ANDICS, *professeur à l'Université de Budapest.*
M. Janes PETER, *Evêque protestant de Debrecen.*
M. Georges LUKACS, *écrivain, membre de l'Académie des Sciences.*

INDES

Dr. ATTAL.
Professeur D.-D. KOSAMBI.

INDONESIE

Dr TJOA SIK IEN, *ex-représentant de l'Indonésie à l'O. N.U., fondateur du Comité de la Paix en Indonésie.*

IRAK

MOHAMED MEHDI AL JEWAHIRI, *poète.*

IRAN

M. BAHAR, *professeur de l'Université de Téhéran, poète.*
M. ESKANDARI, *avocat.*

ISRAEL

M. MEIR YAARI, *député.*
M. BAR YEHUDA, *député.*
M. TAWFIQ TOOBI, *député*

ITALIE

M. PIÉTRO NENNI.
M. EMILIO SERENI, *sénateur, ancien ministre.*
Père ANDRÉA GAGGERO.
Professeur AMBROGIO DONINI, *ancien Ambassadeur.*
M. UMBERTO TERRACINI, *sénateur, ancien Président de l'Assemblée Constituante.*
M. ARTURO LABRIOLLA, *sénateur, ancien Ministre.*
M. GIOVANNI CONTI, *sénateur, ancien Vice-Président du Sénat.*
M. WILLY FERRERO, *chef d'orchestre.*
M. FERDINANDO TARGETTI, *député, Vice-Président de la Chambre des Députés.*
Mme ADA ALESSANDRINI, *professeur.*
M. FRANCESCO CERABONA, *député, ancien Ministre.*
Mme ELÉNA CAPORASO, *juriste.*
M. GIUSEPPE DOZZA, *maire de Bologne.*
M. GIULIO EINAUDI, *éditeur.*
M. GIORGIO FENOALTEA, *avocat.*
M. ACHILLE LORDI, *juriste.*
M. le professeur MORELLO-MORELLINI, *de l'Université de Rome.*
M. MARIO PALERMO, *sénateur.*
M. SALVATORE QUASIMODO, *écrivain.*
M. LÉONIDA REPACI, *écrivain.*
M. FRANCESCO SCOTTI, *député.*
M. FERNANDO SANTI, *député, secrétaire de la C.G.I.L.*

M. ANTONINO VARVARO, *avocat, député à l'Assemblée.*
M. TULLIO VECCHIETTI, *professeur.*
M. le comte PAOLO SELLA DI MONTELUCE, *industriel.*

JAPON

M. OKUO OYAMA, *professeur à Tokio.*

LIBAN

M. GEORGES HANNA, *médecin.*
M. RADOIN CHAHAL, *artiste.*
M. ANTOINE TABET, *architecte, Président du Comité de la Paix.*

MADAGASCAR

Mme ZELE RASOANORO, *député.*

MEXIQUE

M. le général LAZARO CARDENAS, *ex-Président de la République.*
M. VINCENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, *Président de la Confédération Générale du Travail d'Amérique Latine.*
M. ISMAEL COSIO VILLEGAS, *scientifique.*
M. le général HERIBERTO JARA, *ancien Ministre de la Marine.*

MONGOLIE

M. TSENDIN DAMDINSYRYN, *Président du Comité National de la Paix.*

NORVEGE

M. KIRSTEN HANSTEEN, *éditeur.*
M. HERRMAN TOENNESSEN, *Directeur des Recherches à l'Université d'Oslo.*

NOUVELLE-ZELANDE

M. C.-W. CHANDLER, *Doyen de Hamilton, Nouvelle-Zélande.*

PAKISTAN

FAIZ AHMAD FAIZ, *secrétaire général du Comité de la Paix.*

PARAGUAY

M. JOSÉ ASUNCION FLORES.

POLOGNE

M. JAN DEMBOWSKI, *professeur.*
M. LÉOPOLD INFELD, *professeur.*
M. OSTAP DLUSKI, *rédacteur.*
M. VICTOR KLOSIEWICZ, *Président du Conseil Central des Syndicats.*
M. LÉON KRUCZKOWSKI, *écrivain.*
M. JERZY PUTRAMENT, *écrivain.*

PORTUGAL

M. VALADARES DA COSTA, *physicien.*

ROUMANIE

M. MIHAIL SADOVEANU, *Président du Comité de la Paix, Académicien, écrivain.*
Mme FLORICA MEZINCESCU. *professeur, Ministre adjointe de l'Enseignement public de Roumanie, Vice-Présidente du Comité permanent de la Paix.*
M. SOMI TOMA, *professeur, rédacteur en chef du journal* « Scanteia », *membre du Comité permanent de la Paix.*

SUEDE

M. ARTHUR LUNDQVIST, *écrivain.*
M. SVEN HECTOR, *pasteur.*
M. PER OLOV ZENNSTROM, *écrivain.*

SUISSE

M. le professeur ANDRÉ BONNARD.

SYRIE

M. IBRAHIM HAMZAOUI, *juriste.*
M. SAID TAHSIN, *artiste peintre.*
M. MUSTAPHA AMINE, *avocat.*

TCHECOSLOVAQUIE

Mme ANEZKA HODINOVA-SPURNA, *Vice-Présidente de l'Assemblée Nationale.*
M. JAN MUKAROVSKY, *recteur de l'Université de Prague.*
M. l'abbé Dr ALEXANDER HORAK.
M. V. BOUCEK, *ouvrier stakhanoviste des usines Skoda.*

TRIESTE

M. ANGELO FRANZA, *journaliste, secrétaire du Comité de la Paix.*

TUNISIE

M. le Dr. SLIMAN BEN SLIMAN.
M. MOHAMED DJERAD, *journaliste.*

URUGUAY

M. JOSÉ LUIZ MASSERA, *mathématicien.*

U.R.S.S.

M. ALEXANDRE FADEEV, *écrivain.*
M. TIKHONOV, *Président du Comité de la Paix.*
M. KORNEITCHOUK, *dramaturge.*
Mme WANDA WASILIEWSKA, *écrivain.*
Mme GAGARINA, *professeur, Vice-Présidente du Comité des femmes antifascistes.*
M. OPARINE, *académicien.*
M. NIESMIEANOV, *académicien, recteur de l'Université de Moscou.*
M. SOLOVIEV, *secrétaire des syndicats.*
M. GOULAEV, *journaliste.*
M. KOTCHEMASOV, *secrétaire du Comité de la Jeunesse antifasciste.*
S. E. le Métropolite NIKOLAI, KROUTSKI et KOLOMENSKI.
M. ILYA EHRENBOURG, *écrivain.*

VENEZUELA

M. le général JOSÉ MARIA GABALDON.

VIET-NAM

M. TRAN THANH.
M. NGUYEN PHUC BUV HOI, *savant, membre de la famille impériale.*
M. PHAM HUY THONG, *professeur.*

YOUGOSLAVIE

M. le général PÉRO POPIVODA.

LE BUREAU
DU CONSEIL MONDIAL

Le Conseil Mondial s'est réuni à l'issue du Congrès, le 23 novembre 1950, à 11 heures, et a procédé à l'élection d'une première liste de personnalités qui doivent composer son bureau. Parmi celles-ci, les personnalités suivantes ont confirmé leur acceptation :

Président :

Professeur JOLIOT-CURIE

Vice-Présidents :

Pietro NENNI (Italie)
Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER (Afrique Noire) — **Professeur BERNAL** (Grande-Bretagne) — **Général CARDENAS** (Mexique) — **Mme Eugénie COTTON** (France) — **Alexandre FADEEV** (U.R.S.S.) — **Révérend FLETCHER** (U.S.A.) — **Professeur Leopold INFELD** (Pologne) — **KUO MO JO** (Chine) **Arthur LUNDQVIST** (Suède).

Membres :

Mme Branca FIALHO (Brésil) — **Ilya EHRENBOURG** (U.R.S.S.) — **Yves FARGE** (France) — **José GIRAL** (Espagne) — **Professeur Dharmavir KOSAMBI** (Indes) — **Recteur Jan MUKAROVSKI** (Tchécoslovaquie) — **Louis SAILLANT** (France) — **Mme Jessie STREET** (Australie).

Secrétaire Général :

M. Jean LAFFITTE (France)

Secrétaires :

Palamède BORSARI (Brésil) — **Révérend DARR** (U.S.A.) — **Gilbert DE CHAMBRUN** (France) — **EMI SIAO** (Chine) — **Giorgio FENOALTEA** (Italie) — **GOULAEV** (U.R.S.S.) — **Ivor MONTAGU** (Grande-Bretagne).

SOUSCRIVEZ
POUR RECEVOIR

LE COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague), de même importance et présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

ADRESSEZ VOTRE SOUSCRIPTION
CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée - PARIS (VIIIe)
C.C.P. F. GUYOT, 7172-60 Paris

LISEZ
LA *REVUE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX*
EDITEE MENSUELLEMENT EN DIX LANGUES
15, rue Feydeau, 15 — Paris-IIe

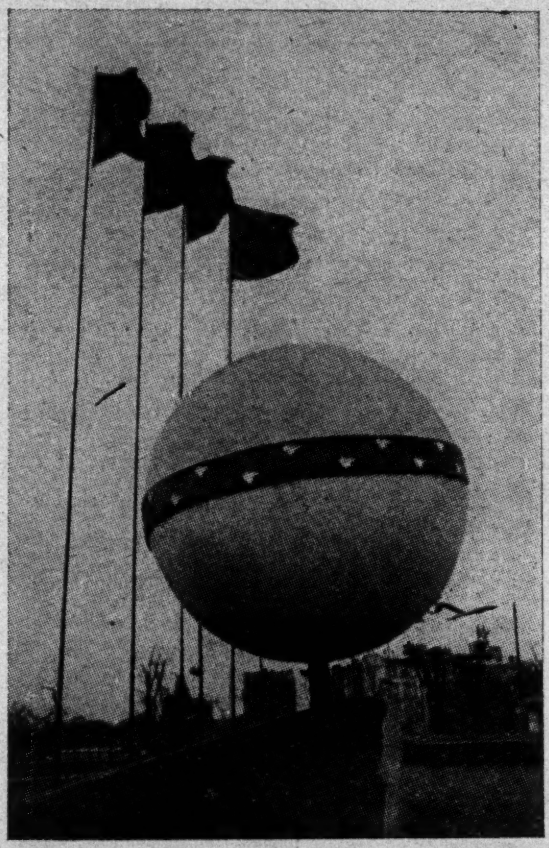
PUBLIÉ PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

2e Edition
DÉCEMBRE 1950

Prix : 20 fr.

SECOND

WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE



WARSAW 16-22 NOVEMBER 1950

ACTS AND RESOLUTIONS

OF THE CONGRESS

THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

ELECTED BY CONGRESS

CONTENTS

Manifesto to the Peoples of the World 3

Address to the United Nations 5

Resolutions :

Resolution on the Victims of Repression 11

Resolution defining aggression 12

Resolution for the Prohibition of Atomic Weapons, and for General Disarmament 12

Resolution against War Propaganda 14

Resolution on the Strengthening and Development of Economic Relations between Countries 15

Resolution on the Strengthening and Development of Cultural Relations between Countries 16

Resolution on Organisation 18

Resolution on Finances 19

Members of the World Peace Council Elected by the Congress 20

THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS

I

MANIFESTO TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD

WAR threatens mankind : every child, every woman, every man.

The United Nations is not fulfilling the hopes placed in it by the people to ensure peace and security.

All human life and mankind's cultural heritage are in peril.

The people would cling to the hope that the United Nations will return resolutely to the principles upon which it was founded after the Second World War, and which consisted of securing freedom, peace and mutual respect between all peoples.

More and more the peoples of the world are putting their hope in themselves—in their determination and in their good will.

Every thinking person knows that he who says " War is inevitable " slanders mankind.

You, who read this message proclaimed in the name of the peoples of eighty nations, represented at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw, must never forget that the fight for peace is your own fight. You should know that hundreds of millions of defenders of peace join in stretching out their hands to you. They invite you to take part

in the noblest battle ever engaged in by a humanity confident of its future.

We cannot wait for peace. We must win it.

Join your will to ours in demanding the cessation of the war which rages in Korea and which may set the world ablaze. Stand up with us in opposing the attempt to resow the seeds of war in Germany and Japan.

Together with 500 million human beings who signed the Stockholm Appeal, we demand the abolition of atomic weapons, general disarmament, and controls to accomplish this. The strict control of general disarmament and of the destruction of atomic weapons is technically possible. What is needed is the will to do it.

We demand the outlawing of war propaganda.

Let us press before all parliaments, all governments and the General Assembly of the United Nations for the peace proposals put forward by this Second World Peace Congress.

The power of the forces of peace throughout the world is great enough, the voice of free men is strong enough, for us together to secure a meeting of the representatives of the five Great Powers.

The Second World Peace Congress provides, with unprecedented force, the proof that men and women gathered from the five continents of the world can agree, despite great differences of opinion, in order to dispel the scourge of war and to maintain peace.

Let the governments follow this example and peace will be saved !

II

APPEAL TO THE UNITED NATIONS

When the peoples of the world created the United Nations, they endowed it with their hopes. The greatest of these was the hope for peace.

Today, however, war upsets the peaceful life of many peoples and threatens tomorrow to upset the peace of all mankind.

If the United Nations is not fulfilling that great hope reposed in it by all the peoples of the world, both those whose governments are represented in it and those not yet represented therein—if the United Nations is not guaranteeing mankind security and peace, this is because it is being influenced by forces which have disregarded the only path to universal peace : the search for general agreement.

If the United Nations is to realise the hopes that the peoples have always reposed in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the days of its foundation, and, as a first step in this direction, must secure as soon as possible the calling together of a meeting of the five great powers : the Chinese People's Republic, France, Great Britain, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences.

The Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, comprising delegates of eighty countries and expressing the true voice of a humanity longing for peace, demands that immediate consideration be given by the United Nations, and by the parliaments to which the governments of the various countries are responsible, to the following proposals designed to restore confidence among all countries,

regardless of their respective systems, and to maintain and re-establish peace :

1.—In view of the fact that the war now raging in Korea is not only bringing incalculable disaster upon the people of Korea, but also threatens to become a general war, we demand the cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal from Korea of foreign armies, and the peaceful settlement of the internal conflict between the two parts of Korea, with the participation of the representatives of the Korean people. We demand that the problem be dealt with by the Security Council in its full composition—that is, including the lawful representatives of the Chinese People's Republic.

We call for the termination of the intervention by American armed forces on the Chinese island of Formosa (Taiwan) and the cessation of hostilities against the Republic of Viet Nam, military operations which also carry the threat of world war.

2.—We categorically condemn every move made and measure taken, violating the international agreements which forbid the rearmament of Germany and Japan. These moves and measures constitute a grave threat to peace. We urgently demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with a united and demilitarized Germany, as well as with Japan, and the withdrawal from both these countries of the forces of occupation.

3.—We consider the violence employed to hold peoples in a state of dependence and colonial subjection as a powerful menace to the cause of peace and we proclaim the right of those people to freedom and independence. At the same time we raise our voices against every form of racial discrimination, for it promotes hatred between peoples and endangers the peace.

4.—We consider it necessary to expose the attempts made by the supporters of aggression to confuse the very meaning of what constitutes aggres-

sion and to intervene, under one pretext or another, in the internal affairs of other nations.

We declare that no political, strategic or economic considerations, no ground deriving from the internal situation or any internal conflict in one or another state, can justify armed intervention by any other state. That state commits the crime of aggression which first employs armed force under any pretext whatever, against another state.

5.—We hold that propaganda for a new war constitutes a grave threat to the peaceful co-operation of the peoples, and we therefore hold it to be a crime of the deepest gravity against humanity.

We appeal to the parliaments of all countries to enact a "Law for the Protection of Peace," which shall render all propaganda for a new war, in any form whatsoever, liable to criminal prosecution.

6.—In view of the fact that all decent persons, regardless of their political views, regard the ruthless mass destruction of civilian populations in Korea as a crime against humanity, we demand that a competent International Court be appointed to examine the crimes committed during the war in Korea, and in particular the question of the responsibility of General MacArthur.

7.—Voicing the demands of peoples who bear upon their shoulders the heavy burdens of military budgets, and firmly resolved to guarantee humanity a firm and stable peace, we present for the consideration of the United Nations, of all parliaments and of all peoples the following proposals :

— Unconditional prohibition of all manner of atomic weapons, and of bacteriological, chemical, poisonous, radioactive and all other devices of mass destruction ;

— Denunciation as a war criminal of that government which henceforth is the first to use these weapons.

The Second World Peace Congress, mindful of its responsibility to the people, appeals, with equal earnestness, to the great powers and calls upon them to launch, during the years 1951 and 1952, a gradual, simultaneous and similarly proportioned reduction of all their land, sea and air armed forces of from one third to one half of their present size. Such a step, by putting a definite end to the armaments race, will diminish the risks of aggression. It will allow the lightening of the costs which burden the budgets of States and weigh heavily on all sections of the people. It will allow also the re-establishment of international confidence and the necessary co-operation between all nations, regardless of their social system.

The Congress declares that the controls for prohibiting atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction, as well as all conventional arms, are technically possible. An international body, staffed by qualified inspectors, should be set up within the framework of the Security Council and should be made responsible for the control of the reduction of conventional arms as well as the prohibition of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons. These controls, to be effective, must apply not only to military forces, existing armaments and arms production as declared by each nation, but also, on the demand of the international control commission, must be extended to include the inspection of military forces, existing armaments and arms production which is suspected beyond what has been declared. These proposals for the reduction of armed forces constitute a first step on the road to general and complete disarmament, the final goal of all defenders of peace.

The Second World Congress, convinced that peace cannot be secured through an armaments race seeking a balance of forces, holds that these proposals give no military advantage to any country, but that they would result in halting the drive to war and in advancing the well-being and security of all the peoples of the world.

8.—We emphasise that, in certain countries, the passage from a peace economy to a war economy is increasingly disturbing normal economic relations and the interchange between countries both of raw materials and industrial goods. It is our view that this exerts a harmful influence on the standards of living of many peoples, that it raises obstacles to economic progress and business relations, and that this situation is a source of conflicts endangering the peace of the world.

Taking into consideration the vital interests of the populations of all countries, and with the desire to improve conditions throughout the world, we urge the restoration of normal trading relations between the countries on the basis of mutual advantage, satisfying the requirements of the peoples concerned, excluding economic discrimination in any form and safeguarding the development of each national economy and the economic independence of states, both large and small.

9.—We hold that obstructions of cultural relations among the peoples tends to quarrelling and loss of mutual understanding and creates a climate of distrust, favourable to propaganda for war.

We consider that on the other hand, the strengthening of cultural relations between the peoples creates conditions favourable to mutual understanding and strengthens their trust in the general struggle for peace.

Accordingly, we appeal to all governments, urging them to contribute towards bettering cultural relations among the peoples, in order to enable them to become better acquainted with each other's treasures in the field of culture. We appeal to them to facilitate the organisation of international conferences of persons active in the field of culture, the mutual exchange of visits and the publication and wide diffusion of the literature and art of other countries.

We draw the attention of the United Nations to

the fact that, while calling upon it to justify the hopes reposed in it by the peoples of the world, we are at the same time undertaking the establishment of a World Council of Peace.

The World Council of Peace shall be a body embracing representatives of all the peoples of the world, those within the United Nations and those not yet represented therein, and also countries still dependent and colonial,

It shall call upon the United Nations to fulfil its duty to strengthen and develop peaceful co-operation between all countries.

It shall assume the lofty task of securing a firm and lasting peace that shall respond to the vital interests of all nations.

The World Council of Peace will, in short, prove before mankind that, despite all present difficulties, which must in no wise be minimised, we shall accomplish the great mission of peace upon which we have embarked.

TEXTS ELABORATED BY THE COMMISSIONS OF THE WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

These texts which follow served as the basis for preparation of the two documents "Manifesto to the Peoples of the World" and the "Address to the United Nations." The adoption by the Congress of these two major texts therefore carries with it the approval of the following material.

III

RESOLUTION ON THE VICTIMS OF REPRESSION

In a number of countries today peace defenders are being subjected to police persecution.

In Latin America, in the United States, in France, in Italy and in the dependent countries of Asia and Africa thousands of them have been imprisoned.

There are many who, although elected delegates, have been unable to come to our Congress.

Meetings in favour of Peace are forbidden. Defenders of Peace are fired on by the police and massacred.

Even scientists are not free from persecution.

The Second World Peace Congress salutes the victims of police terror. It voices its strong protest against the persecution of peace defenders.

The Congress demands the immediate release of all victims of police terror. It calls upon the peoples of the whole world to express their solidarity with these noble defenders of peace, to help in the demand for their release, to defend and protect all those in the whole world who are fighting for peace.

IV

RESOLUTION DEFINING AGGRESSION

(1) The aggressor is that state which first uses armed force, under any pretext, against another state.

(2) No political, economic or strategic consideration, no pretext based on the internal situation of a state, can justify armed intervention.

V

RESOLUTION FOR THE PROHIBITION OF ATOMIC WEAPONS AND FOR GENERAL DISARMAMENT

THE Second World Peace Congress, having announced with deep satisfaction that more than 500 million human beings throughout the world have already expressed their desire for peace by signing the Stockholm Appeal for the banning of atomic weapons;

Voicing this urgent demand of all peoples,

Voicing the anxieties which are mounting, in the face of the perils of war, among peoples crushed with ever-increasing military expenditure,

Desiring to contribute to the building of a stable and enduring peace,

APPEALS solemnly to the United Nations, to the parliaments and to all peoples, and submits to them the following proposals :

— Unconditional prohibition of all types of atomic, bacteriological, chemical, poisonous, radioactive weapons and all other means of mass destruction ;

— Denunciation as a war criminal of that government which henceforth is the first to use these weapons.

The Second World Congress, mindful of its responsibility to the people, appeals, with equal earnestness, to the great powers and calls upon them to launch, during the years of 1951 and 1952, a gradual, simultaneous and similarly proportioned reduction of all their land, sea and air forces of from one third to one half of their present size. Such a step, by putting a definite end to the armaments race, will diminish the risks of aggression. It will allow the lightening of the costs which burden the budgets of States and weigh heavily on all sections of the people. It will allow also the re-establishment of international confidence and the necessary co-operation between all nations, regardless of their social systems.

The Congress declares that the controls for prohibiting atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction, as well as all conventional arms, are technically possible.

An international body, staffed by qualified inspectors, should be set up within the framework of the Security Council, and should be made responsible for the control of the reduction of conventional arms as well as the prohibition of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and other weapons.

These controls, to be effective, must apply not only to military forces, existing armaments and arms production as declared by each nation, but also, on the demand of the international control commission, must be extended to include the inspec-

tion of military forces, existing armaments and arms production which is suspected beyond what has been declared. These proposals for the reduction of armed forces constitute a first step on the road to general and complete disarmament, the final goal of all defenders of peace.

The Second World Congress, convinced that peace cannot be secured through an armaments race seeking a balance of forces, holds that these proposals give no military advantage to any country, but that they would result in halting the drive to war and in advancing the well-being and security of all the peoples of the world.

VI

RESOLUTION AGAINST WAR PROPAGANDA

THE Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, considering :

— That the propaganda favouring war carried on in some countries creates the greatest threat to the peaceful co-operation of peoples ;

— That the propaganda favouring war is therefore one of the gravest crimes against humanity ;

— APPEALS to the parliaments of all countries to enact a " Law for the Protection of Peace," rendering all propaganda for a new war, in any form whatsoever, liable to criminal prosecution.

The Congress appeals to the parliaments of all countries, in the interest of strengthening peace, to provide for the education of the younger generation in a spirit of co-operation with other peoples and of respect for other races and nations.

The Congress appeals to all defenders of peace, to all honest men and women in all countries of the

world, to boycott firmly publishing houses, film-producers, press organs, broadcasting stations, individuals and organisations which spread, directly or indirectly, propaganda favouring war. We ask them also to protest vehemently against all forms of art and litterature which support such propaganda.

The Congress appeals to all workers of the press, in literature, in the arts, in the cinema, in education, to refuse to allow themselves or their professional media to be used as instruments of propaganda of hatred and war among the nations, and to take an active part in spreading the principles of peace and mutual understanding amongst the peoples.

VII

RESOLUTION ON THE STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES

With a series of countries passing over to a war economy, more and more harm is done to economic relations between the different countries and to the exchange of raw materials as well as of finished industrial products. This leads to disastrous repercussions on the standard of living of numerous peoples. At the same time a barrier is put in the way of progress and economic co-operation.

The rupture of normal economic relations is a source of conflict and constitutes a menace to peace.

The Second World Peace Congress, considering the vital interests of the peoples of every country and wishing to create a healthier international situation, regards as indispensable the following points :

— The establishment of normal commercial rela-

tions between the different countries, based on mutually advantageous conditions that satisfy the needs of the peoples ;

— The ending of economic discrimination in whatever form, and the development of each national economy and the economic independence of states, great and small.

Considering that the rapid building up of a war economy in a series of countries strengthens those forces that are interested in war, and consequently increases the danger of armed conflict, this Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace proposes that the legislative assemblies of all countries promulgate a law abolishing super-profits on contracts in any way connected with war preparations.

VIII

RESOLUTION ON THE STRENGTHENING AND DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN COUNTRIES

With a view to ensuring peaceful collaboration and mutual understanding between peoples, the Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace considers it necessary to take measures for the strenthening and development of cultural relations between the different countries. The Congress recommends:

In the Field of Science:

— The creation of international scientific associations to include scientists from every country;

— The organisation of scientific congresses in the capitals of each state in turn. Organisation of visits of scientists to other countries for closer

mutual relations and for the exchange of scientific experience;

— Exchange of literature between universities and big libraries. Publication of regular bulletins with notes on material published in the different countries;

— The organisation of visits to other countries for young people, students, etc., during holidays.

In the Field of the Arts :

— The organisation of tours for theatrical companies, orchestras, ballet companies and outstanding representatives of the arts, as well as the distribution of films;

— The organisation of music festivals, to familiarise listeners with the music of other countries;

— The organisation of exhibitions of art and of folk art ;

— Invitations to representatives of other countries to take part in the celebrations of national commemorations of important dates in history, science, literature and the arts. Commemoration of these dates in other countries;

— The translation of literary works, the publication and performance of musical works. Exchange of these as well as notes and articles or critical statements about them;

— Widespread publication of world classics in literature and in music and reproduction of paintings, sculptures and world-famous examples of architecture;

— The development, in each country, of the art of translation of literary works from other languages.

IX

RESOLUTION ON ORGANISATION

THE action undertaken by the Defenders of Peace since the Paris Congress has found through the Stockholm Appeal a response throughout the world in the support of hundreds of millions of men and women. It has developed into the powerful movement of the peoples who have taken an active part in the discussions around the Second World Peace Congress.

The importance of the real prospects for peace and the vistas opened up before the peoples by the proposals issuing from this Congress, correspond to the widening of the peace movement, to the varied nature of the national, political, social and religious representation which has been achieved in this World Assembly and to the breadth and freedom of the debates which have taken place.

Discussion, approval and active support of these proposals by the peoples to whom they are presented can impose the fulfilment of the hopes which humanity has placed in the ideal of the United Nations. New and more powerful forces for peace are awakening and joining ours.

We note with satisfaction that conditions have arisen for co-operation between numerous organisations: cultural and religious bodies, pacifist groups like the Quakers, World Government groups, adherents of neutrality and others seeking to maintain peace.

Thanks to these combined efforts, we will be able to assure permanently a possibility for all peoples to meet and act for peace, while insisting that the United Nations fulfill its mission, which is to be not the instrument for one or any group of powers, but the place for reaching agreement between governments—a mission that imposes on the United Nations urgent duties on behalf of the people.

These tasks, imposed upon us by the responsibility

of the peace movement and by the role which the Defenders of Peace must play in the present serious international situation, have led us to propose the creation of the World Peace Council.

Any people, any group, any current of peace-loving opinion willing to work for the realisation of one or other of the proposals for peace drawn up by the World Congress has a place in the World Peace Council, and can send its representatives to the Council.

Consequently, the World Peace Council is given by the World Congress the mandate to gather the representatives of all forces which are undertaking effective action on behalf of peace.

X

RESOLUTION ON FINANCES

In the face of the ever-growing development of our movement and of the magnitude of its new tasks which demand funds providing for the regular functioning of its bodies and the establishment of an administrative and technical staff adequate to its importance, the Second World Congress decides the following:

I.—Each national committee or affiliated international organisation shall pay dues on a basis and under conditions which will be determined by the bodies elected by the Congress;

II.—The World Peace Fund drive goes on. Every new activity must be re-examined and carried out by the local and national committees, in order to assure its full success.

It is important that every adherent to our movement take part in the collection of funds. The personal contributions of millions of men and women who want peace must be understood by all as indispensable for the realisation of the goals of our Congress.

THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL ELECTED BY THE CONGRESS

AFRICA (FRENCH BLACK)

M. GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER, *Vice-President of the Assembly of the French Union.*
M. SEKOU TOURE, *Secretary-General of the Guinea Trade Union Federation.*
M. SAAR IBRAHIMA, *Secretary-General of the French West African Railwaymen's Federation.*

ALBANIA

Dr. MANOL KONOMI, *President of the Albanian Institute of Sciences, President of the Albanian Peace Committee.*

ALGERIA

M. ABDERRHAMAN BOUCHAMA, *architect.*

ARGENTINE

Mme. MARGARITA DE PONCE, *professor.*
M. EMILIO GARCIA ITURASPE, *barrister.*
M. JOSÉ LUIZ PELUFFO, *doctor.*

AUSTRALIA

Mrs. JESSIE STREET, *member of the Executive Committee of the Australian Peace Council, former Australian delegate at U.N.O.*
Mr. JAMES HEALEY, *Secretary of the Australian Seamen's Union.*
The Rev. FRANK HARTLEY.

AUSTRIA

M. Ernst FISCHER, *writer, former Cabinet-Minister.*
Professor Josef DOBRETSBERGER.
Professor Heinrich BRANDWEINER, *professor of ecclesiastical law.*

BELGIUM

Professor Max COSYNS, *professor of physics, President of the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace.*

BOLIVIA

Professor Humberto BILBAO LA VIEJA.

BRAZIL

M. Mario FABIAO, *scientist.*
Mme. Branca FIALHO, *professor, President of the Union of Brazilian Women.*
M. Jorge AMADO, *writer.*
M. Palamede BORSARI, *engineer.*

BULGARIA

M. Ludmil STOYANOV, *Academician.*
M. Methodi POPOV, *professor.*
Dr. George NADJAKOV, *scientist.*

CANADA

The Rev. J. C. ENDICOTT, *professor of theology, President of the Canadian Peace Congress.*
Mr. Arthur WRAY, *member of the Provincial Legislature of Alberta.*

CEYLON

Mr. Pieter KEUNEMAN, *member of Parliament, President of the Trade Union Federation.*

CHILE

M. Guilhermo DEL PEDREGAL, *industrialist, former Cabinet-Minister.*
M. Pablo NERUDA, *poet, writer.*

CHINA

Mme. SUN YAT SEN, *President of the Association for Relief to Chinese people.*

M. KUO MO JO, *President of the Chinese Peace Committee.*

M. MA YIN CHU, *President of Chekiang University.*

M. LIU NING I, *Vice-President of the Chinese Trade Unions.*

M. EMI SIAO, *poet.*

Mme. LI TEH CHUAN, *Vice-President of the Women's Democratic Federation.*

M. CHANG PO CHUN, *Secretary-General of the Democratic Chinese League.*

M. TSAI TING KAI, *former general in the anti-Japanese army.*

M. LIAO CHENG CHIH, *President of the Federation of Chinese Youth.*

M. WU LAN FU, *member of the Chinese Peace Committee.*

M. Y. T. WU, *member of the Union of Chinese Christian Youth.*

COLOMBIA

M. BALDOMIRO SANIN CANO, *writer.*

Mme. GRAZIÉLA MENDOZA, *journalist.*

COSTA RICA

M. JOAQUIM GARCIA MONGE, *professor of the University of Costa Rica.*

CUBA

M. JUAN MARINELLO, *writer, former Cabinet Minister.*

M. DOMINGO VILLAMIL, *lawyer, professor of theology.*

Dr. ELIAS ENTRALGO, *University professor.*

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mme. ANEZKA HODINOVA-SPURNA, *Vice-President of the National Assembly.*

M. JAN MUKAROWSKY, *rector of Prague University.*

The Abbé Dr. ALEXANDER HORAK.

M. V. BOUCEK, *stakhanovist worker of the Skoda Works.*

DENMARK

M. ANDERSEN NEXOE, *writer.*
M. MOGENS FOG, *professor, former Cabinet-Minister.*

EGYPT

M. MOHAMED KAMEL EL BINDARI PASHA.
M. FATBI RAWAN, *President of the Superior Council of the Nationalist Party.*
M. AHMED SAAD EL DINE KAMEL, *barrister.*

ECQUADOR

Dr. JUAN MORALES Y ELOY, *professor.*
Dr. ANGEL MODESTO PAREDES.

FINLAND

M. VAINO MELLTI, *Prefect.*
Mme. HAGAR OLSSON, *writer.*
M. FELIX IVERSEN, *professor.*

FRANCE

Professor JOLIOT-CURIE.
Mme. EUGÉNIE COTTON, *Master of Research.*
Mme. IRÈNE JOLIOT-CURIE.
M. PABLO PICASSO, *painter.*
M. LOUIS ARAGON, *writer.*
M. VERCORS, *writer.*
M. LOUIS SAILLANT, *President of the Committee of National Resistance.*
M. JUSTIN GODART, *former Cabinet-Minister, member of the Academy of Medicine.*
M. YVES FARGE, *former Cabinet-Minister, President of the Fighters for Peace and Liberty.*
M. PIERRE COT, *former Cabinet-Minister.*
M. EMMANUEL D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE, *former Cabinet-Minister.*
The Abbé JEAN BOULIER.
M. ALAIN LE LEAP, *Secretary-General of the C.G.T. (National Trade Union Federation).*

Mme. Françoise LECLERCQ, *Secretary of the Union of French Women.*
M. Laurent CASANOVA, *former Cabinet-Minister.*
M. Jean LAFFITTE, *writer.*
M. Guy de BOYSSON, *Councillor of the French Union.*
M. Gilbert de CHAMBRUN, *deputy.*
Professor WEILL-HALLE, *member of the Academy of Medicine.*
M. Armand MITTERAND, *Councillor of the French Union.*
M. Robert CHAMBEIRON, *deputy.*
M. Fernand VIGNE, *Secretary-General of the Fighters for Peace and Liberty.*
Pastor Francis BOSC.
Mme. CASSIN.
Dr. J. P. MAY.
M. Marcel ALLEMANN, *miner.*
M. Paul RODI, *member of the executive committee of the Movement for Liberation of the People.*

GERMANY

M. Johannes R. BECHER, *writer—composer of the words of the German national hymn—President of the Cultural Association for a Democratic German Revival.*
Professor Hans ERTEL, *meteorologist, member of the Academy of Sciences, member of Parliament.*
M. Erwin ECKERT, *former evangelical pastor, member of the Landstag, President of the West German Committee of the Defenders of Peace.*
M. Walter DIEHL, *theology student (Mainz), President of the Young Defenders of Peace in Western Germany.*
M. Heinrich FINK, *docker, Hamburg Municipal Councillor, first Trade Union delegate of the "Deutsche Werft."*
Mme. Edith HOERETH-MENGE, *schoolteacher, President of the West-German*

Defenders of Peace, Munich Municipal Councillor, member of the Council of the League for the Rights of Man.

Mme. ANNA SEGHERS, *writer, member of the Academy of Fine Arts, President of the German Committee of the Defenders of Peace.*

Dr. ARNOLD ZWEIG, *writer, President of the Academy of Fine Arts, deputy in the People's Parliament.*

Mme. HÉLÈNE WEIGEL-BRECHT, *actress, laureate of the National Prize.*

Dr. JOHANNES HERZ, *protestant pastor and professor of theology.*

GREAT BRITAIN

Professor J. C. CROWTHER, *physicist.*

Professor J. D. BERNAL, *physicist.*

Mrs. S. O. DAVIES.

Mr. D. N. PRITT, K.C., *barrister, former Member of Parliament.*

Mr. J. PLATTS-MILLS, *barrister, former Member of Parliament.*

Mr. STEVE LAWTHER, *miner.*

Dr. WOODARD, *medical practitioner.*

The Rev. ALEXANDER REID, *President of the Scottish Peace Committee.*

Miss ANNE GEORGE, *Civil Servant.*

Mr. J. SANDY, *engineer, President of the London Peace Committee.*

Dr. NORA JOHNS, *medical practitioner.*

Miss MARIAN ROBERTSON, *Secretary of the Scottish Peace Committee.*

Mr. MALCOLM NIXON, *student.*

Mr. IVOR MONTAGU, *journalist.*

Dr. HEWLETT JOHNSON, *Dean of Canterbury.*

GREECE

Professor KOKKALIS, *former Cabinet-Minister.*

HOLLAND

M. HORSMEIER.

HUNGARY

Mme. ELISABETH ANDICS, *professor at Budapest University.*

M. JANES PETER, *protestant Bishop of Debrecen.*

M. GEORGES LUKACS, *writer, member of the Academy of Sciences.*

INDIA

Dr. ATTAL.

Professor D. D. KOSAMBI.

INDONESIA

Dr. TJOA SIK IEN, *former Indonesian representative at the United Nations, founder of the Indonesian Peace Committee.*

IRAK

MOHAMED MEHDI AL JEWAHIRI, *poet.*

IRAN

M. BAHAR, *professor at the University of Teheran, poet.*

M. ESKANDARI, *barrister.*

ISRAEL

M. MEIR YAARI, *member of Parliament.*

M. BAR YEHUDA, *member of Parliament.*

M. TAWFIQ TOOBI, *member of Parliament.*

ITALY

M. PIETRO NENNI.

M. EMILIO SERENI, *senator, former Cabinet-Minister.*

ANDREA GAGGERO.

Professor AMBROGIO DONINI, *ambassador.*

M. UMBERTO TERRACINI, *senator, former President of the Constituant Assembly.*

M. ARTURO LABRIOLA, *senator, former Cabinet-Minister.*

M. GIOVANNI CONTI, *senator, Vice-President of the Senate.*

M. WILLY FERRERO, *orchestra director.*

M. FERDINANDO TARGETTI, *deputy and Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies.*

Mme. ADA ALESSANDRINI, *professor.*

M. Francesco CERABONA, *deputy, former Cabinet-Minister.*
Mme. Elena CAPORASO, *lawyer.*
M. Giuseppe DOZZA, *mayor of Bologna.*
M. Giulio EINAUDI, *publisher.*
M. Giorgio FENOALTEA, *barrister.*
M. Achille LORDI, *lawyer.*
Professor Morello MORELLINI, *of the Univerisity of Rome.*
M. Mario PALERMO, *senator.*
M. Salvatore QUASIMODO, *writer.*
M. Leonida REPACI, *writer.*
M. Francesco SCOTTI, *deputy.*
M. Fernando SANTI; *deputy, Secretary of the C.G.I.L. (National Trade Union Federation).*
M. Antonino VARVARO, *barrister, deputy of the Sicilian Assembly.*
M. Tullio VECCHIETTI, *professor.*
Count Paolo SELLA DI MONTELUCE, *industrialist.*

JAPAN

M. OKUO OYAMA, *professor, Tokio.*

KOREA

M. HAN TSE RYTZ, *writer, President of the Writers' Association.*
M. LI TCHIEN, *writer, President of the Cultural Exchange Bureau of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Association.*
Mme. PAK DEN AI, *President of the Korean Association of Democratic Women.*

LEBANON

M. Georges HANNA, *medical practitioner.*
M. RADOIN CHAHAL, *artist.*
M. Antoine TABET, *architect, President of the Peace Committee.*

MADAGASCAR

Mme. Zele RASOANORO, *deputy.*

MEXICO

General Lazaro CARDENAS, *former President of the Republic.*

M. VINCENTE LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, *President of the General Federation of Labour of Latin America.*
M. Ismael COSIO VILLEGAS, *scientist.*
General HERIBERTO JARA, *former Minister of the Navy.*

MONGOLIA
M. TSENDIN DAMDINSYRIN, *President of the National Peace Committee.*

NEW ZEALAND
The Very Rev. C. W. CHANDLER, *Dean of Hamilton.*

NORWAY
M. KIRSTEN HANSTEEN, *publisher.*
M. HERRMAN TOENNESSEN, *Director of Research at the University of Oslo.*

PAKISTAN
FAIZ AHMAD FAIZ, *Secretary-General of the Peace Committee.*

PARAGUAY
M. JOSÉ ASUNCION FLORES.

POLAND
M. JAN DEMBOWSKI, *professor.*
M. LEOPOLD INFELD, *professor.*
M. OSTAP DLUSKI, *editor.*
M. VICTOR KLOSIEWICZ, *Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council.*
M. LÉON KRUCZKOWSKI, *writer.*
M. JERZY PUTRAMENT, *writer.*

PORTUGAL
M. VALADARES DA COSTA, *physicist.*

RUMANIA
M. MIHAIL SADOVEANU, *Academician, writer, President of the Rumanian Peace Committee.*
Mme. FLORICA MEZINCESCU, *professor, Joint Minister of Public Education, Vice-President of the Permanent Peace Committee.*

M. Somi TOMA, *professor, editor of the journal "Scanteia," member of the Permanent Peace Committee.*

SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Desmond BUCKLE.
The Rev. D. C. THOMPSON.

SPAIN

M. José GIRAL, *doctor, former Prime Minister of the Government of Republican Spain.*
M. Manuel SANCHEZ ARCAS, *architect.*
M. José BERGAMIN, *writer.*

SWEDEN

M. Arthur LUNDQVIST, *writer.*
M. Sven HECTOR, *protestant pastor.*
M. Per Olov ZENNSTROM, *writer.*

SWITZERLAND

Professor André BONNARD.

SYRIA

M. Ibrahim HAMZAOUI, *lawyer.*
M. SAID TAHSIN, *painter.*
M. Mustapha AMINE, *barrister.*

TRIESTE

M. Angelo FRANZA, *journalist, Secretary of the Peace Committee.*

TUNISIA

Dr. Sliman BEN SLIMAN.
M. Mohamed DJERAD, *journalist.*

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Professor W. E. B. DUBOIS.
Mr. Paul ROBESON, *singer.*
Mr. Howard FAST, *writer.*
The Rev. Mr. Arthur MOULTON.
The Rev. Dr. Joseph FLETCHER, *professor of christian social ethics at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Cambridge, Massachusetts.*
The Rev. Dr. Willard UPHAUS, *director of the National Foundation of Religion and Labour.*

Mrs. Theresa ROBINSON.
Mr. Early LARSON, *Trade Unionist.*
Mr. Fred STOVER, *President of the Iowa Farmers' Union.*
Mr. Ernest de MAIO, *Trade Unionist.*
Mrs. Clementina PAOLONE, *physicist.*
The Reverend Robert MUIR.
The Reverend bohn DARR, Jr.
Mr. Charles HOWARD, *Attorney, Vice President of the Progressive Party.*

U.S.S.R.
M. Alexander FADEYEV, *writer.*
M. TIKHONOV, *President of the Peace Committee.*
M. KORNEITCHUK, *dramatist.*
Mme. Wanda WASILIEWSKA, *writer.*
Mme. GAGARINA, *professor, Vice-President of the Women's Anti-Fascist Committee.*
M. OPARINE, *Academician.*
M. NISMIYANOV, *Academician, rector of Moscow University.*
M. SOLOVIEV, *Trade Union Secretary.*
M. GULAEV, *journalist.*
M. KOCHEMASOV, *Secretary of the Young People's Anti-Fascist Committee.*
The Metropolitans NIKOLAI, KROUTSKI and KOLOMENSKI.
M. Ilya EHRENBURG, *writer.*

URUGUAY
M. José Luiz MASSERA, *mathematician.*

VENEZUELA
General José Maria GABALDON.

VIET NAM
M. TRAN THANH.
M. NGUYEN PHUC BUV HOI, *scientist. member of the Imperial Family.*
M. PHAM HUY THONG, *professor.*

YUGOSLAVIA
General Pero POPIVODA.

THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL

The World Council held a meeting at the end of Congress on the 23rd November, 1950, at 11 a.m., and proceded to the election of a first list of the persons who will comprise its bureau. Among those elected, the following have confirmed their willingness to accept office :

President :

Professor JOLIOT-CURIE

Vice-Presidents :

PIETRO NENNI (Italy)
GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER (French Black Africa) — Professor BERNAL (Britain) — General CARDENAS (Mexico) — Mme EUGÉNIE COTTON (France) — ALEXANDER FADEYEV (U.S.S.R.) — The Rev. FLETCHER (U.S.A.) — Professor LEOPOLD INFELD (Poland) — KUO MO JO (China) — ARTHUR LUNDQVIST (Sweden)

Members :

Mme. BRANCA FIALHO (Brazil) — ILYA EHRENBOURG (U.S.S.R.) — YVES FARGE (France) — JOSE GIRAL (Spain) — Professor DHARMAVIR KOSAMBI (India) — Rector JAN MUKAROVSKI (Czechoslovakia) — LOUIS SAILLANT (France) — Mrs. JESSIE STREET (Australia)

Secretary-General :

M. JEAN LAFFITTE (France)

Secretaries :

PALAMEDE BORSARI (Brazil) — The Rev. DARR (U.S.A.) — GILBERT DE CHAMBRUN (France) — EMI SIAO (China) — GIORGIO FENOALTEA (Italy) — GULAEV (U.S.S.R.) — IVOR MONTAGU (Britain)

PUBLISHED BY
THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris.

I.C.C. (J. LONDON, Impr.), 13, rue
de la Grange-Batelière, Paris (9e)

Price : 20 fr.

SECOND
WORLD CONGRESS
OF THE DEFENDERS
OF PEACE
BULLETIN

December 21, 1950

CONTENTS

1. A number of Parliaments enact laws against war propaganda.
2. The Movement develops on the basis of the work of Congress.
3. Reactions to President Truman's declaration.
4. Christmas message from Pastor Mullner.
5. Establishment of a progressive union in France.
6. M. Chambeiron's protest in the French National Assembly.

I

A LAW TO PUNISH WAR PROPAGANDA IS ENACTED BY THE PARLIAMENT OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

On Wednesday the 14th December a bill relating to the protection of peace was laid on the table of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic at the request of the German Committee of the Defenders of Peace. It prescribes sever penalties for those who are guilty of propaganda favouring war within the territories of the Republic, and it draws its inspiration from the recommendations of the Second World Peace Congress.

This bill was passed unanimously on the 15th December by the People's Chamber. The law declares :

« WAR PROPAGANDA UNDER WHATEVER FORM IT MAY APPEAR CONSTITUTES ONE OF THE GRAVEST CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY ». Severe penalties are then prescribed for tose who prepare or attempt to prepare a new war.

RUMANIA

On the 16th December we received the following telegram : « Friday December 15, National Assembly of Rumanian Democratic Republic unanimously passed law for defence of peace. Bill was introduced by Prime Minister Dr Petre Groza. Debate was opened by Academician Mihail Sadoveanu, President of Permanent Committee for Defence of Peace of Rumanian People's Republic and Member World Peace Council.

Text of the Law

SECTION 1. — War Propaganda and any act likely to threaten peace constitute a grave crime against the country and against Humanity, because they involve a danger to the lives of men, to human progress, and to the cultural and material wealth of humanity, and bring into peril the peaceful collaboration between the nations.

SECTION 2. — Propaganda for the instigation of war, the dissemination of tendentious or false news likely to be of service to the cause of war, or any other demonstration in favour of the unleashing of a new war read or spoken by means of the press, radio, cinema or other means of propaganda, shall constitute a crime menacing the people's peace.

SECTION 3. — The crime of war propaganda against the people's peace is punishable by hard labour from five to twenty-five years and by total or partial confiscation of wealth.

Signed : Permanent Committee for Defence of Peace of Rumanian People's Republic.

II

THE MOVEMENT DEVELOPS ON THE BASIS OF THE WORK OF CONGRESS

In Poland

The deep effect upon the people caused by the holding of the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw has by no means died away yet. The whole population is carrying on the echo of the Congress and continues to participate as a body in the meetings organised everywhere on the basis of districts and localities for the reporting back of delegates. For its part, the press continues to devote a considerable amount of space to the movement of the Defenders of Peace throughout the world.

Some foreign delegates to the Congress, who have stayed on in Poland, are paying visits to the principal centres of cultural, historical and industrial interest, where they are being warmly received and entertained by the public.

Convocation of the Czechoslovak Congress of the Defenders of Peace

DECEMBER 12. — The Bureau of the Czechoslovak Committee of the Defenders of Peace held a meeting last Friday. Mme Anezka Hodinova-Spurna, Chairman of the Committee, emphasised the future work called for by the Second World Congress.

The first National Congress of the Czechoslovak Defenders of Peace, which will be held on the 20th and 21st January in Prague, will aim to examine the work for peace already accomplished in Czechoslovakia and to elaborate a plan of action for the following period.

The bureau carried a resolution approving the points contained in the Warsaw resolution, and greeted the establishment of the World Peace Council which it undertakes to give its full support. Finally, the bureau addressed an appeal to all the organisations in the country to publicise the decisions and resolutions of the Warsaw Peace Congress.

Reporting back in Hungary

In the towns and villages of Hungary countless meetings took place in the week following the Warsaw Congress. For a short break, the workers left their tools, the engineers their instruments, and the working peasants held meetings at their parish Houses of Culture to hear from the delegates who had represented them at Warsaw their reports on the Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace.

The Hungarian delegates were everywhere received with marks of enthusiasm and warm applause when they announced the decisions of the Congress.

In France

Immediately following the return from Warsaw, a press conference of the Fighters for Peace and Liberty, held at Paris on the 29th November, distributed to the press and to the leaders of the French Peace Committee a report on the work and the decisions of the Congress.

On the 30th November, a most impressive public meeting took place in the Velodrome d'Hiver in Paris. A large assembly of the defenders of peace heard addresses from Pastor Bosc, General Jara, Messrs Angeletti, d'Astier de la Vigerie, Farge, etc., and they enthusiastically gave their approval for the resolutions of the Congress.

Statement by the Permanent Commission of the Fighters for Peace

On the 8th December, the National Permanent Commission of the Fighters for Peace and Liberty published a statement in which it expressed its satisfaction at the enthusiastic reception with which the decisions of the Second World Congress had met in France.

The statement recommended that these decisions, and especially the Address to the United Nations, should be submitted to the widest possible public discussion, so that the approval of all Frenchmen could be obtained for them.

The statement went on, « Statements of approval for the Address to the United Nations will need to be committed to writing signed by men and women who are well known and respected, and indicating the number of supporters in each case and the observations that they have made ».

Our elected representatives, the Government of France, and the international authorities should know the wishes of a nation which is united in its desire for peace.

The discussion, the approval and the support of the Address to the United Nations will find their legitimate extension in such an immediate activity on the part of all the Defenders of Peace as the gravity of the present international situation demands.

Resolution of the National Permanent Commission on German Rearmament

At this time when the danger of a generalised war has been aggravated by the inertia of the French Government in the face of the menaces of an extension of the Korean War and the use of the atomic bomb, France now learns that the rearmament of the Germany of Bonn has been accepted by this same Government which, exceeding the terms of its own promises, the decisions of Parliament, and

the people's will, has just disclosed that it is accepting the sacrifice of our country.

The Ruhr is again becoming an arsenal. Nazi generals are about to be given their troops again.

War material destined for Germany is being allowed to cross our territory.

In the name of the people of France, twice betrayed as they have been in the course of ten years, the Permanent Commission of the Fighters for Peace and Liberty voices the protests of a nation which will not die.

From the Korea of Syngman Rhee to the Germany of Adenauer, the plot against the peace is spreading to menace the whole world. France is in danger of becoming another bridgehead in a war which, in order to succeed, has need of the nazis.

We call upon all Frenchmen to take greater heed of this danger which their resolve, based as it is upon knowledge and experience, has till today managed to hold off.

We call upon them solemnly to repudiate the undertaking given by the Paris Government. We ask them to raise their voices against this utter disregard of the treaties which guarantee the security of our country.

We call upon them to demand with all the urgency at their command a meeting of the Big Five so that an attempt can be made to seek out the conditions for such a lowering of present international tensions as would bring existing wars to an end and put a stop to the mad armaments race.

All defenders of peace, all patriotic Frenchmen, will demonstrate their opposition, and will draw themselves up to protest against an act which is putting in peril the cause of France and the cause of peace.

Return of the Italian Delegation from Warsaw

The first Italian delegates to return arrived in Italy on the 24th November. On the same day, the Mayor of Bologna, M. Dozza, held a press conference at the Farnese Palace.

The Florence delegates were welcomed back by a large crowd and were immediately overwelmed with questions. Among this group was Professor Porzio, dean of the Italian delegates. At the Imperial Theatre on the morning of the 26th November, the delegates spoke to an impressive crowd. Professor Saconi, Dean of the Chemistry Faculty of the University of Florence spoke on the political effect of the Congress and gave a short report of the various proposals and speeches.

At Ancona the Mayor, M. Barchiesi, who is an engineer and a republican, addressed an audience which overflowed the Goldono Theatre. He gave a detailed description of the visits he had made to the factories, workers' dwellings, monuments and restaurants of Warsaw.

The delegates from Genoa, returned to the city in the evening of the 25th and were welcomed by the Mayor, M. Adamoli and a great crowd of the townspeople who showed the delegates in no uncertain manner their sympathy and support for the defenders of peace. On the 28th, a great popular demonstration took place at the palace of the Dukes to greet the delegates of Genoa. This was followed on the same day by a press conference where the delegates faced a countless barrage of questions from the journalists.

Only a few days earlier at Genoa, the Mayor, M. Amadoli, had already held an important press conference on similar questions.

M. Francesco Scotti, a Vice-President of the Milan Peace Committee, who had also been elected at Warsaw to the World Peace Council, emphasised on his return the important effects of the Congress and the ever more impressive broadening of the front of the defenders of peace which now included among its members independents, monarchists, intellectuals of all backgrounds, small and middle businessmen, tradesmen, clerks, workers and teachers, and many other categories. They had been in a position to notice that every voice had an opportunity to be heard, and every opinion to be expressed, whether favourable or not.

A meeting was also held at Naples where Messrs Cerabona, Palermo, and Dr Valenzi as well as the Monarchist Councillor Parise, were warmly greeted. Mr Arturo Labriola gave an address in which he described the impressive assembly at Warsaw.

On the 29th, at Catanzaro, Gianni Di Stefano, on his return from Warsaw, spoke at a press conference organised by the Regional Peace Committee. On the following days, throughout the Province of Catanzaro, at Crotone, Nicastro, Vibo end elsewhere, similar demonstrations and meetings took place to bring the results and successes of the Congress to the knowledge of the people.

In Trieste

The following letter has come to hand from the Trieste Peace Committee :

« Dear Friends,

« We are glad to advise you that the delegates back from the Warsaw Congress are in process of bringing the Warsaw decisions to the public through a series of dozens of meetings throughout the Anglo-American zone of the Free Territory of Trieste. In the Yugoslav zone our movement is prohibited. Down to the present time we have held altogether fifteen meetings since the Congress.

« On the 10th December we held a general meeting of representatives of all the peace committees and worked out a program of activities for two months covering a broadening of the movement and a very extensive publicity for the Warsaw decisions, particularly those sections dealing with prohibition of atomic weapons and disarmament. »

In China

From Peking we have received a telegram concluding : « We sincerely and unreservedly support the Congress. We shall engage to the full in practical activities to realise these aims. »

Signed : Third Session of Second Plenary Assembly of the Union for the Progress of Democracy in China.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN DECLARES...

The recent declarations of President Truman, such as that of the 30th November where he agreed that the use of the atomic bomb « had always been under active consideration », his announcement of further increases in the U.S. armed forces, and his declaration of emergency have caused a number of violent reactions in many countries. There has been a wave of protests, and many addresses, messages, demonstrations, stop-work meetings and public gatherings of protest.

These, however, have not stopped the series of hysterical and warlike declarations so fashionable in the United States, and we have seen such statements from Governor Dewey, Senator Brewster and even the Reverend Henry Knox Sherrill, President of the National Council of the Churches of Christ for whom « the use of the atomic bomb is not necessarily immoral ».

The voices of the people in opposition to such irresponsible statements are becoming increasingly heard throughout the world, however, and we are finding a greater number of protests being reported in the international press, such as the following.

Petition to the House of Commons Against the Atomic Bomb

According to the London Daily Herald, a petition with 1,300,000 signatures, calling for the banning of all atomic weapons was presented to the House of Commons by Mr Sidney Silverman, Labour Member for Nelson and Colne. Before doing so he said, « It is my duty to draw attention to the fact that doubts have been expressed as to the genuineness or good faith of certain sponsors, organisers or promoters of this petition. I have no concern with that, because I have no reason to doubt, and every reason to believe, that the signatures on this petition were validly attached ».

Statement of Dr Ralph Bunche 1950 Nobel Prize Winner

According to the New York Herald Tribune of the 14th December, Dr Ralph Bunche, Nobel Peace Prize winner for 1950, said at a press conference at Copenhagen, « I think all weapons should be banned as an important first step — not only the atom bomb. First and foremost, he added, it is necessary that all nations give their fullest support to the U.N. ». He added that even more important than the banning of weapons was the need for easing of East West tensions.

FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE KOREAN CONFLICT

Lord Boyd-Orr, Professor Julian Huxley, Mr J.-B. Priestley and other eminent personalities write to « The Times »

« To the Editor of the Times,

« Sir - The gravity of the crisis in the Far East has been underlined both by the latest military events and by the urgent mission that the Prime Minister has undertaken. In this mission, Mr Attlee enjoys the support of all parties in the House of Commons, as Mr Churchill and Mr Clement Davies made clear. It seems to us that others should also make known their support of the Premier's initiative and define what they believe to be the immediate essentials of policy. In our view the United Nations forces have advanced beyond the positions which the repelling of North Korean aggression demanded. Exactly what directives were issued to the U.N. commander, and what form assurances to the Peking Government took are not publicly known. We now urge that the United Nations should issue a statement of its intentions, in the most public and unambiguous form, and that this should include a declaration that if the Chinese forces halt their offensive no further U.N. advance will be attempted. No bombing operations, atomic or otherwise, should be launched by the United Nations in North Korea or Manchuria. The immediate objective must be a cease-fire, followed by the creation of a neutral zone between the contending forces. Once this is achieved, the chance exists of reaching a political agreement between the United Nations and Peking about the future of Korea.

« We further hold that, unfortunate though the refusal of the Chinese delegates to discuss the Korean crisis at Lake Success has been, it is at least intelligible in view of the continued unwillingness of the Security Council to recognise the fact that the Peking Government is now in control of continental China. We believe that the best hope for the future is to refuse any longer to recognise the representative of Chiang Kai-Shek and to invite Peking to accept a seat on the Security Council. We should also secure the cooperation of United Nations Powers, including, especially those of Asia, in setting up a U.N. commission to administer the whole of Korea in preparation for that « united and independent » régime which has been the avowed aim of U.N. policy. We believe that the friendship between the people of Britain and the United States will be strengthened by outspoken expressions of British opinion. The danger lies in equivocation, which may lead at a later stage to recrimination and misunderstanding. »

Yours faithfully,

(Lord) Michael Balcon Boyd-Orr of Brechin,
(Lord) Mearns, Frank Byers, Ritchie Calder,
(Lord) Chorley of Kendal, G. D. H. Cole,
Julian Huxley, David Low, Kingsley Martin,
Tom O'Brien, J. B. Priestley, V. S. Pritchett,
(Lord) Stansgate, Francis Williams, Leonard Woolf.

RESPONSE FROM FRENCH DEPUTIES AND OTHERS

The Editor of « The Times »,
Printing House Square,
LONDON E. C. 4

Sir - We read with the greatest interest the letter in your issue of the 6th December signed by Lord Boyd-Orr and other eminent British personalities concerning a peaceful solution of the conflict in the Far East.

We approve of the steps proposed by these persons with a view to the cessation of hostilities in Korea and the admission to the U.N.O. of the People's Government of China.

We have all taken up a position in our country in favour of an independent policy which would assure to France her liberty of action in the service of peace.

We consider that the existence, in each country, of a broad movement of public opinion in favour of negociation and the release of current international tensions constitutes one of the best guarantees against a third world war.

We also consider that contacts should be developed for the encouragement of free, broad and constructive discussions throughout the world between those who desire through negociation to reach a solution to current differences including the peaceful coexistence of opposing ideologies.

Yours faithfully,

Colonel Lecrivain-Servoz, Deputy; Jacques Bounin, former Commissaire de la République; Pierre Cot, Deputy, former Cabinet-Minister, General Van Gehuchten, General Tubert, Senator; Admiral Moullec, Councillor of the French Union; Master Stibbe, Advocate of the Paris Bar; Gilbert de Chambrun, Deputy; André Blumel, Advocate of the Paris Bar; Gilles Martinet, Editor of « l'Observateur »; Doctor René Tzank; M. de Barral, President of the Union of former Servicemen; Marius Apostolo, Member of Executive Committee of the Movement for Liberation of the People.

Certifying the signatures : Emmanuel d'Astier, Deputy, former Cabinet-Minister.

President Truman's Bomb Declaration Reaction of German Consumer Co-ops

The Board of Directors of the Consumers Co-operatives of the German Democratic Republic, representing its 2,500,000 members, addressed the following protest to Mr Trygve Lie, General Taylor and Mr Adenauer :

« It is with the greatest indignation and horror that we have learned of the threat of President Truman of the United States to employ the atomic bomb against the Korean people who are struggling for their liberty, and their faithful allies, the volunteers of the People's Republic of China. At this time, when the Foreign Affairs Ministers of eight peaceful states, meeting at Prague, have made a positive contribution to the maintenance of world peace by demanding a disarmament which covers all kinds of weapons and a complete prohibition against the use of the atomic bomb and other means of mass destruction, this latest threat of Truman's comes as a monstrous blow in the face for the peaceful peoples.

« In the face of such criminal designs, we join with all those men throughout the whole earth who now understand the extent of the menace to peace, in the resolve to carry on the fight for peace with renewed vigour. We join with all those who work for peace throughout the world in the conviction that in fighting for peace we are fighting for our lives.

« We understand that in the present situation we should reach a clear-cut decision wherever possible. For this reason we are energetically joining, in the name of our 2,500,000 members, in the demands of all progressive and peaceful men and women throughout the world, and we give our assurance that we shall do everything possible for the maintenance of peace. »

IV

CHRISTMAS MESSAGE FROM PASTOR R. OTHMAR MULLNER

Pastor R. Othmar Mullner, of the German Evangelical Church at Frankfurt has addressed a Christmas message to all Ministers of the Evangelical Church in Germany, and has sent them also a plan for three Christmas sermons « on the struggle for world peace ».

Document drawn up by Pastor R. Othmar Mullner, of the Committee for the Struggle for Peace of Western Germany, Frankfurt-on-Main.

Dear Colleagues,

When some months ago I called upon all Evangelical Ministers to sign the Stockholm Appeal and to devote all their strength to an active struggle for peace on earth, the world had not yet obtained a clear idea of the great size to which this world movement for peace was destined to grow. Like a powerful river overflowing its banks, the struggle for peace on earth has found a place in all the domains of human thought and activity. What is more important for us is the fact that the Christian Churches have been called upon to resolve the question of « War or Peace ». The problem of remilitarisation has, moreover, overflowed the limits of pure politics and has become a question of faith and Christian conscience. Our pointers on this road of the developing struggle for peace are the resolution of the Synod at Essen, the now justly celebrated letter of Pastor Niemoeller to Chancellor Adenauer, and the statements of the Confessional Church Council which were quite remarkable in their content and their spirit.

Now, my dear colleagues, we must go further and put all our spiritual power and all the authority of the Church at the service of supporting peace on earth. There is no place more worthy or more appropriate for the proclamation of peace than the pulpits of our Churches. From this place above all, the words should ring out, « Peace on Earth and goodwill to all men » and « I cannot serve both God and man ».

Advent and Christmas Eve are approaching. I send you today, dear friends, the outlines for three sermons which might be useful at this time, both to you and your parishioners, in the struggle for world peace. How often the Church has had to suffer reproaches for giving her blessing to arms. That must not happen again. It is to our own German protestant Church which, in the resolution of the Essen Synod, the Niemoeller letter and the statements of the Confessional Church Council, has undertaken its greatest work since the Reform, that belongs the right and the duty to show the world that its Churchmen are the true servants of the Gospel.

Wishing you and your parishioners a Christmas within the spirit of a veritable peace on earth, and with my most cordial greetings for peace,

I remain,

Your colleague,

O. MULLNER.

V

ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRESSIVE UNION IN FRANCE

A Progressive Union, with a policy in external affairs of « active neutrality » was formed recently in Paris during a conference on a national basis which was attended by six hundred persons from various political groups, including some with no special affiliations. Groups represented included the Socialist Unity Party, Progressive Christians and left wing Radicals. Individual personalities included Messrs E. d'Astier de la Vigerie and Pierre Cot, both Progressive Republican Deputies, and Professor Weill-Hallé who with the two last-named are members of the World Peace Council. Others were Messrs Charles Serre (independent Deputy), Ambroise and Val (Young Republicans), Dr Tzank (Citizen of the World), d'Aragon (a left independent Deputy) and a group from the French Socialist Party.

The Paris newspaper « Libération » of the 1st December, discussing the general resolution resulting from this conference, says, « *Concerning foreign policy, the national conference considers that France « should recover her independence and her liberty of action, to do which she must retire from the Atlantic coalition* ». Taking into account the « *necessary coexistence of the two economic systems and the diversity of French opinion on the subject* », the conference went on to declare itself in favour of a policy of active neutrality for France. « *This* », it said, « *would enable France to play a significant role in the settlement of international differences. It would make possible an effective opposition to any rearmament of Germany and would enable the United Nations Organisation to be brought back to its true purpose, which is not to provide the machinery for a theoretical majority to impose its will on what is, after all, the majority of humanity.*

« *The putting into effect of such a policy* », went on the declaration, « should lead the government into taking certain *steps with a view to obtaining the cessation of hostilities in Korea and the admission of People's China to the U.N.O., a meeting of the five permanent members of the Security Council and India with a view to the settlement of the Far East conflict and the prohibition of weapons of mass-destruction, with general, graduated and controlled disarmament* ».

The resolution goes on to declare that « *In order to obtain the necessary authority and respect in the introduction of such a policy, France should herself put into practice a policy of peace involving an immediate cessation of the war in Viet Nam...* »

Declaration of the National Conference of French Progressives

« France is in anguish. After five years of precarious peace, a further world war appears imminent, yet she refuses to regard this as inevitable.

« Whatever the outcome of such a war, she knows that she could only be one of the principal victimes and would lose all hope of recovery.

« This anguish is aggravated by the war in Viet Nam which is turning into a national disaster and which and indeed represents a danger of bringing down the whole of the French Union.

« Public opinion recognises that France is now caught in the toils of an economic and military coalition whose dangerous character becomes daily more evident. The public is daily more aware that France is becoming less and less mistress of her own destiny.

« The military burdens of this coalition are prohibitive to reconstruction of the country, and equipment of our industries, and are imposing unbearable sacrifices on the working classes. The demands of this coalition have led the present government, in spite of its most solemn undertakings, to resign itself to the rearmament of Germany. These demands are leading it, finally, to place more restraints daily upon republican liberties by the development of a police régime, by changing from a peace to a war economy, and by creating conditions of national disorder conducive to civil war itself.

« But every day an increasing number of French men and women, before these imminent dangers, demonstrate their opposition to the government and seek out the means of reversing the present policy. Such a reversal could return to France her liberty of action in the service of her own national interest and her liberty to take the necessary steps in favour of peace.

« The French progressives, conscious of the source of France's present policy, is proposing to the broad favourable section of public opinion a regrouping of republican political forces around a limited programme likely to favour such a regrouping and to call forth a wide union without restrictions as to membership, with the object of acting in concert with those political groups which are claiming peace and social progress. »

VI

M. CHAMBEIRON, PROGRESSIVE DEPUTY AT THE TRIBUNE OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY :

« The insults to Professor Joliot-Curie are a blow to the Prestige of France »

We believe that the press of the whole world, and all men with an interest in and respect for right and justice will be interested to know of the address made by M. Robert Chambeiron, French progressive Deputy, in the National Assembly concerning the rough-handling to which the great French scientist Frederic Joliot-Curie was subjected by the American occupation authorities in Germany.

Although holding a regular transit visa, M. Joliot-Curie was, as is already known, held for five hours at the German frontier before being turned back, and in the course of this five hours he had to undergo a rude interrogation.

Following this disgraceful insult, many protests were made, including that of M. Chambeiron, a portion of which follows :

Ladies and Gentlemen,

M. Gilbert de Chambrun made a brief allusion this morning to certain difficulties recently encountered by M. Frederic Joliot-Curie at the hands of the American authorities : I should like this evening to address myself to this incident at greater length, and I express the hope that the Minister of Foreign Affairs will in the name of the Government make some statement on this subject.

Last Tuesday, when replying to our colleague, M. Malleret-Joinville, the Prime Minister told us « that the Government

was naturally interested in everything that happened to Frenchmen absent from their country ».

That is, we all agree, a very honourable purpose, but again we ask that the Government should see that there is harmony between its statements and its actions.

●

Just what is this affair of M. Joliot-Curie's ?

No doubt the Government is already quite familiar with it, but I am sure this assembly would like to have some details.

M. Frederic Joliot-Curie had to go by rail from Paris to Warsaw to take part in the work of the Second World Peace Congress, of whose permanent Committee he has been Chairman for eighteen months.

Why Warsaw ? I apologise for introducing this side-issue. I imagine that everyone knows that the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace was to be held in England, but that in spite of the solemn promise of the British Prime Minister the congress could not be held at Sheffield as planned because a large number of eminent persons were refused admission to Britain.

M. Joliot-Curie had asked for and obtained a visa from the appropriate authorities, that is to say from the office of the allied high commission in Germany — the bureau for travel-permits in Paris. He obtained a transit visa which enabled him to cross the American occupation zone in Germany... good for one return trip up till the 30th November. The outward journey — I give full credit to the French authorities for it — was completed without untoward incident.

He took part in the work of the Second World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, then he left the Polish capital on November 23.

But at Schirnding on the German frontier, the German authorities took his passport and refused to let him continue his journey, while his secretary, with an identical visa to his own was authorised to continue his journey across Germany.

M. Joliot-Curie was held for five hours in a railway station waiting-room and kept under constant watch by German uniformed police who interrogated him without the slightest respect whatever.

One of them gave him to understand that this discriminatory and, if I may say so, cheap action towards him had emanated from the American command : the American order had been received by the German frontier authorities even before M. Joliot-Curie's arrival.

I think that this Assembly will learn, not without some indignation, that M. Joliot-Curie was not even permitted to telephone the French authorities to inform them of his situation, that he was given no food, and was refused even a glass of water on the childish pretext that he was not in possession of dollars and so not able to pay for a meal.

Among the questions put to him was one that I cannot refrain from repeating to you. The German authorities asked him : « But what are you going to do in France ? » As if it was a matter for surprise that a Frenchman who had attended a congress abroad should return to his country, and as if it were not, indeed, more normal for M. Joliot-Curie to return to France than, for instance, that France should be invaded by the two thousand Germans who came in at Strasbourg without visas to attend an anti-French demonstration.

Finally M. Joliot-Curie was constrained to go back by rail to Prague. I should add that the Czechoslovak Government gave him such a welcome there as even the French Government seldom accords him.

●

The attitude of the press in connection with this matter has been most extraordinary. A number of journals, particularly those of the American press, have given to understand that M. Joliot-Curie could not continue his trip across Germany because of an irregularity in his visa. That is a falsehood. He possessed, as I have explained, a perfectly regular visa, given him by the authority which I mentioned a few moments ago, an authority which includes among its members, moreover, a representative of the French Government, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs has been good enough to agree. Moreover, the regularity of the visa was confirmed by our representative at Prague, who agreed that the visa of M. Joliot-Curie was in perfect order and that in principle it was perfectly in order for him to cross the American occupation zone to travel from Warsaw to Paris via Prague.

I have no hesitation in saying that the American authorities have no great admiration or consideration for the defenders of peace, but I add, in passing, that I do not believe that the hostility of the American authorities towards them will prevent the development of the peace forces throughout the world.

Returning to M. Joliot-Curie, however, I would put a very clear question to the Minister for Foreign Affairs : I am going to ask him what is he going to do, not only to protest against what may rightly be considered as an affront to a great Frenchman, but also to prevent the recurrence of such incidents ?

M. Joliot-Curie was not only unable to return to France by train as he wished, but a few days ago he also found himself unable to go in company with Mme Irene Joliot-Curie to attend the General Assembly of the Nobel Prizes, and still for the reason that the American authorities refused, or let it be understood that they would refuse, to allow him to cross German territory.

●

These insults to M. Joliot-Curie go far beyond being an affront to him personally. I consider them as insults to France herself. For these reasons I should like the Minister to tell us what he intends to do. For if it is a question af an insult to French prestige. I can assure him that that prestige is a great one in other conutries. I do not know whether the services he administers are always sufficiently conscious of the fact. Indeed I am not always sure that the Government itself is aware of the immense prestige that France has retained abroad. In this connection I should like to mention an incident. At Warsaw, in company with some of my parliamentary colleagues and with the thousands of delegates from every country in the world, we were present at a great demonstration during which 100,000 Polish people marched past the delegates to the congress. Well, what do you think pleased us most ? It was when these men and women passed in front of the French delegation and many of them cried « Vive la France ! ».

I would say to M. Daniel Mayer that when the Poles applaud France, it is the France of 1789, the France of the great traditions, the France of Liberty... and not the France which assassinates the people of Madagascar and which imprisons the fighters for liberty.

And what pleased us even more in Warsaw was that among those Poles who were crying « Vive la France » were many of the men and women that this government had chased from our country less than three months ago.

That, M. Minister, is the prestige of France, and the affronts to which M. Frederic Joliot-Curie was subjected were a blow to that prestige.

I appeal to you then, Mr Minister, to make a statement today and tell us that the Government will no longer tolerate such incidents. In spite of the blunders that the government has made, I ask you no longer to forget that great prestige that France enjoys, and to keep it in the forefront of your considerations, before every political consideration.

PUBLISHED BY THE
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.E., 18-20, FG DU TEMPLE
— PARIS (XIe) —

DEUXIÈME
CONGRÈS MONDIAL
DES PARTISANS
BULLETIN DE LA PAIX

DECEMBRE 1950.

Autour du IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix

REVUE DE PRESSE

Présentation :

Nous avons rassemblé, ci-dessous, à l'usage des Partisans de la Paix, de tous les pays, quelques notes sur ce que la presse a publié entre le début de Novembre et le début de décembre, à propos de la préparation du IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix, de l'empêchement mis par le gouvernement britannique à sa tenue à Sheffield, de ses travaux à Varsovie.

Il ne s'agit pas ici d'une revue complète de la presse mondiale. Nous n'avons pas encore en notre possession tous les éléments, venus des cinq continents, qui permettraient un tel travail, et d'ailleurs, celui-ci ne présenterait pas un intérêt historique. Il pourra être exécuté ultérieurement, et la présente esquisse d'une revue de presse aura une suite.

Q'uon ne s'étonne pas, au surplus, que la plus large place ait été faite ici aux journaux d'Europe Occidentale, les Français et les Britanniques, notamment. C'est d'abord qu'il eût été impossible de dépouiller rapidement l'énorme quantité de matériaux publiés sur le Congrès de la Paix par les innombrables journaux, périodiques et revues d'Union Soviétique et des pays de démocratie nouvelle, dont l'attachement aux forces pacifiques s'est si largement exprimé en cette occasion. C'est ensuite que la presse française et britannique, qui ont, en ce qui concerne le reste du monde, le plus fait écho aux informations concernant le Congrès, n'ont guère exprimé d'autres opinions que celles des journaux d'Amérique du Nord, d'Amérique Latine, d'Australie, desservis qu'ils sont par les mêmes agences de presse internationale.

Pour rapide et forcément sommaire qu'elle soit, la revue de presse que nous donnons ci-dessous, permet cependant de constater : — *d'une part* — et c'est l'observation essentielle — que la consigne de silence qu'ont accoutumé de recevoir, et d'observer, la plupart des « grands journaux d'information », a été rompue de la façon la plus éclatante, tant le mouvement d'opinion s'est trouvé puissant et passioné autour de ceux que la presse britannique a appelée: « peacemen », « les hommes de la paix ».

La présence à Varsovie de 130 journalistes de tous pays, parmi lesquels les envoyés spéciaux de toutes les grandes agences internationales, des plus grandes agences nationales, des plus grands journaux d'audience mondiale ou continentale, témoigne de cette rupture avec l'habitude d'un silence concerté.

D'autre part, c'est la deuxième constatation, que la présence à Varsovie de leurs envoyés spéciaux n'a pas empêché certains journaux et certaines agences de publier ou de transmettre des informations absolument dépourvues d'objectivité, voire des contre-vérités évidentes, ausi bien sur le Congrès lui-même que sur son cadre : Varsovie, et sur le peuple polonais.

Il faut en conclure seulement que le point 5 de l'Adresse à l'Organisation des Nations Unies, adoptée par le IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix, prend une particulière importance pour les journalistes honnêtes. Ce point 5, on le sait, demande aux Parlements d'établir la responsabilité pénale en ce qui concerne la propagande pour une nouvelle guerre, sous quelque forme que ce soit.

COMMENT LE GOUVERNEMENT BRITANNIQUE A EMPÊCHÉ LA TENUE A SHEFFIELD DU DEUXIÈME CONGRÈS MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Le 17 août 1950, le Bureau élargi du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix adoptait une résolution fixant les bases de discussions à de larges débats populaires en vue de la préparation du deuxième Congrès Mondial de la Paix. Il fixait le lieu du Congrès à Londres, en Grande-Bretagne.

Le Comité Britannique des Partisans de la Paix, après des échanges de vues, une correspondance avec M. Attlee, ministre des Affaires étrangères, et des démarches pour la recherche d'une salle, pouvait affirmer que le Congrès pourrait se tenir à Sheffield, à la date prévue, du 13 au 19 novembre 1950.

Le premier ministre du Royaume-Uni avait en effet déclaré qu'il n'existait dans son pays aucun pouvoir qui puisse interdire le Congrès. Cependant lorsque le 14 septembre, M. Jean Laffitte, écrivain français, secrétaire général du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix, arriva à l'aérodrome de Londres, pour participer aux travaux du Comité de Préparation au Congrès, il se vit interdire l'entrée en Angleterre.

Le 28 septembre, M. Attlee, s'exprimant au sujet du Congrès, écrivait notamment ce qui suit :

« Le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté n'est nullement « disposé à permettre à des étrangers d'entrer en Gran- « de-Bretagne dans le but d'organiser ce Congrès. »

Le 3 octobre, le Bureau de Préparation du Congrès se réunissait à Prague. Il décidait de poursuivre ses efforts et appelait les masses populaires « à poursuivre leurs efforts afin de surmonter les difficultés et d'arriver à tenir à la date prévue, le IIe Congrès en Grande-Bretagne ».

A 13 jours du Congrès, le Bureau de Préparation faisait savoir que 65 pays avaient annoncé des délégations, et qu'on envisageait la participation de 73 pays avec 1.900 délégués, au Congrès de Sheffield.

Le 1er novembre, le chef du Gouvernement britannique prononçait un discours au cours d'un dîner organisé par la presse étrangère. Voici comment il définissait la position du Gouvernement sur la question de la tenue de ce Congrès :

« Quelqu'un demandera peut-être : Pourquoi ce Congrès se tiendrait-il en Angleterre, et à Sheffield entre toutes les villes ? »

« C'est peut-être qu'ils ont voulu suggérer, en important ainsi ces délégués de l'étranger, que le mouvement communiste en Grande-Bretagne était de quelque importance. C'est peut-être qu'ils ont pensé qu'ils pourraient impressionner les ouvriers du Yorkshire à la tête dure. »

« Mais la deuxième question que vous désirez peut-être poser, c'est : Pourquoi autorisez-vous le Congrès en Grande-Bretagne ? La réponse est que nous n'avons pas le pouvoir d'empêcher tel Congrès de se tenir. Nous sommes dans une société libre. Et pourvu que la loi ne soit pas enfreinte toutes les personnes ont le droit de se réunir librement et de parler librement, aussi trompées qu'elles puissent être. »

« Cela est la mesure non de notre faiblesse, mais de notre force. Les gouvernements totalitaires n'osent pas permettre aux opinions hérétiques de se faire jour. Nous avons une telle foi dans notre système (façon de vivre) que nous pouvons laisser tout le monde s'exprimer à volonté. »

« Nous devons, comme le doit tout maître de maison, nous réserver le droit de refuser l'entrée à tous ceux que nous n'avons pas le désir de recevoir. Assurément, il est habituel de refuser l'entrée à ceux dont nous connaissons l'intention de brûler la maison. »

Le Comité du Congrès Mondial répondit par un communiqué à « M. Attlee, premier ministre de Grande-Bretagne qui a mis en cause, en termes injustes et discourtois, le Mouvement des Partisans de la Paix ».

Ce communiqué rappelle les bases sur lesquelles est convoqué le Congrès et indique que les buts du Congrès de Sheffield et des assises qui l'ont préparé est précisément de démontrer que des opinions diverses peuvent s'exprimer et se faire jour au sein d'une assemblée internationale pourvu que les participants aient sincèrement le désir de paix et la volonté d'aboutir à l'entente entre les peuples.

D'autre part, le Comité britannique adressa à M. Attlee une lettre dont voici le dernier paragraphe :

« ...L'un des buts visés en choisissant la Grande-Bretagne comme lieu du Congrès était de donner au peuple de ce pays l'occasion d'exprimer pleinement ses vues. Les organisateurs du Congrès n'ont ni l'intention ni le désir de limiter en quelque façon que ce soit les vues qui y seront avancées. Nous accueillerions avec plaisir la participation même de ceux qui jusqu'à présent se sont fermement opposés à la politique de notre mouvement, pourvu qu'ils désirent sincèrement la paix.

« Le Comité britannique de la Paix vous adresse par conséquent une très sincère invitation à assister au IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix, à participer à ses discussions et à s'adresser aux délégués des soixante-dix nations qui y seront représentées. Nous avons le sentiment que par une telle action vous pourriez avancer de façon puissante notre but commun d'assurer une paix juste et durable. »

A cette invitation, M. Attlee répond et fait diffuser sa réponse par la presse (Daily Telegraph *du* 4-11-1950) :

« ...M. Attlee n'acceptera pas l'invitation. Il enverra probablement un accusé de réception et dira qu'il n'a pas la possibilité d'y assister. L'invitation est faite dans une des deux lettres que le Comité anglais de la Paix à envoyées hier à Mr. Attlee. L'une d'elles qui a été publiée cherche à répondre aux paroles flétrissantes du Premier; l'autre, une lettre privée, s'occupe des « questions de faits et d'organisation du Congrès », qu'a soulevées M. Attlee.

« Des questions furent posées au sujet de ces deux lettres, hier, à une conférence de Presse tenue par le Comité anglais de la Paix. Etaient présents : M. J.G. Crowther, président du Comité, Mr. D.N. Pritt, K.C., vice-président du Comité, Prof. J.D. Bernal, vice-président du Comité Mondial de la Paix, et M. Ivor Montagu, président du Comité d'Organisation du Congrès.

« M. Montagu a déclaré que le Gouvernement se conduirait d'une façon étrange s'il rendait impossible la tenue du Congrès, soit en déclarant que beaucoup de personnes étaient « non grata » soit en refusant les visas. »

Le Secrétariat du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix avait publié le 8 novembre un communiqué dont voici quelques extraits essentiels :

« A ce jour, les visas ont été accordés à un certain nombre des délégués des différents pays.

Le Secrétariat du Comité Mondial signale par contre que le Gouvernement de M. Attlee a refusé les visas nénécessaires à de nombreuses personnalités de tous pays, de toutes tendances politiques et de toutes croyances religieuses.

Ces procédés contraires aux grandes traditions de liberté du peuple anglais et à la cause de la paix font qu'aucune délégation élue dans les pays dont les citoyens sont soumis aux formalités de visas ne sera complète. D'autre part, de nombreux membres du Comité Mondial se trouveront empêchés de rendre compte du mandat qui leur fut confié à Paris par le premier Congrès de la Paix.

En conséquence, le Secrétariat du Comité Mondial et le Comité de Préparation du IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix ont étudié les moyens propres à permettre, malgré ces restrictions arbitraires, la tenue du Congrès de Sheffield dans les conditions qui assurent la plus large confrontation d'idées.

Seuls des hommes qui voudraient la guerre peuvent avoir intérêt à empêcher la participation à ce Congrès d'hommes réunis pour discuter librement dans le seul but de trouver les moyens d'assurer la paix si gravement menacée. »

On apprenait alors que le State Department refusait son passeport au grand écrivain Howard Fast et le lui avait signifié par le télégramme suivant :

« Le Département considère qu'il serait contraire à « nos meilleurs intérêts de vous accorder facilités de « passeport en ce moment. » Signé R.B. Shipley, Section des Passeports.

♣

Le 9 novembre dans l'après-midi, la question du Congrès de Sheffield était posée par un député conservateur, M. Wastkinson, qui demanda ce que le Gouvernement « comptait faire au sujet des délégués communistes ». *M. Attlee répond :* « Le soi-disant Comité britannique de la Paix a été informé il y a quelques semaines, que les demandes de visas faites par les étrangers seraient considérées sur leurs mérites et que le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté se réservait le droit de refuser l'entrée à quiconque et de les considérer comme indésirables. Ceci a rapport aussi bien aux communistes qu'aux non communistes. »

M. Wastkinson demanda si ceux qui recevaient la permission de venir seraient rigoureusement contrôlés, afin de s'assurer qu'ils repartiraient aussitôt que possible après la fin du Congrès.

« Oh, certainement », *répond M. Attlee.*

On demanda ensuite à M. Ede, ministre de l'Intérieur, comment il pouvait juger du mérite respectif des divers délégués soviétiques, ne sachant rien sur leur compte avant leur arrivée ? M. Ede répondit : « La Chambre serait surprise de savoir combien je sais, et combien je sais sur d'autres personnes d'origine étrangère. »

Quelques jours avant le Congrès on avait senti percer dans certaine presse l'intention du Gouvernement « d'empêcher par tous les moyens les hommes de paix de se rencontrer en territoire britannique ».

Le New York Herald Tribune lança le maximum de rumeurs destinées à désorganiser les diverses Assises de la Paix qui se tenaient dans tous les pays. C'est ainsi que le 11 novembre il passait l'article suivant :

« Londres 10 nov. — La politique de la Grande-Bretagne s'avère de plus en plus dure envers le Second Congrès Mondial de la Paix « sympathisant », de façon à menacer de diminuer la grandeur et le prestige de cette assemblée.

« Le Congrès s'ouvre lundi à Sheffield. On avait prévu l'arrivée de 2.500 délégués et invités de 74 pays. Mais le refus de visas ou de permis d'entrée par le Gouvernement britannique fait croire que la moitié de ce chiffre sera exclue. »

La presse conservatrice française abonda dans le même sens.

Le Parisien Libéré, *qui se pique d'obectivité, publiait le 11 novembre, l'article dont nous extrayons les passages suivants :*

« La semaine dernière, au cours d'un dîner offert à M. Attlee par l'association de la presse étrangère à Londres, le premier ministre avait prononcé un discours consacré exclusivement à ce « Congrès de la Paix », M. Attlee avait en substance souligné deux points principaux :

1. Que le congrès était d'inspiration communiste;
2. Que la liberté de parole étant de rigueur en Angleterre, ce congrès pourrait avoir lieu en toute liberté.

Toutefois, avait déclaré M. Attlee, le gouvernement britannique se réservait le droit de refuser l'entrée en Angleterre de « personnes n'étant pas persona grata ».

Cependant, au dernier moment, le 11 novembre, à la veille même du Congrès, le gouvernement britannique interdisait l'entrée en Grande-Bretagne à la plupart des délégués, à la quasi totalité des membres du Comité Mondial et à son président Joliot-Curie.

***

Rappelons que l'Agence *TELEPRESS* de Prague a diffusé le 16 novembre 1950 le texte d'une circulaire secrète adressée au mois d'août dernier par M. Attlee, Premier Ministre de Grande-Bretagne, à des représentants britanniques en divers pays.

Signalant que le Comité britannique de la Paix s'est adressé au premier Minisrte Britannique pour lui demander l'assurance qu'aucune difficulté ne serait faite en ce qui concerne la préparation du IIe Congrès Mondial. La circulaire faisait état d'un projet de réunion de Congrès à Gênes, projet mis en échec par le refus du comte Sforza d'accorder des visas aux délégués.

La circulaire précisait :

« Prenant en considération le danger que ce Congrès présenterait pour les pays du Pacte Atlantique, le gouvernement anglais a examiné soigneusement tous les moyens disponibles pour ne pas permettre la tenue de ce Congrès ou pour prendre des mesures contre les organisateurs du Congrès, qui les contraindraient à l'organiser ailleurs, ou bien des mesures telles que le Congrès en perdrait sa signirication si, malgré tout, il devait se tenir à Londres. Or, le ministère britannique de l'Intérieur ne dispose, malheureusement, d'aucune base légale pour proclamer l'interdiction du Congrès.

« En conséquence, le ministère n'est pas en état de prendre à l'avance des mesures nécessaires. Le gouvernement anglais doit donc agir en admettant que le Congrès se tiendra et qu'il s'appellera : II° Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. »

... « Le gouvernement britannique se rend parfaitement compte du fait — étant donné les possibilités ouvertes par le Congrès — qu'il a, d'après le Pacte Atlantique, comme devoir de faire tout ce qui est possible pour empêcher la tenue du Congrès. »

La suite de la circulaire était consacrée aux consignes pratiques destinées à entraîner l'échec du Congrès en Grande-Bretagne avec certaines formes à prendre au cas où la loi anglaise serait impuissante à faciliter le refus des visas !

Il est recommandé de ne pas informer les organisateurs des mesures qui pourront être prises contre les « indésirables ».

Après avoir affirmé : « le Congrès constitue une tentative de grouper l'opinion publique internationale autour de la politique pacifiste soviétique basée sur l'interdiction de l'arme atomique et sur la renonciation à l'usage de cette arme », **la circulaire concluait en demandant aux représentants britanniques de veiller soigneusement à l'application de ces consignes susceptibles de provoquer l'échec du Congrès.**

*
**

Après ces mesures d'interdiction, le Comité de la Paix britannique publiait la protestation suivante :

Le Professeur Joliot-Curie, Président du Mouvement Mondial de la Paix, Jean Laffitte, Secrétaire Général, et les deux tiers d'un groupe de délégués de France, comprenant beaucoup de personnalités éminentes, ont été refoulés lorsqu'ils sont arrivés à Douvres ce matin.

Ce fait, ainsi que d'autres mesures restrictives prises par les autorités, y compris le refus d'admettre tous les membres du bureau à l'exception d'un seul et tous les membres du Comité Mondial, ont rendu tout à fait impossible la tenue en Grande-Bretagne d'un Congrès qui soit entièrement représentatif et qui fasse autorité. Dans ces conditions, le Bureau du Comité Mondial des Partisans de la Paix a accepté l'invitation du Comité Polonais des Partisans de la Paix qui a offert au Congrès de siéger à Varsovie, le 16 novembre 1950.

Dans l'après-midi du 13 novembre, les délégués qui se trouvent déjà en Grande-Bretagne se réuniront au City-Hall de Sheffield, avec la délégation britannique, pour une discussion impromptue ; le soir aura lieu un meeting public. Après, ils se rendront à Varsovie.

Tous les représentants de la presse accrédités auprès du Congrès sont invités à Varsovie.

Le Comité britannique de la Paix attire l'attention sur les points suivants :

Il y a déjà plusieurs semaines le Comité a écrit au Premier Ministre, exprimant l'espoir qu'on n'abuserait pas des pouvoirs administratifs pour empêcher un Congrès qu'aucune loi ne peut empêcher, comme l'avait déclaré lui-même le Premier Ministre.

Le Premier Ministre avait déclaré que tous les délégués, à l'exception des « persona non grata » seraient admis, mais ceux qui ont été refoulés comptent parmi eux des personnalités de renommée mondiale, universellement respectées et sans rapport direct avec les partis politiques.

Lorsqu'il leur fut demandé s'ils avaient quelque objection à faire quant au nombre des délégués invités pour chaque pays, les autorités avaient déclaré qu'elles n'avaient aucune intention de juger sur le nombre ; mais de nombreux refus par exemple ceux qui concernent la délégation chinoise ne semblent pas avoir d'autre base.

Lorsqu'il leur fut demandé si le rejet de membres du Comité de Préparation signifiait qu'ils seraient aussi « persona non grata » comme délégués, les autorités avaient déclaré qu'il n'en serait pas nécessairement ainsi. Mais à l'exception d'un seul, tous ont été refoulés.

Au nom du Comité Britannique, Mrs S.O. Davies, Membre du Parlement, a remis au Ministre de l'Intérieur la liste des 140 membres du Comité Permanent, ainsi qu'une requête demandant s'ils seraient autorisés ou non à venir. Cette demande a été formellement rejetée. Vendredi 3 novembre, il y a exactement 8 jours, le Ministère de l'Intérieur était intervenu spécialement pour réclamer la liste des membres non astreints aux formalités de visa, et offrir, en même temps, de fournir les précisions demandées. Cette liste lui a été de nouveau et immédiatement remise, mais le refus d'entrée de tous, sauf 4, n'a été connu qu'hier.

Jusqu'à maintenant, deux membres seulement sur les 140 du Comité Permanent ont été admis et plus de 100 ont été définitivement refusés.

Le Comité de la Paix Britannique regrette profondément que ces changements qui interviennent en ce qui concerne le Congrès empêchent beaucoup de gens de Grande-Bretagne et des autres pays de mieux apprendre à se connaître, comme cela était projeté. Ces contacts auraient contribué puissamment à de meilleurs sentiments internationaux. Le Comité remercie tous ceux qui ont donné et qui donnent leur appui au Congrès de la Paix et il demande avec confiance à tous les délégués britanniques élus, aux observateurs et à tous ceux qui soutiennent la paix, de contribuer au succès du Congrès là où désormais il se tiendra.

LES REACTIONS DE LA PRESSE BRITANNIQUE

L'ensemble de la presse démocratique britannique et même de la presse conservatrice se faisait l'écho des protestations nombreuses contre ces mesures d'interdiction. Voici un article du DAILY TELEGRAPH du 6 novembre :

« Le Révérend Pendrill Bentall, pasteur de l'Eglise « Queens-Street Congregational Church » de Sheffield a déclaré hier :

« La récente attaque de M. Attlee contre le Congrès « Mondial de la Paix est contraire aux traditions de « liberté britanniques. J'ai informé les organisateurs du « Congrès, que tout membre de l'Eglise Protestante Ré« formée sera le bienvenu dans mon église et pourra « l'utiliser quand bon lui semblera. »

« Le Révérend Pendrill Bentall n'est membre d'aucun parti, il est président du « Yorkshire Congregational Union ».

« THE TIMES » du 14 novembre, reproduit le compte rendu de la discussion à la Chambre des Communes, sur l'action entreprise par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté, sur les questions de l'admission des étrangers au Congrès Mondial de la Paix.

En voici des extraits :

M. EDE, secrétaire d'Etat à l'Intérieur...

Comme j'en ai informé la Chambre le 19 novembre la politique consistait à considérer les demandes de visas suivant les mérites individuels mais de se réserver le droit d'exclure tout étranger qui était « persona non grata ». De plus le 1er novembre, le premier ministre dans son allocution à l'association de la Presse étrangère disait :

« Nous ne refuserons pas l'entrée à des gens qui en toute bonne foi, désireraient se rendre au Congrès mais il n'est pas dans nos intentions d'ouvrir larges nos portes à ceux qui cherchent à venir ici pour troubler nos institutions, pour séduire nos concitoyens et les détour-

ner de leur fidélité naturelle envers le Royaume et de leurs devoirs quotidiens ainsi que pour faire de la propagande pour ceux qui nous appellent des « cannibales et des fauteurs de guerre »...

M. CHURCHILL (Woodford. Conservateur). — Quel était le but que se proposait M. le Ministre en nous soumettant cette déclaration dans cette conjoncture? N'agirait-il pas sagement en tentant de perdre ses illusions en ce qui concerne la possibilité de voir ce pays lui transmettre ses compliments et ses congratulations pour cet événement et la manière dont il a été traité ? Cela n'a-t-il pas donné la plus grande publicité à ceux qu'il nous a décrit avec une si juste sévérité et cela ne nous a-t-il pas exposé à un très grand nombre d'inconvénients et à beaucoup d'abus ?

M. PHILIPS PRICE (Gloucestershire, travailliste) est d'accord avec ce que le secrétaire d'Etat a fait, mais il demande pourquoi il est nécessaire d'exclure un musicien éminent comme Chostakovitch et le Métropolite Nicolai de Moscou.

M. EDE. — Sur l'intervention des évêques de l'Eglise Anglicane de ce pays j'ai décidé à la fin d'accorder un visa à l'ecclésiastique sus-mentionné. En ce qui concerne les autres (ecclésiastiques) l'information que j'avais à leur sujet était qu'ils étaient si étroitement liés au Kominform que j'ai pensé qu'il était indésirable de les voir entrer.

M. CHURCHILL. — Puis-je assurer Monsieur le Ministre que nous sommes en plein accord, à la Chambre, avec les buts et les intentions qu'il avait (rires sur le banc des ministres) mais nous sommes loin d'être convaincus que les méthodes les meilleures et les plus appropriées pour atteindre ce but ont été celles qui ont été choisies.

M. EDE. — La seule autre méthode qui se présentait à moi aurait été de demander à la Chambre de passer une loi déclarant ce Congrès illégal. J'ai un tel respect pour le droit de réunion et de discussion pour les citoyens de ce pays et une telle appréhension de créer un précédent quelconque qui porte atteinte à ce droit que j'ai renoncé à cette solution d'une manière sérieuse...

M. CHURCHILL. — En supposant que nous ayons un autre cas semblable venant dans les conditions actuelles qui sont particulièrement difficiles, ne serait-il pas juste de considérer, comme autre solution, qu'il faudrait demander une législation spéciale au Parlement et permettre à l'opinion publique de ce pays de s'exprimer sur cette question par la voix de ses représentants?

Le 23 novembre, le « TIMES » fait paraître un article sous le titre suivant :

« Rencontre de la « Paix » de Sheffield. — Les critiques d'un évêque contre une action qui n'est pas digne de la Grande-Bretagne. »

Ecrivant dans la Revue « Diocesan Review » sur la question du « Congrès saboté », l'évêque de Sheffield, le Dr. L.S. Hunter déclare que le transfert du Congrès de la « Paix » n'est pas une grande perte pour Sheffield, mais qu'il est difficile de ne pas ressentir quelque honte devant la façon non digne de Britanniques (un-British) dont le gouvernement l'a empêché au dernier moment de se tenir.

« Si le Gouvernement et les administrations en cause ont si peu de confiance dans le bon sens d'une communauté industrielle ou dans leur propre façon de gouverner qu'ils craignent de laisser quelques communistes, quelques fellow-travellers (sympathisants), quelques intellectuels instables ainsi que des dirigeants ecclésiastiques venir en Grande-Bretagne pour quelques jours, ils auraient dû interdire le Congrès depuis longtemps...

...Le caractère politique de la campagne anticommuniste de l'Eglise Romaine met les non-romains dans une position très difficile. L'hystérie qui règne dans le public aux Etats-Unis, hystérie dont certains éléments de cette Eglise en sont pas sans avoir quelque responsabilité, les propagandes en faveur de la guerre faites par ceux qui ne savent pas ce qu'est la guerre, la façon déplorable dont les Etats-Unis sont apparus comme voulant soutenir des gouvernements malades et corrompus en Asie, le fait pathétique et tragique suivant lequel nous n'avons pas réussi à donner une direction constructive à l'Europe de l'Ouest ont sans doute causé la méfiance et la crainte parmi les Soviets comme ces faits ont causé un profond désappointement dans les pays de l'Ouest. »

Appelant tous les chrétiens à se faire de véritables défenseurs de la Paix le Dr. Hunter poursuit : « Que l'Eglise soit un Congrès de la Paix dont la session ne s'arrête pas jusqu'à ce qu'il y ait plus d'esprit de responsabilité chez les hommes d'Etat et plus de bon sens et que le danger de guerre se soit éloigné. »

Le premier ministre avait déclaré que tous les délégués, à l'exception des « persona non grata » seraient admis; cependant, ceux qui ont été refoulés comptent parmi eux des personnalités de renommée mondiale, universellement respectées, et sans rapport direct avec les partis politiques.

« *...Jusqu'à maintenant, deux membres seulement sur les* 140 *du Comité Permanent ont été admis, et plus de* 100 *ont été définitivement refusés.* »

« NEWS CHRONICLE », *du* 9 *novembre titre en première page sur une colonne :* « 88 *Russes devaient prendre* l'avion », *et cite quelques questions posées à Attlee à la Chambre des Communes, au sujet du Congrès.*

« DAILY MIROR » *donne quelques détails sur une demi-colonne, sous le titre :* « 88 Russes de la Paix veulent venir ici ».

« DAILY GRAPHIC ». *titre en page* 2, *sur* 5 *colonnes :* « Les chefs de la Paix protestent et disent que c'est de la tyrannie » *et rapporte des déclarations de Montagu.*

« DAILY TELEGRAPH *du* 10 *novembre, publie un article sur deux colonnes, en première page :*

« Les visas du Congrès de la Paix sont réduits.

200 délégués retenus à Prague.

La Grande-Bretagne retire l'autorisation de venir par avion.

Un écrivain et un compositeur russes sont parmi les personnes non autorisées.

M. D.N. Pritt, vice-président du Comité Britannique de la Paix, a déclaré que le ministre de l'Aviation civile qui avait donné la permission à 18 avions de se rendre de Prague à Londre, il y a 15 jours, a retiré son autorisation. Aucune raison n'a été donnée, sauf que cela a été fait « sur une reconsidération de la part d'une autorité supérieure ».

« Ces refus d'admission de la Grande-Bretagne ont déjà amené de nombreuses protestations (de Paris, du Comité Mondial, de Moscou, de Prague, de Pologne et du Conseil National des Libertés Civiques Britanni-

« MANCHESTER GUARDIAN » *du* 11 *novembre, reproduit intégralement le texte du Conseil National pour la défense des libertés civiques qui proteste contre les refus de visas d'entrée, et le* 14 *novembre affirme :*

« Il est parfaitement clair que les personnes intelligentes réalisent actuellement que le Cabinet britannique a fait une erreur terrible. »

LE CONGRÈS DE VARSOVIE

A TRAVERS LA PRESSE FRANÇAISE

« L'AUBE » (quotidien, organe du Mouvement Républicain Populaire) *prétend que la liberté du débat fut exclue du Congrès.*

Dans une information sur l'ouverture du Congrès à Varsovie, ce journal écrit que « la ville est pavoisée et décorée. D'immenses effigies de Joliot-Curie ornent les rues » et « en dépit de toutes les difficultés, 1.500 personnes seront transportées par air ».

Sur les travaux du Congrès, les commentaires concernent surtout le délégué soviétique Fadeev, qui «a dénoncé les U.S.A. comme pays belliciste et agresseur, tandis que se déroulait à Moscou une fête de l'artillerie », *le délégué américain, John Rogge,* « candide égaré » *et l'Anglais, Harvey Moore, qui déclara :* « Si vous ne croyez pas à la violence, prouvez-le en ne l'appliquant pas vous-mêmes ».

Pour « l'Aube », le Congrès, « malgré deux ou trois trouble-fête, vite remis en place, a pris fin dans un parfait beni oui-ouisme oriental ».

« LE MONDE » (quotidien gouvernemental), *annonce, au contraire* (18 *novembre*) *que* « Le Congrès de Varsovie s'est ouvert dans une atmosphère de libéralisme bourgeois » *et, répondant en fait au journal plus haut cité, titre le* 16 *novembre sur :* « La liberté de discussion garantie aux délégués du Congrès de Varsovie... »

« Il était nécessaire, écrit André Fontaine, dans cet article, pour que les pacifistes sans arrière-pensée puissent envisager une action commune avec les partisans de la paix, que toute liberté de discussion leur fût garantie. C'est ce qu'ont admis les organisateurs du Congrès de Sheffield-Varsovie. Et c'est ainsi que pour la première fois depuis longtemps, vont s'exprimer, à partir de jeudi, derrière le rideau de fer, des idées nettement divergentes.

« C'est un fait que parmi les deux cent cinquante délégués français l'accord est loin d'être unanime sur le point de savoir « qui a commencé » en Corée, comme sur les moyens de défendre la paix. Des « mondialistes », des « neutralistes », des objecteurs de conscience, ont été élus à côté des communistes orthodoxes et des chrétiens plus ou moins progressistes. Certains ont l'intention de poser les questions qui les embarrassent. Il est probable, par exemple, que celle des camps de travail en U.R.S.S. sera évoquée au cours des débats. Reste à savoir ce qu'il en passera dans la presse polonaise...

« De leur côté, les délégations venues d'outre-Atlantique comptent dans leurs rangs, à côté de « fellow-travellers » notoires, quelques personnalités indépendantes dont le prototype est M. Rogge, ancien attorney général des Etats-Unis, dont on s'est parfois demandé, tellement ses positions heurtaient celles des communistes, si le département d'Etat ne jugeait pas profitable sa présence dans cette galère. Tant il est vrai qu'à l'heure actuelle les occasions de contacts entre l'Ouest et l'Est, en dehors des assemblées générales de l'O.N.U. sont plutôt rares.

« Le Monde » a d'ailleurs consacré son éditorial du 24 novembre (« Bulletin de l'étranger ») à « La leçon de Varsovie ».

« C'est un fait que la liberté de discussion promise aux délégués a été entièrement respectée. M. Rogge a pu poursuivre, jusqu'au bout, une intervention dans laquelle il ne craignait pas de demander à la Chine de s'aligner sur la Yougoslavie titiste. Le texte des motions adoptées diffère souvent de ce qu'avaient proposé les éléments les plus avancés. C'est ainsi que l'appréciation portée sur l'O.N.U. s'exprime en termes beaucoup plus réservés que ceux que l'on pouvait trouver dans le projet initial, et que le Congrès, sollicité de déclarer le général Mac Arthur criminel de guerre, a seulement demandé qu'une commission internationale compétente examine ses responsabilités.

« ...Rien de tout cela n'est bien nouveau. Ce qui l'est davantage c'est la création d'un « Conseil Mondial de la Paix » qui va bientôt se poser en censeur et en rival de l'O.N.U. Il lui sera facile de se prétendre plus représentatif que l'Assemblée de Lake-Success, où les petites républiques de l'Amérique centrale ont chacune leur mot à dire, alors que des centaines de millions de Chinois, de Japonais, d'Allemands, d'Italiens, d'Africains, etc., n'y ont pas de délégué.

« A cette campagne on pourra évidemment opposer les conditions dans lesquelles ont été désignés les membres de ce Comité Mondial de la Paix; elles font que la Chine y est mieux représentée qu'aux Nations-Unies; les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne ne le sont en revanche pratiquement pas. L'augmentation des Partisans de la Paix n'en rencontrera pas moins, en France surtout, certaines aspirations populaires où la crainte de la guerre est renforcée par les désastreuses répercussions sociales du réarmement.

« Si le Congrès de Varsovie comporte une leçon pour l'Occident, c'est bien qu'il lui reste à donner à son idéal de Paix un contenu positif que chacun puisse percevoir. Le ton belliqueux de certains journaux américains ne facilite certes pas cette tâche indispensable. Il est vrai que si la propagande de l'Est ne nous parle que de Paix c'est que le contrôle total de l'information lui permet de passer sous silence tout ce qu'une presse libre a pour habitude d'étaler en plein jour. »

« *L'AURORE* (*quotidien, radicalo-gaulliste*) *appelle à la répression gouvernementale contre M. Frédéric Joliot-Curie et affirme que le Congrès de Varsovie est ce-*

lui de la « paix communiste » qui se dispose à « reprendre en chœur contre la France et ses alliés les pires calomnies préfabriquées de la propagande soviétique ».

Sur le déroulement du Congrès, un seul article dans ce journal, concernant l'intervention de M. Rogge: « Un délégué américain se permet de n'être pas d'accord... Que faisait donc la police à la porte ? »

« *LIBERATION* » *(quotidien, progressiste) qui avait un envoyé spécial à Varsovie, rétablit la vérité objective :*

« Précisons, écrit ce journal, que le discours de M. Rogge a été écouté avec attention et que la présidente de séance, Mme Hodinova Spurna, vice-présidente de l'Assemblée Nationale Tchécoslovaque, eut à peine à intervenir pour calmer les remous provoqués par certains passages. »

D'ailleurs, M. Rogge fut plusieurs fois applaudi lorsqu'il affirma la volonté de paix du peuple américain.

« *Libération* » *a donné, chaque jour, une place importante aux compte-rendus du Congrès de son envoyé spécial, Jean Bedel, et aux commentaires de Marcel Fourrier, qui écrit notamment :*

« Dans cette recherche des moyens pour sauvegarder la paix, chacun à Varsovie rivalise d'ardeur ; Ehrenbourg voudrait que tous les parlements du monde édictent une loi spéciale : la loi sur la défense de la paix. Pierre Cot se prononce pour une Allemagne unifiée et neutralisée. Alexandre Fadeev propose une réduction progressive des forces armées contrôlées par une commission internationale et dont l'activité s'étendrait non seulement aux armes connues ou déclarées, mais aussi aux armements supposés. John Rogge affirme que des rapports pacifiques peuvent être établis entre les Etats-Unis et la Russie grâce au libre échange d'idées et d'informations, et il se prononce pour un contrôle illimité en quelque pays que ce soit, de l'usage de la force atomique.

« Cette unanimité qui s'affirme à Varsovie pour la paix, c'est peut-être l'acte le plus positif qui ait jamais été enregistré dans la lutte de l'humanité contre la guerre. »

« *Le FIGARO* » *(quotidien, gouvernemental) qui a donné sur le déroulement des travaux du Congrès quelques informations en général dépourvues d'objectivité, a expliqué comme suit l'empêchement de la tenue du Congrès à Sheffield :*

« L'événement a pleinement donné raison à M. Attlee dont la décision, parfois critiquée comme contraire aux traditions de l'hospitalité britannique, et dont l'application put paraître maladroite, se justifiait par plusieurs bonnes raisons. D'une part, le souci légitime de mettre le mouvement ouvrier britannique solennellement en garde contre ses faux amis ; le désir aussi de prévenir, de la part de l'opposition conservatrice, toute suggestion électorale d'une collusion du travaillisme avec le communisme ; sur le plan international, enfin, le devoir de ne pas donner aux Etats-Unis un nouvel argument aux adversaires du Président Truman et de M. Dean Acheson. »

Sur le déplacement des délégués, le même journal écrivait le 17 novembre :

« Amenant de Grande-Bretagne les différents délégués étrangers, parmi lesquels le « doyen rouge » de Canterbury, 27 appareils tchèques ont survolé l'Allemagne Occidentale, annonce-t-on de Francfort. Les services américains compétents examineraient dans quelle mesure ces raids « pour lesquels aucune autorisation préalable n'avait été demandée, constituent ou non une violation des accords internationaux sur la navigation aérienne. »

Et le 22 novembre, « *Le Figaro* » *conclut son information sur les décisions du Congrès, qu'il rapporte de façon très concise :*

« Le Congrès a enfin décidé de former un Conseil Mondial de la Paix qui sera, en quelque sorte, une organisation rivale des Nations Unies. »

« *COMBAT* » *(quotidien) qui s'adresse généralement à certaines couches d'intellectuels, a donné, le 13 novembre, l'orientation politique qui fut celle de la presse gouvernementale et gaulliste, à savoir* « *que l'action des partisans de la paix coïncide avec la politique de l'U.R.S.S.* »

« Quel était, en effet, y écrit ce jour là René Dary, le propos des « colombophiles » ? Proclamer au nez et à la barbe des travaillistes anglais que ces derniers sont des fomentateurs de guerre, des agents de Wall-Street et des quakers hypocrites ; porter au sein même du « camp impérialiste » la bonne parole du Kremlin ; faire approuver dans une manifestation monstre une politique en coïncidence parfaite avec celle de l'U.R.S.S. et des pays de démocratie populaire... » Et il conclut :

« Il reste qu'on aurait préféré de la part du gouvernement travailliste une prise de position plus nette que cette manifestation d'humour très particulière qui lui faisait accepter ou refuser les visas sans raison apparente ».

Par la suite, « *Combat* » *a donné des informations sur le Congrès, et notamment sur les facilités accordées aux délégués pour l'entrée en Pologne, sur le discours de M. l'Abbé Boulier, et enfin, avec un souci d'objectivité assez marqué, sur les décisions suivantes : création du Conseil Mondial de la Paix, chargé, dit-il, de* « *contrôler l'O.N.U.* », *définition de l'agression, résolution sur la normalisation des échanges économiques, sur les victimes de la répression, demande de réunion des* « *cinq grands* ».

« *LE POPULAIRE* » *(quotidien, organe du Parti Socialiste S.F.I.O.).*

Dans « *Le Populaire* », *le thème : Congrès de Varsovie, Congrès de Moscou, est largement développé.*

Selon Jean Texcier, les organisateurs qui se doutaient bien des difficultés qu'ils allaient rencontrer en Grande-Bretagne tenaient à cet argument : les occidentaux ont peur de la paix : ils veulent la guerre.

Il estime, d'autre part, que le gouvernement anglais a eu tort de rendre ce Congrès impossible, car il eut été plus habile de démontrer « *par des manifestations appropriées, comment la démocratique et libre Angleterre comprend la juste paix.*

Fernand Caussy, dans un article sur la clôture des travaux intitulé : « *Le bluff de Varsovie* » *présente les résolutions adoptées en prétendant qu'elles ont été rédigées selon* « la ligne la plus pure de Moscou ».

Une fausse information dans ce journal : « Le discours de Rogge a été passé au crible par le Présidium du Congrès avant d'être prononcé ».

« *L'HUMANITE* », *(quotidien, organe du Parti Communiste Français), a publié, très largement, des compte-rendus et impressions du Congrès, de ses envoyés spéciaux Marcel Valtat et Jean-Pierre Chabrol. Pendant le Congrès, ce journal a consacré au Congrès, environ deux de ses pages, et des commentaires soulignant l'ampleur et la diversité de la représentation au Congrès, la liberté d'expression qui y régna et l'importance des décisions prises.*

Nous reproduisons, in-extenso, comme caractéristique de la position de ce journal, un article du 13 novembre, sous le titre :

« La question primordiale » :

« L'Aube de samedi a publié la réponse qu'a faite M. Georges Marec, Secrétaire général de la Fédération M.R.P. de la Seine, à Yves Farge qui avait convié son organisation à participer à la Conférence Nationale des Combattants de la Paix et de la Liberté.

« Tout en déclarant : « Nous ne nous refuserons jamais à des conversations loyales et sincères et nous pensons que, sur le plan privé, il est, même actuellement, possible d'en avoir avec ceux de nos concitoyens qui ne partagent pas nos convictions politiques car nous ne désespérons pas de la compréhension entre gens de bonne volonté », M. Marec décline l'invitation.

Sans préjuger de la réponse que feront, à leur tour, les Combattants de la Paix et de la Liberté, nous présenterons nous-mêmes quelques observations.

A l'appui de son refus, M. Marec invoque le fait que, selon lui, « le comportement de la Russie Soviétique fait courir les plus grands risques à la paix » et que « les Combattants de la Paix et de la Liberté sont devenus des promoteurs de la propagande russe ». Il ajoute qu'il est impossible, dans les réunions des Combattants de la Paix, de « faire des réserves sur l'attitude russe ».

« Nous, Communistes, nous pensons qu'en raison même de son système socialiste, l'U.R.S.S. ne peut avoir qu'une politique : Sa structure économique qui n'est pas fondée comme celle des pays capitalistes sur la recherche du profit, fait qu'elle ignore les crises, et qu'elle n'a pas, comme les pays capitalistes, à choisir entre la crise et la guerre : l'U.R.S.S. n'a pas de capitaux à exporter ; elle n'a pas de débouchés à rechercher sous peine d'être menacée d'asphyxie économique. Enfin, la consolidation du socialisme, la marche vers le communisme exigent le maintien de la Paix.

Voilà ce que pensent les communistes, et cette réalité s'impose de plus en plus à des gens qui sont très loin d'être communistes. C'est un ami politique de M. Georges Marec, M. Etienne Gilson, ancien conseiller de la République M.R.P. qui écrivait dans « Le Monde » les lignes suivantes, à propos de la politique de l'U.R.S.S.:

« Quoi qu'on pense soi-même des principes, de l'esprit et des méthodes dont s'inspire cette expérience, on ne saurait prédire, à coup sûr, qu'elle échouera. Le pain gratuit pour tous n'est pas encore un fait, mais la baisse générale de 30 % sur tous les prix, décrétée et effectivement réalisée en quelques jours, en est un. Des témoins parfaitement objectifs l'affirment, et il serait déraisonnable d'en douter. La révolution soviétique n'est pas achevée, mais elle se poursuit, et le maître souci du gouvernement de Moscou est de la mener à bonne fin. Cette préoccupation s'accorde trop mal avec les intentions guerrières qu'on lui prête pour qu'on puisse sans absurdité se demander s'il en a. »

« Cela dit, les communistes ont déjà répété maintes fois — et plus spécialement par la voix de leur Secrétaire Général, Maurice Thorez — qu'ils étaient prêts à s'entendre « sans vaines considérations de personnes ou de partis, de prestige ou d'amour-propre » avec tous ceux qui veulent la paix ».

« Nous croyons utile de redire, déclarait Maurice Thorez au Congrès de Gennevilliers, que nous, communistes, tout en demandant le droit d'exprimer notre point de vue en toutes circonstances, nous admettons parfaitement que d'autres pensent d'une façon différente sur certains problèmes, y compris sur la question si importante des causes profondes de la nouvelle menace de guerre et sur les moyens propres à sauver la paix. De ces questions, nous pouvons discuter amicalement entre partisans sincères de la paix. Une seule chose compte pour nous : la sincérité et l'urgence impérieuse de l'union pour la paix ».

« Les hommes qui participent aux réunions des Combattants de la Paix seraient expulsés « s'ils manifestent une opinion non conformiste ? » M. Georges Marec dit qu'il éprouve cette « crainte ». Crainte injustifiée : aux Assises de la Paix de la Seine, un délégué a exprimé, à la tribune, sur le régime intérieur de l'Union Soviétique, des réserves et des critiques semblables à celles de M. Marec. Il n'a pas été expulsé ; la parole ne lui a pas été retirée, mais d'autres partisans de la paix ont répondu.

« Au surplus, quelle que soit l'importance des questions sur lesquelles portent les désaccords, ce qui nous paraît primordial, c'est la recherche de points communs en vue de la lutte pour la Paix : si la guerre venait, malgré nos efforts, à éclater, ses bombes ne choisiraient pas les victimes. »

« *LA CROIX* » (*quotidien du soir, catholique*).

Ce journal n'a publié qu'un seul article sur le Congrès. Nous en détachons ci-dessous quelques extraits :

« Tous les ténors de la « paix » s'y sont donné rendez-vous » (à Varsovie).

« Au premier rang, M. Pierre Cot offre à ses auditeurs la perle qu'il vient de découvrir : « Je cherche en vain quelles preuves a apportées M. Truman d'une agression coréenne, avant de lancer contre le peuple coréen les bombardiers et les lance-flammes du Général Mac Arthur ».

« Le malheureux ! à peine s'était-il rassis qu'un Russe de stricte observance, M. Ilya Ehrenbourg, venait déclarer : « Je suis pour la paix ; non seulement avec l'Amérique de Howard Fast ou de Paul Robeson, mais pour la Paix avec l'Amérique de M. Truman et de M. Acheson ».

« Tant de mollesse déchaîna la colère d'un autre écrivain Russe, M. Alexandre Fadeev qui qualifia les Etats-Unis de « pays belliciste et agresseur qui inonde le sol de la Corée du sang des petits enfants », pour finir par cet avertissement : « Il est maintenant évident que, pour les forces de l'agression américaine, il ne s'agira pas d'une simple promenade militaire sur les cadavres des femmes et des enfants coréens ».

« *FRANC-TIREUR* » (*quotidien, Socialiste-Gaulliste*).

Ce journal, coutumier d'une certaine démagogie « pacifiste », a publié, du 11 au 23 novembre, quelques informations concises et sans souci d'objectivité sur le Congrès.

Nous notons, parmi ses nombreuses approximations ou nouvelles tendancieuses :

11 *novembre :* « M. Attlee, au cours d'un dîner pour l'installation du nouveau lord-maire de Londre, a souligné que la tolérance et la reconnaissance de la liberté d'expression permettent encore, en Angleterre, d'entendre des opinions contradictoires.

« Tolérance limitée, comme le montre ce qui précède, mais tolérance quand même ».

20 *novembre :* « Le discours du romancier russe Fadeev a provoqué, par sa violence, des réserves au sein des délégations occidentales... »

et « le délégué américain est hué au Congrès de Varsovie » (titre).

22 *novembre :* « Au moment de la séance de clôture, un délégué français a fait entendre (pour la première

fois dans le calme) des critiques contre l'U.R.S.S. Une précédente séance a été ouverte sur la bénédiction solennelle du Congrès par le Métropolite Sebastien, de Roumanie ».

« *CE SOIR* » *(quotidien, progressiste) a consacré une très large place aux compte-rendus, impressions de Congrès, interviews, de son envoyé spécial Wladimir Pozner, dont il est impossible de citer ici des extraits tant le choix serait difficile.*

Ce journal a apporté à la diffusion des travaux du Congrès en France, une contribution exceptionnelle.

« *ACTION* » *(hebdomadaire, organe des « Combattants de la Paix et de la Liberté » a consacré au Congrès une place considérable, avec les compte-rendus, commentaires, impressions, des délégués Français, Yves Farge, André Blumel, Pierre Debray, et de ses collaborateurs Pierre Hervé et Dominique Desanti.*

M. Yves Farge y écrit notamment :

« On ne peut plus parler de maladresse. Les exigences de la préparation à la guerre imposent des actes publics. On est soumis ou on est libre. Les hommes libres du monde ont librement discuté en France comme sur tous les continents et de ce débat et de sa conclusion, ils sont sortis grandis.

« Le défaitisme mord déjà la poussière.

« Je sais qu'en isolant la malfaisance, nous nous sommes imposé des tâches redoutables. Dès que le mensonge est paralysé par la clarté éblouissante de la vérité, le crime peut tenter le gouvernant qui ne peut plus ruser.

« Mais notre peuple est sage et ce que nous lui apportons est l'expression de la sagesse.

« La réunion des Cinq grands ? N'est-ce pas une proposition de bon sens que de vouloir que se rencontrent pour discuter ceux qui sont responsables du destin de l'humanité ? Les peuples se sont bien réunis à Varsovie, ils ont bien discuté, ils se sont entendus... Pourquoi ne pas considérer qu'ils ont donné l'exemple?

« On nous dira qu'une conférence de cette sorte se prépare. Mais elle est préparée. Dans neuf chapitres, les peuples ont posé les fondements d'un Statut de la paix: l'Adresse du Congrès Mondial à l'O.N.U. apporte des solutions et, en tout état de cause, des bases de discussion.

« Le mérite de ce document vient de ce qu'il propose des règles et des définitions qui s'inspirent de données admises par les peuples libres et les gouvernements qui n'étaient pas encore imprégnés d'hitlérisme lorsqu'elles furent définies en 1899 par Léon Bourgeois à la première Conférence de la paix, lorsqu'elles furent traduites en termes clairs (plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne la définition de l'agression), dans un texte historique élaboré en 1933 par la Conférence du désarmement.

« Quel est l'Hitler et le Mussolini de 1950 qui viendront contrecarrer, pour le malheur des peuples, cette raisonnable détermination ? »

« *PARIS-MATCH* » *(hebdomadaire illustré) avait un envoyé spécial à Varsovie, accompagné d'un photographe. Le reportage de trois pages qu'il a publié ne dit pas un mot du Congrès, mais raconte des histoires rocambolesques sur la terreur policière en Pologne, la misère de son peuple et les « espionnages » dont les deux journalistes ont été, disent-ils, victimes.*

Quelques exemples pris dans ce « reportage » :

A l'aérodrome de Varsovie, « un monsieur s'approche et, au nom du Congrès de la Paix, veut nous offrir cinq cents zlotys, soit un peu moins de 50.000 francs...»

« Dès qu'il a vingt zlotys devant lui, le polonais les dépense ou les boit... »

Et, sous une photographie, cette légende qui est une fausse information : « La déléguée nord-coréenne vient de confirmer l'intervention militaire de la Chine. A cette annonce, les partisans de la paix la portent en triomphe ».

Sans compter un véritable roman feuilleton sur les fouilles de bagages des journalistes par la police polonaise.

Ce témoignage est absolument contredit par notamment :

« *LES LETTRES FRANÇAISES* » *(hebdomadaire littéraire et artistique) qui publie, pour la première fois, un article du grand reporter et écrivain Joseph Kessel.*

Celui-ci, qui revient de Varsovie, écrit dans ce journal du 7 décembre :

« Une semaine plus tôt, je me trouvais à Paris, engagé dans mes travaux, mes affaires, mes plaisirs, ma routine. Déjà, le Congrès de la Paix, banni de Sheffield, s'était transporté à Varsovie. Mais, pareil aux gens qui m'entouraient, attardé aux journaux que je lisais, je n'y prêtais guère attention. Ou bien, quand un entretien rapide, une brève dépêche perçaient cette indifférence, je pensais : « Création artificielle, manœuvre, ballon vide gonflé à éclater ». Et si je songeais à Varsovie, c'était pour imaginer une cité morose, sinistre, un peuple aux ordres...

« Ainsi jouaient chez moi, comme chez tant d'autres, le manque d'information, l'engourdissement de l'esprit, le goût de vivre et de réfléchir selon les pentes les plus faciles.

« C'était par curiosité pure et pour satisfaire une éternelle faim de voyage que, un ami m'ayant offert d'aller à Varsovie en qualité d'*invité*, de simple spectateur, j'avais accepté. Et voilà qu'il ne restait plus rien de mon indifférence, de ma méfiance, mon ironie, mes préventions. Elles avaient cédé, elles avaient été emportées sous la pesée, la poussée, le flux de notions, d'impressions fraîches et violentes et qu'aucun esprit honnête n'aurait pu s'empêcher d'éprouver.

« Oh ! je m'en souvenais bien : les conditions dans lesquelles j'avais été reçu en Pologne n'étaient pas les conditions ordinaires. Du moment que je venais pour le Congrès de la Paix, j'étais un hôte privilégié et, en quelque sorte sacré. Mes bagages n'étaient même pas ouverts. J'aurais pu introduire des tracts, de l'argent, des armes (et chacun des trois mille délégués ou invités avait joui de la même licence). Ma chambre était une des meilleures dans le meilleur hôtel de Varsovie. Je disposais d'une voiture et d'un chauffeur. Et quand l'envie m'en prenait, je pouvais monter dans un tramway ou circuler à pied. Aucune surveillance. Aucun frein à ma liberté, à ma curiosité...

« Je savais tout cela et je savais également que, dans une ville dont je ne connaissais ni les rues, ni les usages, ni la langue, ayant passé la plus grande partie de mon temps dans l'enceinte du Congrès, je ne pouvais prétendre à pénétrer le comportement profond, les problèmes intérieurs et, peut-être, les drames de son peuple. Pour commettre une pareille faute, j'étais un trop vieux reporter. Mais, pour la même raison, habitué à sentir l'atmosphère authentique d'une cité, son élan, son amour et ses haines, il m'était impossible de ne pas apercevoir certains faits vitaux, essentiels, indiscutables.

« Ce n'était point parce que j'avais été si bien accueilli que les foules, les groupes et les couples dans Varsovie montraient une gaîté spontanée qui convenait mal à des gens affamés ou traqués, ou soumis à une disci-

pline odieuse. Que les enfants étaient pleins de santé. Que les vêtements étaient chauds et décents. Que dans une ville rasée à la dynamite par les Allemands, des quartiers entiers avaient surgi, conçus avec soin, avec art et donnant aux ouvriers des logements qui pour la plupart des habitants de Paris seraient un rêve. Que les livres, au lieu de se vendre à quelques milliers d'exemplaires seulement — comme avant la guerre — s'achetaient aujourd'hui par dizaines et centaines de milliers. Que des ballets éclatants de santé, de sève, de joie étaient le fait de danseurs et de danseuses que l'on avait été chercher au fond des campagnes et qui — trois ou quatre ans plus tôt — n'étaient encore que des paysans et des paysannes doués pour les fêtes de village.

« Ce n'était point parce que j'avais été reçu dans des circonstances exceptionnelles que les circonstances exceptionnelles perdaient leur valeur. Que, en quelques jours, dans une ville ravagée à l'extrême, on avait assuré le logement, la nourriture, le transport de 3.000 personnes. Que l'on avait transformé, avec un sens du confort et un goût admirables, une imprimerie en salle de congrès et que l'on avait accompli, à l'improviste, un chef-d'œuvre d'organisation. Et que tout cela avait été mené dans l'ardeur la plus vivante, dans l'enthousiasme de la paix.

« Là encore les signes ne prêtaient pas au doute. Cette exaltation, cet amour, je les avais vus partout à travers Varsovie. Il ne s'agissait pas des inscriptions, des bandes lumineuses. Leur témoignage pouvait, s'exécuter sur commande ; par ordre, à contre-cœur. Mais les visages, les regards étaient incapables de tromper. Et combien en avais-je surpris, admiratifs, effectueux, passionnés, adressés à ma personne et qui me donnaient à moi, l'invité, le spectateur, un sentiment singulier d'usurpation.

« A quoi donc était due l'immense tendresse d'un peuple offerte à des étrangers inconnus, sinon à un désir total, frénétique de paix dont ces yeux naïfs et confiants croyaient voir le reflet, la promesse à travers nos visages ? Et il était difficile de concevoir qu'un gouvernement eût une arrière-pensée de guerre quand il laissait tous ces gens s'abandonner à une espérance aussi enivrante.

« La foule marchait, marchait dans la nuit enflammée. Je continuais de songer...

« Paix communiste, allaient me dire les gens prudents à mon retour. Calcul, manœuvre, ruse diaboliques. Mais comment se faisait-il alors que la délégation française comportât une majorité énorme non communiste ? Que l'un des orateurs anglais, député conservateur, eût soutenu, signé les résolutions du Congrès ? Dupes, allait-on dire encore. Mais alors, pour percer le jeu de ceux qui les trompaient, pour mettre à nu leurs machinations, quoi de plus simple, de plus élémentaire que d'aller à une conférence acceptée par des délégations qui, elles, à l'encontre des délégations occidentales, engageaient leurs gouvernements ? Valait-il mieux se boucher les oreilles, fermer les yeux et nier, nier stérilement sans essayer de répondre, autrement que par un tumulte d'armes, à la préoccupation essentielle de notre temps, de notre univers, à leur suprême angoisse ?

« Non, il n'étaient pas obligatoires les cris, les appels, les remerciements, la prière de ces voix et de ces regards. Et ils étaient libres les chants et les danses qui scandaient parfois l'écoulement de la foule. Et un profond, un extraordinaire échange intérieur se faisait entre la fresque des têtes immobiles — marbre, ébène, bronze et ambre — et le défilé aux torches innombrables.

« Cela, j'en suis convaincu, un invité, un spectateur devait le dire. »

« *L'OBSERVATEUR* » *(hebdomadaire politique) a publié, le 9 novembre, un article consacré au Congrès, dont nous détachons des extraits :*

« Les organisateurs du Congrès ont tenu le plus grand compte des avis formulés par les délégués non communistes et les textes présentés ont été soumis à un véritable « banc d'essai ». C'est ainsi que le « Manifeste aux peuples » l' « Adresse à l'O.N.U. », votés à l'issue des débats ont été polis et repolis au point d'être rendus acceptables par l'immense majorité des citoyens de tous les pays.

« Tous les délégués ont pu constater à ce propos la volonté de conciliation des représentants russes. L'un d'entre eux a déclaré qu'il souhaitait voir des milliers d'étudiants américains, asiatiques et européens affluer en U.R.S.S. et des milliers d'étudiants soviétiques se rendre à l'étranger.

« De leur côté, MM. Fadeev et Ilya Ehrenbourg ont tenu à s'entretenir longuement avec un certain nombre de délégués français. Si la fameuse question des camps de travail a pu être évoquée au cours de ces conversations, il faut toutefois noter qu'elle n'a pas été posée ouvertement devant le Congrès, comme certains s'y attendaient.

L'intervention de M. John Rogge :

« La presse internationale a accordé une importance exagérée à l'intervention « non conformiste » de M. John Rogge.

« En dehors du fait que M. Rogge avait déjà développé des positions semblables au congrès de Pleyel, il est, en effet évident que son discours ne pouvait ouvrir un débat mais seulement provoquer une polémique.

« Aux nouvelles propositions d'action commune lancée par les représentants des partis communistes et par les alliés de ces partis on peut répondre négativement ou affirmativement et, dans ce dernier cas, poser ou ne pas poser de conditions, exiger ou ne pas exiger de garanties. Mais il est difficile de concevoir que l'on puisse, comme M. Rogge, venir à Varsovie pour dire que l'on ne croit pas à la possibilité de cette action commune... à moins que les communistes acceptent de renoncer à être ce qu'ils sont !

« L'intervention de M. Rogge n'a cependant pas été complètement inutile. Elle a, en effet, permis de démontrer qu'il ne suffit nullement d'établir que les communistes exercent une influence décisive sur le Mouvement des Partisans de la Paix pour ruiner ce mouvement.

« Nul ne peut se refuser à l'examen de propositions constructives lorsque ces propositions émanent d'hommes ayant derrière eux des forces sociales réelles. L'idée que ces propositions recouvrent une opération de propagande ou une « manœuvre » ne change rien à leur signification profonde. Quel courant politique, quel gouvernement, quel parti refuseraient donc de se servir de la propagande et de mettre ses adversaires dans une position embarrassante, donc de « manœuvrer ? »

« Ce qui compte, en définitive, ce ne sont pas les arrière-pensées que peuvent nourrir les dirigeants d'un mouvement international, mais la manière dont les propositions qu'ils formulent sont accueillies par les millions d'hommes auxquelles elles sont destinées. S'il se trouve qu'elles correspondent aux aspirations de ces millions d'hommes, alors elles deviennent par la force des choses, des réalités politiques dont on doit nécessairement tenir compte, que cela plaise ou ne plaise pas.

« C'est de ce point de vue qu'il va falloir maintenant mesurer les répercussions du Congrès de Varsovie. »

« *MONDE OUVRIER* » (*hebdomadaire, organe du « Mouvement de Libération du Peuple », catholique) conclut un important article sur le Congrès, de la façon suivante :*

« En conclusion, nous croyons que les textes votés sont une contribution importante à l'œuvre de la Paix et que l'O.N.U. devrait s'en saisir pour les examiner et en décider l'application.

« Ce IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix représente une grande espérance par l'ouverture du dialogue Est-Ouest et la recherche de solutions pacifiques entre les représentants des peuples.

« C'est la première fois dans l'Histoire que ces graves problèmes de la paix sont pris en charge, à l'échelon mondial par les peuples eux-mêmes, face aux gouvernements qui auront maintenant à compter avec la force morale de la conscience populaire universelle. Ceci est une chose admirable et susceptible de garder la paix au monde, à condition que, plus largement encore, se retrouvent au sein des partisans de la paix des mouvements et des hommes d'idéologies et de conceptions politiques différentes, unis dans une recherche loyale de la défense de la paix et de la liberté. »

« *TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN* » (*hebdomadaire, catholique) qui avait habitué ses lecteurs à plus d'objectivité, ne consacre au Congrès que les quelques lignes tendancieuses suivantes :*

« Transporté d'urgence de Sheffield à Varsovie, le Congrès des Partisans de la Paix se déroule sous le signe de la diversité. Les délégués soviétiques — par exemple l'écrivain Fadeev — défendent sans nuances la politique de Moscou. M. Pierre Cot, par contre, fait l'éloge de la neutralité. Mais, le fait saillant fut constitué par le discours de l'Américain Rogge, qui dénonçait, d'un bout à l'autre de son exposé, l'impérialisme et le fanatisme russes.

« Certains observateurs pensent que cette intervention pourrait provoquer une scission. »

« *LA TRIBUNE DES NATIONS* » (*hebdomadaire, indépendant) a consacré au Congrès, le 24 novembre, l'article suivant : IMPRESSIONS D'UN CONGRES*

« Il est trop tôt, au moment où nous écrivons (mardi soir) pour tirer les conclusions d'un Congrès qui s'achève fièvreusement et dont les résolutions ne seront lues et votées que dans quelques heures.

« Mais il est temps déjà de noter quelques impressions, non comme un participant, mais comme un observateur, qui eut de la peine à n'être pas entraîné par les mouvements d'une foule de 2.000 délégués, dont on ne saurait nier qu'ils représentaient des masses immenses d'hommes et de femmes du monde entier.

« On peut regretter, comme l'a fait M. Churchill lui-même, que le gouvernement britannique, en l'empêchant de se tenir à Sheffield, ait tenté de faire de ce Congrès des Partisans de la Paix une occasion de polémique politique. A le suivre ici, à Varsovie, on s'aperçoit rapidement qu'il s'agissait de tout autre chose : c'est-à-dire d'exprimer avec le plus d'éclat possible, pour être entendu des peuples et des gouvernements, des sentiments très profonds que partagent sans doute la majorité des hommes dans le monde, si peu « formés politiquement » qu'ils puissent être. Ces sentiments sont ceux que peuvent éprouver des hommes qui ont envie et besoin de vivre en paix, qui souhaitent que la voix du canon ne couvre pas celle des négociations qu'ils se refusent à croire impossibles, et qui veulent trouver des solutions, des moyens pratiques pour n'arriver jamais à la guerre.

« Les formes dans lesquelles ces sentiments s'exprimèrent furent aussi variées que les tempéraments, les expériences et la formation de ceux qui prirent la parole.

« En dehors de grandes propositions, que traduiront sans doute les résolutions (pour une conférence des quatre, un conseil permanent de la paix, etc...) il était frappant de voir ceux que réunissait par exemple une même profession, ou une même vocation se regrouper pour chercher, dans leur langage particulier, comment participer plus efficacement à l'œuvre commune.

« Les observateurs étrangers au mouvement des partisans de la paix ne pouvaient manquer d'être frappés de ces caractères du Congrès et l'un d'eux résumait ainsi ses impressions :

« C'est un événement dont on ne peut pas ne pas tenir compte, et largement, si l'on veut juger sans erreur la conjoncture politique internationale. Ne pas le faire, n'y voir qu'une « opération » politique par exemple, serait, pour peu qu'on ne se croie pas « de ce camps-là », s'abandonner aux plus stupides illusions. »

« *LA VIE OUVRIERE* » (*hebdomadaire syndical) écrit le 30 novembre, sous la signature de son envoyé spécial à Varsovie, Fernand Leriche :*

« *DANS VARSOVIE MARTYRE, MAIS RESSUSCITEE J'AI ACCLAME LA FORCE IMMENSE DE LA PAIX* »:

« *La plus grande des puissances.*

— Arrêtez-vous un instant : regardez !

« Deux mille délégués !

« Deux mille délégués venus de 80 pays différents. de Belgique, comme de Corée, d'Angleterre comme de Chine, d'U.R.S.S. comme d'Amérique.

« Et, par delà eux-mêmes, des centaines de millions d'hommes...

« 500 millions déjà ont signé l'Appel de Stockholm.

« Ce fut la première réponse des peuples.

« Aujourd'hui, à cet élan passionné, a succédé l'organisation des forces pacifiques. *Dans 75 pays des Conseils de Partisans de la Paix rassemblent les simples gens, des centaines de milliers de Comités de la Paix sont créés et se créent dans les villes et les villages.* Et événement unique, dans l'Histoire, un *Conseil Mondial de la Paix vient d'être élu,* attestant que, désormais, par delà les frontières, les peuples sont résolus à s'entendre contre la poignée de ceux qui voudraient les tondre et les saigner !

« La paix est devenue une force organisée, une force matérielle. Elle est immense !

«C'est la première leçon de Varsovie ! »

« Chose caractéristique, enfin, à ce Congrès, il n'y fut guère prononcé de discours inutiles. De Pierre Cot à Ilya Ehrenbourg, de d'Astier de la Vigerie à Fadeev et à Pietro Nenni, ce sont des propositions concrètes qui ont été faites.

« Elles exigent que l'Organisation des Nations Unies revienne dans la voie que les peuples lui avaient tracée après la deuxième guerre mondiale.

« Elles réclament notamment le règlement pacifique du conflit en Corée, le traité de paix avec une Allemagne unifiée et démilitarisée, l'interdiction de la propagande de guerre, l'interdiction des armes de destruction massive, la réduction d'un tiers à la moitié des armements vers le désarmement général et (entendez-vous, les anticommunistes de la presse aux ordres ?) sur proposition de Fadeev, le soviétique, le contrôle

Sécurité, de tous les armements. Y COMPRIS LES ARMEMENTS SUPPOSES !

« Je vous demande qui de vous, les écrabouillés d'impôts et les préposés à l'atomisation, ne pourrait y souscrire ? »

EN GRANDE-BRETAGNE

« *DAILY EXPRESS* ».

Le « Daily Express » a informé principalement, du 11 au 14 novembre, sur l'empêchement du Congrès de Sheffield et les difficultés du transfert à Varsovie.

Un envoyé spécial du journal, M. Sefton Delmer, était à Varsovie. Il a écrit deux articles, l'un pour tourner le Congrès en ridicule, l'autre pour déformer la réalité polonaise.

Il écrit notamment :

« J'ai écouté le propagandiste n° 1 des Soviets, Ehrenbourg... son thème est qu'il y a assez de place dans le monde pour le mode de vie soviétique et l'occidental, que les différences idéologiques ne peuvent être réglées par la guerre. Il en vint à sa proposition personnelle : que toute propagande de guerre devrait être mise hors la loi, proposition qui donnerait aux Soviets, à l'esprit agressif, un avantage énorme sur ses voisins. Cependant, ce serait folie diplomatique et politique que de ne pas relever le défi de la paix des Soviets, que de renvoyer les offres de désarmement de Vychinski avec un froid « ce n'est pas une base de négociations », nous devrions mettre en avant nos propositions de paix et de désarmement, nous devrions inviter les Russes et leurs satellites à discuter et négocier où ils veulent, même à Sheffield... par-dessus tout, nous devrions faire progresser notre réarmement, car les Soviets ne respectent rien plus que le pouvoir. Ce sont les armements qui leur font parler de la paix. »

Mais malgré sa malveillance évidente, Sefton Delner est obligé de reconnaître :

« Ce qui m'a le plus frappé à mon retour à Varsovie, c'est la reconstruction vraiment gigantesque. Des districts entiers ont apparus. J'ai vu la reconstruction à travers le monde, à Madrid, en Allemagne, au Japon, je n'ai jamais rien vu d'équivalent à cela.

« *DAILY TELEGRAPH* »

Comme la majorité de la presse britannique, ce journal a surtout parlé de difficultés que M. Attlee voulait créer au Congrès. Bien qu'il ait eu un envoyé spécial à Varsovie, il a peu publié sur le Congrès, sauf quelques informations sans bienveillance comme :

«Les délégués huent les critiques de la violence communiste ».

« Une orgie de discours sur le thème des « fauteurs de guerre » anglais et américains. Le discours de M. Ehrenbourg est de l'hypnotisme de masse, » etc.

DANS LA PRESSE POLONAISE

Comme il est naturel, toute la presse polonaise s'est passionnée pour le Congrès, et a publié au jour le jour des compte-rendus très complets des débats, des articles, des interventions de personnalités, etc. Il serait imposible de reproduire ici même de brefs extraits de ces journaux qui ont tant fait pour exprimer l'enthousiasme du peuple polonais envers le Congrès.

Nous citerons seulement quelques passages d'un article de Kazimierz Brandys, un des écrivains polonais les plus marquants d'aujourd'hui, auteur d'un cycle de romans, dont « Varsovie, ville insoumise ».

Cet article, publié par l'hebdomadaire « NOWA KUETURA » le 3 décembre, est intitulé : « La Paix, cela sonne fier ».

K. Brandys, écrit :

« Lorsqu'au son de la Polonaise de Chopin, s'est ouvert le Congrès de Varsovie et que le Présidium a commencé de prendre place à la tribune, deux mille personnes, réunies dans l'immense salle de la Maison de la Parole Polonaise, ont éprouvé un seul et même sentiment : la certitude inébranlable que les hommes et les femmes venus ici des points les plus éloignés du globe afin de défendre la paix sont moralement les législateurs du monde contemporain. A la tribune, aux tables des délégations, étaient assis, côte à côte, le savant, l'ouvrier et l'artiste, la mère et le mutilé, la jeune fille et le vieillard, le laïc et l'homme d'Eglise. De culture et de formation différentes, ceux que la « tradition britannique de liberté » avait repoussés des rives d'Albion de la lourde main du policeman, se sont assemblés dans la capitale d'une démocratie populaire pour faire obstacle, par l'idée et le verbe, la volonté et la raison, au plus grand crime dont l'humanité puisse être victime.

« C'est un phénomène neuf dans les annales de la conscience universelle, une date cruciale dans l'histoire mondiale des actes collectifs. Jamais encore l'homme n'a lutté contre la guerre avec une science aussi pleine, une foi aussi indéfectible. Depuis des milliers d'années on lui a inculqué la conviction que les agressions et les conquêtes servent des buts sacrés — la Patrie ou le Salut, le Roi ou les frontières. On traînait les peuples dans les guerres de l'Empire romain, aux croisades de la papauté, aux tueries de Cent ou de Trente ans, à l'abattoir impérial ou impérialiste. Les peuples y allaient et tombaient. On leur présentait la guerre comme un phénomène fatal, lié à la physiologie même de la société, comme la loi de la vie collective que chacun doit subir comme il subit la loi de la naissance et de la mort. Pendant des centaines d'années, des millions d'hommes ont cru à cette loi. N'en connaissons-nous pas aujourd'hui qui y croient encore ?

« La pensée révolutionnaire de notre temps a mis à nu plus d'un mensonge et a appris aux hommes à les clouer au pilori. Elle a démasqué maints crimes et a aidé les peuples à s'en défendre. Le mensonge le plus criminel qu'elle a dévoilé aux yeux de l'humanité est le mythe impérialiste de l'inéluctabilité des guerres. La vérité la plus criminelle qu'elle ait révélée, ce sont les véritables buts des guerres impérialistes. Et uniquement grâce à elle, à cette idée progressiste et révolutionnaire de notre temps, à cette avant-garde indomptable issue de la pensée des cent dernières années, qui a donné aux peuples la connaissance des lois régissant leur sort et les moyens de le transformer — grâce à elle et à elle seule — Pietro Nenni a pu, du haut de la tribune du Congrès de Varsovie, lancer au monde cette parole : **« La guerre serait peut-être inévitable si ce n'était notre mouvement, si nous n'étions là, nous, les Partisans de la Paix. »**

DANS LA PRESSE SOVIETIQUE

La presse soviétique a réservé une très large place au Congrès. Dès le début des préparatifs faits pour la tenue du Congrès à Sheffield, elle n'a cessé d'informer sur les élections des délégués dans tous les pays du monde, sur la composition des délégations nationales, sur les réactions de l'opinion publique et de la presse des pays étrangers à cette occasion, etc. Elle se fit particulièrement l'écho de l'indignation provoquée par le refus du gouvernement anglais d'accorder les visas à la plupart des congressistes, en publiant, à cet effet, dans presque tous les journaux du 11 novembre, les protestations des membres les plus en vue du Comité Soviétique pour la Défense de la Paix, tels que le Métropolite Nicolas Kroutitzki, l'académicien Oparine, le compositeur Chostakovitch et autres.

Les jours suivants, les journaux soviétiques donnaient de multiples informations et publiaient une série d'articles condamnant l'attitude du gouvernement Attlee. Ce sont, parmi beaucoup d'autres, « les travaillistes au pilori » de D. Zaslavski (Pravda *du* 14 *novembre*). *« Echecs des fauteurs de guerre travaillistes » de Terentiev* (Pravda *du* 15 *novembre*), *« La cause de la Paix est invincible » (Editorial de la* « Litteratournaia Gazeta » *du* 11 *novembre*), *«Rien ne peut arrêter le mouvement des peuples pour la paix » de B. Polévoi* (Pravda *du* 16 *novembre*), *etc.*

Une large publicité fut donnée par les journaux soviétiques du 16 novembre à la lettre-circvulaire confidentielle d'Attlee, divulguée par l'Agence Telepress, adressée à la mi-septembre à toute une série de représentants de l'Angleterre aux pays étrangers, leur donnant des instructions pour des mesures à prendre en vue d'entraver et d'empêcher la réunion du Congrès à Sheffield.

A partir du 16 novembre, jour de l'ouverture du Congrès à Varsovie, la presse soviétique lui consacre des pages entières dans tous les journaux. La « Litteratournaia Gazeta » du 18 novembre lui réserve, par exemple, la totalité de ses pages. Tout le long du Congrès, le « Troud », l' « Agriculture soviétique », la « Flotte Rouge » et les autres grands quotidiens soviétiques lui consacrent la plus grande partie de leurs colonnes. La « Pravda » paraît avec une feuille supplémentaire.

Toute la presse reproduit en entier les discours de Joliot-Curie, de Kuo-Mo-Jo, de Piétro Nenni, de Fadeev, du doyen de Canterbury Hewlett Johnson, de d'Astier de la Vigerie, du délégué américain Willard Uphaus, d'Yves Farge, etc, ainsi que de larges extraits des discours prononcés par l'abbé Boulier, par le métropolite Nicolas, par les délégués anglais Bernal et Crowther, par le délégué canadien James Endicott et d'autres.

Les revues et les grands hebdomadaires soviétiques consacrent eux aussi de longs articles sur le IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix. Le grand organe politique « Temps Nouveaux », par exemple, en dehors de nombreuses pages réservées aux articles et aux commentaires sur le Congrès dans ses numéros 46 et 47, lui consacre de plus, une édition spéciale en supplément au n° 47.

Quant à la revue « Littérature soviétique », *éditée en français, elle publie une grande rubrique « Pour la défense de la Paix » depuis plusieurs mois. Parmi beaucoup d'autres articles dus à la plume des plus grands écrivains et publicistes soviétiques parus dans cette revue, citons ceux d'I. Ehrenbourg — « Lettre ouverte aux écrivains de l'Occident »* (n° 7), *de I. Anissimov — « La littérature et la défense de la paix »* (n° 8), *de P. Pavlenko — «Salut à vous, combattants de la paix »* (n° 8, *de V. Polévoï — « Pour la grande cause de la paix »* (n° 9), *de A. Sourkov — « Les forces de la paix »* (n° 9).

DANS LA PRESSE HONGROISE

La presse hongroise a donné des compte-rendus tres détaillés aussi bien sur les préparatifs du Congrès Mondial de la Paix, que sur son déroulement. La Radiodiffusion hongroise a consacré de nombreuses émissions spéciales à la diffusion de compte-rendus, de reportages et de déclarations. La délégation hongroise au Congrès de Varsovie comprenait plusieurs journalistes dont M. Barcs, directeur général de l'Assemblée Télégraphique Hongroise, et M. Kende, rédacteur à Szabad Nep, *organe central du Parti des Travailleurs. En dehors des compte-rendus, les journaux ont inséré des éditoriaux qui ont examiné les résultats et ont dressé le bilan du Congrès. La presse hongroise a également rendu compte d'une façon très détaillée des innombrables compte-rendus faits par les délégués, après leur retour de Varsovie.*

Mme Elisabeth Andics, Présidente du Conseil National de la Paix Hongrois, Présidente de la Délégation Hongroise à Varsovie, professeur à l'Université de Budapest, a publié un éditorial intitulé « le IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix », qui a paru le 28 Novembre dans Szabad Nep. *Elle y dit :*

« Celui qui affirme que la guerre est inévitable, calomnie l'humanité. » Ces paroles de la résolution adoptée par le Congrès de la Paix de Varsovie exprime la pensée fondamentale du Mouvement International de la Paix : la confiance dans l'humanité, dans le bon sens des simples honnêtes gens et dans leur attachement à la vie, confiance dans ce que la justice et la vie vaincront de toute façon le mensonge et la dévastation.

Madame Andics écrit plus loin : « Le Congrès de Varsovie a témoigné de l'extension extraordinaire du mouvement international de la paix. Parmi les 2.000 délégués, il y avait les représentants des Partis politiques les plus divers, des prêtres de toutes les Eglises, des représentants des philosophies, des tendances scientifiques et artistiques les plus variées. Le Congrès a reflété d'une façon fidèle ce fait d'importance historique: de plus en plus nombreux sont les peuples, les personnalités éminentes qui comprennent que le mouvement international de la paix défend les intérêts les plus universels de l'humanité, que la tâche d'empêcher une nouvelle guerre doit vaincre tous les malentendus existant au sujet des autres questions.

L'organe bi-mensuel du Conseil National de la Paix, intitulé « PAIX ET LIBERTE, » écrit dans son numéro du 15 novembre :

« Le Deuxième Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix est un événement d'importance historique. C'est la Conscience des peuples, sa volonté de paix résolue, courageuse et inébranlable qui s'exprime dans la salle où les délégués de la paix racontent le désir, la volonté de leur peuple, où les combattants de la paix accourus du monde entier, dévoilent et stigmatisent les assassins américains. Le Congrès de Varsovie est la puissante manifestation de la force de centaines de millions d'êtres. Cette force doit faire réfléchir les scélérats qui préparent une nouvelle guerre. Varsovie porte toujours les traces du vandalisme le plus infâme de la deuxième guerre mondiale qui s'étalent toujours sur les places et dans les rues. Cependant, d'entre les ruines, surgit d'une façon plus en plus triomphale la nouvelle Varso-

vie reconstruite par le peuple. Cette capitale parle aux délégués d'une façon plus éloquente que n'importe quoi: ceci renforce leur volonté résolue d'arrêter le bras des assassins qui voudraient ruiner les villes et qui voudraient empêcher l'épanouissement heureux, pacifique des hommes libres. »

DANS LA PRESSE ROUMAINE

La presse roumaine a réservé la première place aux travaux du IIe Congrès Mondial des Partisans de la Paix. Dans ses colonnes, les débats et les décisions historiques du Congrès ont été entièrement reproduits.

Ainsi le grand quotidien « SCANTEIA » du 22 novembre 1950 écrivait dans un article de fond intitulé :

« Le programme de Paix et la Grande Assemblée des Peuples. »

« Les journées du Congrès de Varsovie ont dispensé la confiance, la force et ont donné un nouvel élan à la lutte pour la Paix ! En dépit des obstacles et des manœuvres éhontées des impérialistes américains et de leurs valets du genre Attlee, le Congrès a eu lieu. Il a eu lieu sur la terre libre de la Pologne démocrate et populaire. Et son ampleur et son rayonnement constituent une brillante démonstration de l'immense force que le mouvement mondial de la défense de la paix possède désormais. Les fomentateurs et provocateurs à la guerre tremblent toujours plus effrayés ; les débats du Congrès, les décisions adoptées dénoncent une fois de plus, avec force, leurs plans criminels et ouvrent des voies sûres à la noble cause de la Paix. »

Et plus loin :

« De la tribune du Congrès Mondial on a pu entendre aussi la voix du peuple roumain épris de paix. Nos délégués avec, à leur tête, le grand écrivain Mihail Sadoveanu, ont exprimé la détermination du peuple roumain de défendre ses grandes conquêtes et l'avenir ensoleillé qu'il se construit. Ils ont démasqué, comme des ennemis acharnés de la paix, ceux qui calomnient et complotent contre notre chère République. Sa basant sur les millions de mandats qu'ils représentaient, nos délégués ont soutenu avec force les propositions destinées à donner le triomphe de la cause de la Paix.

Les Partisans de la Paix de notre pays sont fiers que leurs délégués aient participé à la grande Assemblée des Peuples, contribuant à l'élaboration du grandiose programme de la lutte pour la Paix ! »

Sous le titre : « Grande manifestation de la Paix », le quotidien bucarestois UNIVERSUL écrit le 25 novembre 1950 : « Le Congrès de Varsovie ouvre une seconde étape dans la lutte pour la paix, lutte dont le point le plus haut atteint jusqu'à ce jour a été le succès de la campagne pour la signature de l'Appel de Stockholm. Cette nouvelle étape fixe des objectifs à atteindre en vue de rendre plus serrés encore les rangs des partisans de la paix et d'intensifier plus encore la lutte pour la défense de la paix ».

Du « ROMANIA LIBERA » : « Le Congrès de Varsovie a prouvé qu'il était la forme de l'unité des peuples la plus large de l'histoire. »

Se référant à la création du Conseil Mondial de la Paix, le journal poursuit : « Il est composé d'hommes de culture et de science les plus célèbres, de représentants des travailleurs manuels et intellectuels de tous les pays et de toutes les opinions politiques, de tous les cultes religieux. Notre pays y est représenté par l'écrivain Mihail Sadoveanu, le professeur Florica Mezincesco et le rédacteur de « Scanteia », Sorin Toma. La création de cet organisme suprême signifie l'élévation à un niveau supérieur du combat livré en vue d'écarter les dangers de guerre ».

« Rappelant que le IIe Congrès Mondial de la paix a décerné des Prix de la Paix à un certain nombre d'hommes qui se sont distingués dans le combat pour la paix *ROMANA LIBERA* comme tous les autres journaux, traduit la joie du peuple roumain, de voir parmi ces hommes le célèbre écrivain roumain Mihail Sadoveanu qui a reçu une « Médaille d'Or. »

« Le peuple roumain, *concluait le journal,* salue ce document de grandiose ralliement des peuples, publié à l'issue du Congrès, le considérant comme l'expression de sa propre volonté. Ce salut signifie en même temps l'engagement de travailler avec plus d'enthousiasme encore pour le triomphe de la paix ».

Le journal de la jeunesse roumaine, « SCANTEIA TINERETULUI, écrit : « Les peuples matérialiseront le grandiose programme de paix adopté au Congrès de Varsovie et contraindront à la retraite les forces de guerre ».

Le grand hebdomadaire roumain, « CONTEMPORANUL » considérant que « le Conseil Mondial de la Paix représente le front immense de la conscience et de la volonté de tous les peuples résolus à agir en vue d'intensifier au maximum la lutte pour la vie et l'avenir heureux de l'humanité », *écrit :*

« Les travailleurs de notre pays seront parmi les plus actifs combattants pour la réalisation des décisions du IIe Congrès Mondial de la Paix. »

AUX ETATS-UNIS

« *NEW YORK TIMES* D.

Le « New York Times » a consacré, du 12 au 26 novembre, un article quotidien sur le Congrès de la Paix. Il a insisté sur le Congrès de Sheffield, donnant de nombreux compte-rendus sur le déroulement des événements, soulignant des mesures prises par le gouvernement britannique contre le mouvement de la paix. Le ton général de ces articles est celui de l'ironie.

Mais lorsque le Congrès s'ouvrit à Varsovie, grâce à la collaboration des gouvernements polonais et tchèque, les articles changèrent d'esprit. La publicité mondiale accordée au transfert du Congrès obligea ce journal à déléguer auprès du Congrès un envoyé spécial qui écrivit des articles d'information assez objectifs, sauf, toutefois, en ce qui concerne le cas de M. Rogge.

Parmi les informations de ce journal, citons notamment :

«Un nouveau poste américain de radar, assisté par des patrouilles d'avions à réaction destinés à protéger l'Europe Occidentale d'une attaque par surprise, a fait ses premiers essais. Ce test a été effectué sur les appareils transportant de Grande-Bretagne en Pologne des délégués au Congrès à dominance communiste de Varsovie. Le survol de ces avions a été surveillé et des patrouilles sont venues les identifier. »

Au sujet du discours de M. Fadeev, le « New York Times » écrit ce commentaire, qui étonnera tous les témoins objectifs :

« Quoique son discours ait reçu un accueil enthousiaste, il a causé quelques inquiétudes pourtant parmi certaines délégations, notamment la délégation scandinave qui estimait que le Congrès subissait une trop grande influence communiste. »

« John Rogge, ancien procureur général adjoint aux U.S.A. et membre du présidium sortant du Congrès de la Paix, a traité ce discours « d'incendiaire ». (18 novembre).

Le journal se contredit d'ailleurs lui-même, en écrivant le 22 novembre :

VARSOVIE ESSAYE DE DEFINIR L'AGRESSION

« Au cours d'un débat que Jean Laffitte, Secrétaire Général du Congrès a décrit comme étant extrêmement animé, les délégués ont essayé cette nuit de trouver une définition de l'agression qui n'empêcherait pas les partisans de la paix de soutenir « les luttes libératrices des peuples. »

« Quelques délégués de tendance modérée ont déclare que la Commission cherchait plutôt à établir une distinction entre la guerre et la révolution. On démontra que la définition telle qu'elle fut établie permettait aux partisans de la paix d'approuver l'activité communiste au Tibet et en Corée et de dénoncer l'intervention de l'O.N.U. où qu'elle se produise. »

« Arnold Zweig, délégué de l'Allemagne orientale a déclaré que les hommes de science russe s'efforcent de canaliser l'énergie atomique afin de transformer les déserts de la Russie, tandis que les hommes de science se bornaient à découvrir de nouvelles méthodes de destruction. »

« 36 représentants de diverses églises protestantes ont déclaré que l'Evangile était utilisé en ce moment pour justifier les divisions séparant le monde. »

Et le 23 novembre, nouvelle contradiction, après cette évocation de vives discussions :

« Avec une unanimité qui fait penser aux récentes élections dans les Démocraties Populaires, 1655 délégués et invités auxquels on avait accordé le privilège de voter, ont voté l'adoption du programme. Il n'y a eu que trois bulletins contre et deux abstentions. »

« Le Congrès a approuvé la création d'un Conseil Mondial de la Paix qui veillerait comme un chien de garde sur les Nations-Unies et veillerait à ce que cete organisation remplisse ses devoirs envers l'humanité. Les délégués ont aussi élu 208 soi-disant partisans de la paix au Présidium de ce nouveau conseil qui a été décrit comme une organisation plus large que celle des nations Unies du fait que les représentants de pays coloniaux ou pays dépendants qui ne sont pas membres des Nations, y sont admis. »

CHINE

Le journal « JEGNMINGIBAO » indique que le manifeste aux peuples du monde et l'Appel à l'O.N.U., adoptés par le Congrès de Varsovie « uniront encore plus étroitement tous les peuples pacifiques et les mobiliseront pour une lutte plus résolue et active contre les plans de guerre, contre les actes agressifs du bloc anglo-américain en Asie, qui violent la paix. Le peuple chinois, qui aime la paix et qui lutte à côté du peuple coréen pour la paix soutient entièrement et le Manifeste et le Message à l'O.N.U., adoptés par le Congrès et s'engage à lutter résolument pour atteindre les buts, exposés dans ces documents. »

Le journal déclare, que le peuple chinois ne supportera en aucun cas les criminelles intrigues de l'impérialisme américain. Son expérience de nombreuse années lui a prouvé, que seule la lutte résolue contre les agresseurs peut lui assurer la paix.

Le journal « GOUANMINHJIBAO » dans son leader intitulé « l'Enorme succès du Deuxième Congrès Mondial des partisans de la paix » écrit : « Le Deuxième Congrès Mondial des partisans a condamné les actes criminels d'agression des impérialistes, il a démasqué leur politique. Il a manifesté la puissance jamais connue du camp international de la paix et de la démocratie. Le Congrès a exprimé la volonté des peuples du monde entier, qui aspirent à la paix et l'exigent et a élaboré des mesures concrètes dans le but du renforcement de la paix dans le monde, pour la collaboration entre les peuples. Le peuple chinois sait très bien, que la paix ne s'attend pas, que la paix se gagne. Pour sauvegarder la paix, il faut lutter contre l'agression, Afin de défendre la paix en Extrême-Orient, et dans le monde entier, le peuple chinois développe un large mouvement de lutte contre l'agression américaine. »

BULGARIE

Le journal « RABOTNITCHESKO DIELO » salue chaleureusement les décisions historiques du Congrès de Varsovie. « Les travailleurs bulgares, approuvent ardemment les décisions du IIe Congrès. Les Combattants pour la paix dans le monde entier flétrissent unanimement les fauteurs de guerre — les agresseurs anglo-américains. »

SUEDE

Le journal « ARBEITARTIDNINGUEN » dans son éditorial écrit : « Le IIe Congrès Mondial, qui vient de terminer ses travaux, constitue un événement d'une signification politique mondiale. Ce n'est pas une exagération. Jamais encore des hommes, de divers pays et de divergeantes opinions dans les problèmes de politique ou de religion n'ont manifesté une telle unanimité dans leur désir de sauvegarder la paix du monde. Par ses décisions le Congrès a non seulement élargi le programme du mouvement mondial des partisans de la paix, mais encore il a élargi la base pour son organisation et la direction du mouvement. Un Conseil Mondial de la Paix est créé, composé des représentants des organisations de défense de la paix de pays différents. Notre pays y est représenté également. Quand le Conseil commencera son travail, conformément au programme indiqué par le Congrès de Varsovie, il trouvera le soutien de tous les pays du monde et de tous les peuples. »

CANADA

Les journaux « CANADIAN TRIBUNE » et « VESTNIK » ont largement publié les extraits et le compte-rendu des interventions au Congrès, en soulignant la condamnation unanime de toute politique d'agression, et l'ardente aspiration à la Paix des représentants de couches les plus diverses de l'opinion publique mondiale « Canadian Tribune » communique que le Congrès des femmes Canadiennes dans une lettre adressée au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères du Canada, Pearson, exige l'interdiction de l'arme atomique et de toute arme d'extermination massive, ainsi que l'admission de la République Populaire Chinoise à l'O.N.U., comme un premier pas vers l'établissement de la paix en Asie.

SOUSCRIVEZ POUR RECEVOIR LE
COMPTE RENDU STENOGRAPHIQUE
DES DEBATS DU
IIe CONGRES MONDIAL DE LA PAIX

Ce sera un important volume de 600 à 700 pages, contenant, outre la sténographie complète des débats, tous les documents et décisions du Congrès et plus de 100 photos hors-texte.

Pour l'édition réalisée en français, le prix de l'ouvrage est de 500 francs français.

Vous pouvez aussi recevoir le compte rendu sténographique du Premier Congrès Mondial de la Paix (Paris-Prague) de même importance et même présentation, au même prix.

Pour 1.000 francs, vous recevrez les deux volumes.

Les prix hors de France doivent être majorés de 20 % pour frais d'expédition.

Souscrivez au

CONSEIL MONDIAL DE LA PAIX
2, RUE DE L'ELYSEE - PARIS (VIIIe)

Lisez la Revue Mondiale de la Paix
éditée mensuellement en 10 langues.
— 15, rue Feydau - PARIS (IIe) —

PUBLIE PAR
LE CONSEIL MONDIAL
DE LA PAIX
2, RUE DE L'ELYSÉE, PARIS

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PRINTED MATTER 1951-53 12/16

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

JANUARY, 3, 1951

CONTENTS

1. News of the World :
In France, a national consultation against German rearmament.
In Italy, a week of mobilisation against war.
Big meetings in New York, in Mexico, Tunisia and Britain...
2. Debates in the Italian Chamber of Deputies.
3. Interview with Monsignor Chevrot, of the Church of St. François Xavier in Paris.
4. The Archbishop of York condemns the massacres in Korea.
5. Conference at Stuttgart.
6. Press Review. Germany against rearmament.

I

IN FRANCE THE FIGHTERS FOR PEACE INITIATE A NATIONAL CONSULTATION AGAINST GERMAN REARMAMENT

On Friday the 22nd December, the permanent national commission of the Fighters for Peace published an important statement calling upon all municipal councils and all peace committees to commence *the next day* a great national consultation on the question of German rearmament. This was to be commenced during patriotic demonstrations with the distribution and putting into circulation of 2 million ballot papers in the forme given below.

The Statement of the National Permanent Committee

After emphasising that German rearmament would bring about a war in which France could only be a victim, come what may, the statement proceeded :

« The government which is submitting itself to the demands of the ex-Nazis must listen to the voice of a country which wishes to live. This voice will make it think again, will make it reconsider its policy, will compel it to abandon this monstrous plan of rearming Germany. The voice of the people will cross our frontiers and join with the voices of other nations who are also opposed to German rearmament and whose delegates came to the Second World Peace Congress and joined us in saying so.

NATIONAL CONSULTATION

German rearmament, to which the French Government is consenting, is considerably aggravating the danger of war and menacing the security of France.

All Frenchmen have the right and the duty to speak their minds on this subject.

I OPPOSE GERMAN REARMAMENT

Remarks .....

.....

.....

Signature .....

Locality .....

To be returned to .....

« PEOPLE OF FRANCE,

« We are asking you to express your opposition clearly and unmistakably.

« We are asking you to go from door to door presenting this National Consultation for signature, to instal ballot-boxes in your districts, factories, offices and in the municipal chambers, to enable the citizens of France to declare themselves.

« We call upon you to establish committees in you towns and villages, including all your eminent figures among their members, such committees to centralise and proclaim the results and to communicate them to your elected representatives.

« PEOPLE OF FRANCE,

« We call upon you to take part with all your hearts and with all your strength in this peaceful mobilisation of public opinion which will ensure that the voice of our sovereign people is heard. »

From its very commencement, this consultation has gaday's demonstrations at the monuments to the dead. Rallies, thered some tens of thousands of signatures during Saturprocessions, and stop work meetings in the factories and mines have already taken place...

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE ITALIAN DEFENDERS OF PEACE ANNOUNCES A WEEK OF MOBILISATION AGAINST WAR

The Secretariat of the Italian movement of the Defenders of Peace has just met at the office of the National Committee and considered the grave developments in the international situation which have occurred lately.

At this conference it was particularly emphasised how grave and unconstitutional in the case of Italy are the international undertakings taken by Messrs Sforza and Pacciardi on such problems as German rearmament, the subordination of the Italian armed forces and economy to foreign direction, and the question of the further burdens contemplated for the Italian people as a result of the armaments race.

Calling upon all Italians to unite on a broad basis for the defence of peace, the National Committee reaffirmed the necessity for broad discussion among the people on the vital problems of peace and war. No single political grouping, no single current of opinion, can claim a monopoly of truth, and no such body or group can ensure peace for Italy by its strength alone. For this reason we must obtain a meeting together and an effort at mutual understanding on the part of all Italians.

To this end, the National Committee has proposed to all provincial and local committees of the Defenders of Peace, to all political organisations, former servicemen, trade-unions, co-operatives, young people's, women's and cultural organisations, to friendly societies and sports clubs, and to all citizens without distinction of party or belief, that they should open a great national campaign during which the concrete peace proposals that the Second World Congress has submitted to the United Nations could provide a basis for the widest possible exchange of views, for the most fruitful discussions and the initiation of useful activity. These activities will take place on communal, parliamentary and popular levels and also on the widest possible cultural basis. They will find additional stimulus in the Week of National Mobilisation for Peace to take place in the middle of January. The many new activities and the redoubled efforts that the provincial and local committees will see developing during the coming Christmas festivals will be able to ensure for this national week all the extent and authority necessary for an effective campaign.

The Conference addressed the following appeal to the Italian priests

The National Committee has proposed that all our people meeting together for the Christmas festivals and in their families should express a solemn and intimate vow for peace. Let all our citizens propose to all their friends, acquaintances, political adversaries and in the letters of Christmas greeting the same prayer for peace that was expressed by the Second World Congress in the name of hundreds of millions of men and women in all countries. And in these days of family reunion, let this promise of peace reach all men of good will, through a line, a phrase, or the whole text of the Appeal to the Peoples of the World which has already been so broadly distributed throughout the country by the Peace Committees.

The National Committee further urges the provincial and local committees of the Defenders of Peace, from now on, during these days of religious festival, to pay particular attention to the responsibility of that part of the clergy which, having a direct duty to care for the souls of the people, is in a position to influence the consciences of a congregation of millions. Such priests are intimately acquainted with the anguish of a people upon the road to war that Italy is now treading. Everywhere they should be asked by the peace committees, by delegations from their congregations, in open letters and personal discussions, to make public declarations on the concrete proposals for peace of the Second World Congress, and in particular on those proposals of more immediate urgency, that is to say, the cessation of the Korean conflict and the withdrawal of all foreign troops, the question of German rearmament, the limitation of armaments and the suppression of war propaganda. The Italian priests, while openly assuming responsibility for supporting these concrete peace proposals, might well do as their brothers in other lands have done, by making an important contribution to the discussion, and so help to build up Italian unity in favour of peace.

« The Iron Curtain was made of Flowers »

The Curate of the Church of the Ascension at Balsham, the Rev. L. J. Bliss, who attended the Second World Congress, reported back to members of the Wandsworth Peace Council and the public the week-end of December 16-17. He found, he said, that the Iron Curtain was made of flowers.

Talking of recent attacks on the world peace movement, he said « Let us hear no more talk about this movement conspiring to disarm the West so that the Russians can have a free hand. It is a gross slander. « He went on to demand that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea. « It is a hard fight, this fight for peace, « he said, but it is my belief that the peoples of the world will not be led so easily like lambs to the slaughter as they were before ».

Public Meeting held by Tunisian Committee for Liberty and Peace

On Wednesday the 13th December, the delegates of the Tunisian Committee for Liberty and Peace reported back from the World Congress at Warsaw in the presence of a large gathering at the Palace of French Societies. Amid the applause of the crowded meeting, a place was taken at the tribune by the World Congress delegates, Dr Sliman Ben Sliman, Mohamed Djerad, Mme M'Basaa, Mr André Roux and M'hamed Sehabou, with the presidential committee consisting of Messrs Mahmoud El Horcheni, Abdelkader Assoufi and Ben Abba.

During the meeting, the crowd welcomed with prolonged applause the arrival at the tribune of Sheikh Mohamed Salah Ennifer.

Following the addresses of Mme Basaa, and Messrs Roux and Djerad, Dr Sliman spoke of the extent to which the struggle for peace cannot be considered apart from the problem of national independence. He went on to raise an indignant protest against the attitude of General Juin in Morocco in expelling from the Moroccan Council the nominces of the Istiquwal, the Morrocan nationalist party.

Unity for independence and peace is today an absolute necessity, added Dr Sliman, and the committees for liberty and peace are capable of rallying to their cause all patriots, whether Destourians (i.e. members of the Tunisian national party) or communists or members of no political party. Moreover, these committees should be able to rally all democrats, regardless of their nationality.

Mexico

From Mexico, we received on the 27th December the following telegram : « At a great mass meeting Messrs Giral and Roces presented their report on the Warsaw Congress. The meeting greets the World Council and promises to work indefatigably for the application of the Warsaw Resolutions. Signed, for the presiding committee, Marquez, Rebollo, W. Roces. »

The United States

The Rev. Mr McGowan presents Peace Prize to Robeson

At a welcome home meeting on the 20th December at the Hunts Point Palace on the return of the Rev. Mr Edward D. McGowan from the Second World Peace Congress at Warsaw, Mr McGowan presented Paul Robeson with the prize which had been awarded to him by the Congress, a distinction granted by the representatives of eighty nations...

The ceremony was to have taken place in the Concourse Plaza Hotel, but the management suddenly barred the meeting which was sponsored by the American Labor Party. Earlier in the day before Judge Samuel Dickstein of the Bronx Supreme Court, an attorney for the American Legion and William Walzer, the commander of the Catholic War Veterans had threatened violence if Mr Robeson or the Rev. McGowan appeared. The Judge had then upheld the hotel's ban on the meeting. Opportunity was taken during the meeting to warn the American Legion that threats of violence would not prevent the continued pursuit of efforts for peace in the name of the American people and the people of the world.

Ecquador

Latest news from Ecquador was that the Executive Committee of the Defenders of Peace advised us that a big public meeting was to be held on Thursday the 21st December at the Central University of Ecquador to discuss ratification of the resolutions of the Second World Peace Congress. Among the speakers anticipated were Dr Angel Modesto Paredes, Dr Maria Antonieta Silva, and Mme Raquel de Romo Danila.

It was felt that this meeting would be considerably strengthened by the fact that the Extraordinary Indian Congress and the 17th Congress of the Ecquador Socialist Party had both just adopted resolutions in favour of the Stockholm Appeal.

II

DEBATES IN THE ITALIAN CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

Christian-Democrat Deputy calls for Policy of Peace

On the 21st December the debate commenced in the Italian Chamber on the Giavi motion which was presented last summer and signed by the members of the P.S.U. (Socialists), the Liberals, the Republicans and the Saragatians.

This motion emphasises the danger of continuing the Korean war, asserts that all governments should apply themselves to circumscribing this conflict and preventing its spreading to include the whole world. It goes on to demand that the Italian government favour world peace on the basis of the respect of international law, and that the government should seize every opportunity to contribute to the preservation of peace.

The speech of a well-known catholic deputy, Igino Giordani, created a lively interest in the Chamber, and brought forth unanimous applause from the deputies. In his speech, Giordani appealed for co-operation between the nations, for renunciation of the current hysterical war-propaganda, and, addressing the Italian government, implored it to base its policies upon such an outlook. He went on to judge and condemn the atmosphere of division and hatred which is nourished by the government. « A third world war », he said, « would not make sense. No one would know why he was fighting. It would be a useless tragedy. It would not provide a liberation from communism, but would cause the disappearance of life, wealth and all the good things of mankind. For Europe and Italy, it would be the end !... But war is not inevitable if we can bring ourselves to admit that this rearmament is the consequence of the dialectic of things and of reciprocal mistrust. This does not mean that rearmament would not be fatal for us and would indeed drag us into ruin. That is why it is necessary to seek out a kind of activity which will bring about a peaceful co-operation among the peoples of the world. In Asia, thirteen pagan nations have made such a move. What is to prevent Christian Italy from working for the same end in Europe. We must work for the co-existence of all men, to banish this manicheism which throws all the blame on one side ». Giordani then urged upon the Chamber the necessity of taking up the discussion in Italy. « Enough of these polemical savages », he said, « who are leading us into a civil war that nobody wants and which would be absurd... Enough of these machiavelian tactics and of these lying outlooks which, to ensure peace, are preparing for war. Enough of this war-minded hysteria. »

III

THE CHURCHES AND PEACE

Interview with Monsignor CHEVROT

It will be remembered that the Priest of Saint-François Xavier in Paris, Monsignor Chevrot, was one of the signatories of the statement « Christians against the Atomic Bomb », which appeared in May, 1950, and caused a considerable stir. The following interview is taken from the Catholic fortnightly review « Quinzaine » of the 15th December.

We asked him what were, in his view, the reactions of the Church to recent events. His reply :

« The most notable intervention has certainly been that of the Head of the Church in his recent encyclical « Mirabile Illud ». In the carefully measured language which he habitually uses, Pope Pius XII calls in this document for prayers in favour of peace. He does not refrain from condemning, not only the threatening conflicts, but « the horrible massacres which are actually going on ». The atomic bomb is not explicitly mentioned, but it is clear that it is among « the murderous devices whose power brings horror to the mind of every honest person ».

— And in Catholic circles, Monsignor, have you observed a similar desire to oppose war ?

— In can only speak of those with whom I am in contact, and I shall speak frankly. Many of our brothers in the Church respond to personal motives which are quite outside their religious faith. Their opinions fan out over a large area, from the « non possumus » of the conscientious objectors right through to the tranquil assertion of the « bold ones » that the idea of a preventive war does not in the least scare them. At least that is what they say. They have no doubt failed to weigh the consequences.

On the other hand, for those who argue as Christians — and I note that their numbers are increasing — no hesitation is possible. The position of Catholics was quite clearly stated in the exhortation which Pope Benedict XV had the courage to address to the warring nations on the Ist August, 1917. He said : « For the material power of arms should be substituted the moral force of law. Simultaneous and reciprocal suppression of their armies should open the way for compulsory arbitration ».

Mgr. Chevrot then read us the complete text of this appeal, whose forthright clarity is indeed singularly impressive. Then, closing the book, he added sadly :

— To think that if Catholics, throughout the world, had taken to heart the warning of their leader, if they had followed it and repeated it everywhere to inform and clarify public opinion, we might have been spared the second world war. Believe me, we must come back to this memorable text. « War is a useless crime ». Whoever claims to base his actions upon the Gospel should struggle till the last of his strength not only against the atomic weapon and the even more terrible bacteriological weapon, but against all armaments of any kind.

— That is indeed our opinion, Monsignor. Will you allow me, however, to ask you one more precise question on the special subject of the atomic bomb ? Do you think that a Christian ought, in all conscience, to condemn it ?

— Should he condemn it ? You should read again the letter published by the Cardinals and Archbishops of France on the 14th June, 1950, a month after a certain statement of « Christians against the atomic bomb » which caused quite a stir. Our religious leaders consider it « scandalous and revolting » that anyone should doubt their opinion to the extent of daring even to ask them whether they are against the atomic bomb. All modern weapons that scientific progress is rendering even more murderous, « for our part », they write, « we condemn with all our strength ». Even more recently, the Cardinal Archbishop of Lyons described the atomic bomb as an « abomination ».

— Do you think, « Monsieur le Curé », (for they say this is the title that you prefer above all), that the current of opinion against the atomic bomb that we have seen this year has had any influence on the conduct of hostilities in the Far East ?

— I have no certain information on this question, but I should be surprised if some account had not been taken of a « veto » supported by many thousands of human consciences. Moreover, in my view, the desired result could not be obtained by seeking to intimidate one of the belligerents. Intimidation is a « process of war ». We must get above that to a free international agreement. But, my friend, you are leading me into an area where I am not at home and where I may go astray.

— One thing that I have certainly noticed is that, despite the increasing efforts that are made in this somersault of conscience to issue denunciations of manœvres and politically inspired traps, many Christians — some of the better ones among them — have been able to keep their minds free of this confusion. These have not accepted that the world is divided into two blocs and that, by profession, Christians belong to one of these and not to the other. They are not disturbed by the ideological colour of men who wish to put an end to armed conflicts : In this desire for peace they have recognised a Christian demand which they too are honoured to proclaim ».

— One last question if you don't mind. Do I understand you to say that in your opinion the campaign for prohibition of the atomic bomb could effectively bring about a real disarmament ?

— That is incontestably the reason why I have given my support. Now listen to me. War is essentially inhuman. If one accepts that war is legitimate, one is bound to accept also that war should be as murderous and frightful as possible, so that one's adversary can be annihilated as surely and as rapidly as possible. The time when, in a spirit of what might have looked like Christianity, belligerent powers bound themselves by reciprocal conventions, is now quite out of date. That one should endeavour, in modern times, to allow some weapons and prohibit others is nothing short of idealism. Today, it is no longer a question of formulating laws of warfare, but of outlawing war altogether.

« We are sooner likely to abolish war than to humanise it. For this reason, every action taken to render war less inhuman tends towards its eventual abolition. Let's see. How can we expect that the belligerent who possesses the atomic or bacteriological weapon will renounce it without a reciprocal advantage. You take his weapon from him and tell him : « Now, let's fight with an equality in weapons ». He will reply : « If war is to be continued, I shall regain my superiority by using the weapon that you do not possess ».

— In fact then, you see no way out, except through a conference between representatives of the armed powers ?

— Precisely. That is what I see as the aim of the campaign against the atomic bomb. Let the heads of state meet together and, fully conscious of their responsibilities, let them speak face to face. From the moment when they reach an understanding to proscribe one weapon they will not be far from an understanding to have no further recourse to war. If they can bring themselves to renounce a weapon which would make them the strongest, then at the same stroke they are condemning « the force of arms » itself and are embarking upon that road along which Benedict XV has shown our salvation to lie.

— We took our leave of Mgr Chevrot, who, walking to the door with us, good-humouredly wagged his head a little in saying ?

— Perhaps you smile a little at my excessive confidence, and some would even see in it a rather pitiful simplicity. « Que voulez-vous ? » It's nearly half a century now that I have been the Minister of Him who launched into the world that « Utopia » which is the greatest of all, when he said : « Love one another ».

IV

ATROCITIES IN KOREA CONDEMNED

By Archbishop of York

« The Times » of the 20th December publishes a letter expressing all the horror felt by the British public and, indeed, by the defenders of peace throughout the world at the further atrocities committee in Korea, this time by the « Korean Youth Defence League ». Written by the Archbishop of York, the letter reads :

« Sir - I hope that our Government will convey to the South Korean Government the horror and detestation with which the people of this country have read the accounts of the wholesale execution of suspected Communist sympathizers. Your Correspondent says it is reported that some of the murdered women « carried babies on their backs ». If these barbarous executions continue, all sympathy with South Korea will vanish, and instead there will be a general demand that the forces of the United Nations should no longer be used to protect a Government responsible for these atrocities. I am glad to see that British soldiers on the spot already have shown their anger at these killings. Yours faithfully, Cyril Ebor : Bishopsthorpe, York. »

« The Korean Boy Scouts »

An editorial of the Manchester Guardian of the 19th December, under the above title, says : « The Korean Home Ministry described the Korean Youth Defence League, which was responsible for the executions, as « a sort of Boy Scout movement »... The youth leader who ordered the executions said that he did so because « he was certain that all the adults were Communist agents ». Some of their children had been shot also, « because when they grew up they too would be Communists ». The Korean youth movements have been a pest ever since 1945. There is much material about them in the reports of the former United Nations Commissions in Korea. They were at first encouraged and even financially supported by the American Military Government, which imagined that they were welfare associations. But they soon got out of hand. Violent by nature, they were encouraged to further violence by the politicians... »

V

STUTTGART CONFERENCE OF 17TH DECEMBER

Fixes Day against Remilitarisation for 28th January

On the third Sunday of Advent, more than four hundred representatives of different parties and organisations, as well as a number of eminent figures from cultural, Church, scientific and economic circles, met at Stuttgart to discuss the means of warding off the dangers that are threatening peace.

After reports were heard from Dr Herbert Jentzen, leader of the Stuttgart Peace Circle, from Johannes Oberhof, Evangelical Pastor of a Parish in Bremen, and from Erwin Eckert, a member of the World Peace Council, thirty-two other speakers took the floor. Three Ministers of religion, two school-teachers, seven workers (including five works chairmen and active leaders of the German Socialist Party), six former career officers (including a former General of the Air Force), four lawyers, four writers and journalists, three students and three representatives of Christian peace organisations, took part in the discussion.

The conference then proposed a law for the protection peace, such law to punish every form of war propaganda which poisons the political atmosphere, raises the sentiments of Germans against each other and causes the greatest dangers to peace.

The joint chairmen of this meeting were Mme Hoereth-Menge, Municipal Councillor of Munich, Dr Von Hatzfeldt, and Mr Erwin Eckert, a member of the German Peace Committee and of the World Peace Council.

The following is the text of the appeal adopted by the conference, calling for a wide public grouping against German remilitarisation :

The German People wish
To decide their own fate.

A few days before Christmas, this group of men, women and young people from all parts of Western Germany, of all occupations, of all religious persuasions and of all political parties, has met to discuss the means of saving and concolidating peace.

As a result of our deliberations, we consider that the first and most important step to take for the consolidation of peace is for the German nation to prevent this country from becoming a base of military operations for a new war and to refuse to allow the spilling of German blood in the interest of foreign powers.

Not a man, not a penny for war !

Such should be the opinion of every sensible German who loves his country.

Every day the press and radio try to make the West German population believe that it is menaced from the East, that Europe and European culture are in danger. This is an intentional lie, to support which no proof can be found. Any danger to peace and any state of crisis would be instantly removed if a resolute decision was taken to condemn the interference by one state in the internal affairs of foreign nations.

The people of every nation should be able to settle their own affairs in freedom. No government should be permitted to hold other nations in its guardianship.

The German people too wish to have the free and final say in their own destinies. We wish to live in peace and friendship with all the nations. No one other than ourselves has the right to dispose of our lives and our future.

In many ways, the German people is demonstrating its disapproval of remilitarisation. Up till now, many millions of Germans have not spoken on this subject because they have not had a chance to be heard. That is why we must distribute in all the cities and villages, and in all the factories and all the houses, a large number of ballot-papers to vote against remilitarisation.

We hope that a great popular movement will develop to make it impossible to drag western Germany into the aggressive plans of those who are aiming at war.

For these reasons we ask you to come on the 28th January, 1951, to a great Conference against Remilitarisation.

All those forces that desire peace should be represented at this conference. The opinion of all those who wish to serve the cause of peace should be heard there.

This conference should be prepared to take effective measures against war propaganda, for this propaganda poisons the political atmosphere and divides the German nation against itself.

If we wish to defend the peace, we must first prohibit war propaganda. The campaign we want is not one of agitation, but of understanding. That is why we greet everything that is undertaken towards such understanding, which will enable us, the German people, to live peacefully.

That is why we call upon all sections of the population to send their representatives to the great peace conference on the 28th January. We are also counting upon the presence of eminent personalities from public life, from the Church, from the worlds of science, culture, economics, sport and especially from the young people of Germany.

We are convinced that in western Germany the forces of reason and discretion will be stronger than those trying to incite the people to mutual hatred, and stronger than all the war propaganda. We believe that all mankind has no greater desire than to see the realisation of that old promise :

PEACE UPON EARTH !

VI

GERMANY AGAINST REARMAMENT

Review of the German Press

The proposals for a meeting of the Big Four on the German question, and the repercussions that they have had on the German scene are thrown into relief by the western press which is trying to reconcile the divergent points of view which are increasingly preoccupying the German people as the threat of war preparations on their own territory increases.

THE « KOELNISHE RUNDSCHAU »

The editorial of the « *Koelnische Rundschau* » of the 16th December clearly shows the strong current of opinion which is developing in favour of a peaceful settlement of the « German problem » in accord with pevious agreements.

« We all know », says this journal, « that the Damocles' sword of a third world war is hanging over our heads and suspended by a slim thread. We know that conversations between the four great powers are likely to remove this fatal threat. We also know that hope for the success of these « Big Four » talks has been strengthened recently, but no-one can yet claim with confidence that they will reach a successful conclusion. If, however, this were the case, we know very well that within the framework of conversations about a better and more peaceful kind of East-West relationship, the German question will play an important role without the Germans themselves having had a chance of saying a single effective word on the subject. »

●

This journal does no more than take up one of the arguments most commonly used by the Bonn Government to relieve itself of the responsibility for rearmament. A women's delegation from Gelsenkirchen which recently approached Chancellor Adenauer to express their indignation over the remilitarisation plans for Germany, was received by the Chancellor's Councillor, Dr Betz. A portion of their discussion is reported to have been as follows : Question : « But should we not protest against the preparations for war in western Germany ? » Answer : « *We lost the war, and it is not for us Germans to decide on policy* ».

●

The Koelnische Rundschau editorial goes on to show, moreover, the difficulties that the Bonn Government is encountering in presenting the policy of German rearmament to the Germans themselves : « ...for the movement in favour of peace is making unusual gains. At Stuttgart a particularly important meeting took place on the 27th December. It included representatives of different political outlooks, among them members and leaders of the Socialist Party, representatives of the different German Churches, including Professor Luedtke, President of the Una-Sancta League as well as a number of former Wehrmacht officers. The outcome of this meeting was the arrangement of a great peace demonstration on the 28th January against remilitarisation and the issue of a statement saying : *Not a man, not a penny for war* ». (See the text of this appeal elsewhere in this bulletin.)

●

It is also to be noted that there is a growing desire for neutrality in different circles among the German People. Thus the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, writing from Bonn on the 19th December, said : « In a few days' time a new German party will be formed under the name of the « Democratic Peace Party ». There are plenty of parties in Western Germany, but this latest addition to their growing band is significant. Its leading members represent very different coloured threads of political thought. First there is Professor Noack, who has for three years been the apostle of « neutralising » Germany on the lines recommended by the American columnist Walter Lippman. Then there is the Protestant Pastor Niemoeller, who seems destined to graduate from submarines, through the aisles of the Evangelical Church, to the political arena. An unexpected exponent of the movement is ex-General Halder, who was once Chief of the German General Staff ». Manchester Guardian of 20th December, 1950.

THE STUTTGARTER WIRTSCHAFTSZEITUNG

« We Germans », writes the Stuttgart economic journal, « *Stuttgarter Wirtschaftszeitung* », « wish to persuade no one to join the combat teams ; we have no desire to throw ourselves into military adventures where we should run the risk of losing our heads. We have a greater interest than any other peoples in peace ».

Again, the « Koelnischer Rundschau » of the 16th December reports that « The Union of German Catholic Youth, at a recent meeting at Altberg, violently criticised the Federal Youth Plan for « labour service » (as a preparation for subsequent military service) and claimed that « they should rather allocate the funds to an increased allowance for the youth clubs ».

REACTION TO PROPOSALS OF GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

The question of the Bonn Government's attitude to the proposals of the German Democratic Republic is drawing a considerable attention.

To give some idea of the extensive repercussions caused by this proposal throughout Germany, one need only recall that messages demanding an early reply from Chancellor Adenauer are piling up at Bonn and that eminent figures of all opinions are demonstrating their desire, if not their insistance, that the current differences on the German question should be peacefully settled. The leader of the Christian Democrat group (i.e. Adenauer's own party) in the Hamburg Parliament, for instance, stated : « I declare myself in favour of Otto Grotewohl's proposal because I welcome any initiative taken towards discussions on Germany as a whole ».

Pastor Oberhof of the Parish of St. Martin of Bremen said : « Otto Grotewohl's letter is, in my opinion, the most significant of all current political events... A refusal to this invitation on the part of Adenauer would be a crime against the German people ».

THE HAMBURGER HANDELSBLATT

The « Hamburger Handelsblatt » defined the responsibilities of the Bonn Government as follows : « Above all questions of protocol, there is the German people itself which forms a whole, and whose future is a common one. In view of this, all paltry scruples should be silenced ».

●

It is interesting, too, to notice that the resumption of closer relations between East and West is being increasingly regarded as a vital necessity for German economic life. This is at once emphasised by two different Hamburg sources. The Study Bureau for All-German Questions, for instance, states :

« The figures of the Bureau of Commercial Statistics of the Hanseatic city shows beyond any doubt that 80 per cent of Hamburg's 90,000 unemployed could receive work and bread if raw materials, orders and currency were available. But all that would be possible only if the German market was again united and if the gateway was reopened for trade with the East ».

The Society for Trade with the East, representing more than two hundred Hamburg commercial and industrial firms, recently stated : « We are hoping for an early suppression of the internal frontiers between the zones by the establishment of monetary conditions enabling an unlimited peaceful exchange of merchandise between the zones as, for example, in Austria, because the continued division of Germany's economic body into water-tight zones is compromising our very existence ».

THE WESTDEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU

What will the Bonn Government do in face of this demand which dominates the present internal situation in Germany ? That is the question asked by the American United Press and taken up by the journal « *Westdeutsche Rundschau* » of Wuppertal. « Herr Grotewohl's letter to Bonn has caused some uneasiness in Washington », says this journal. « The United States might find itself compelled to take contrary measures if the reception in Bonn Government circles of the Eastern Zone proposals should become « too warm ». It was being said around Washington that the German statements showed that Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was giving the impression of having the intention of at least taking into consideration the remarks of the East Zone Prime Minister. It seems — and American official circles seem to be agreed on this point — that Adenauer would not accept, at least openly, the offers of Grotewohl. But on the other hand, the opinion is being heard that the Bonn Government would probably be obliged to modify its attitude of refusal. In this situation, it is throught possible that Dr Adenauer will forward Herr Grotewohl's letter to the High Commission. The result would undoubtedly be an attitude of opposition by the allies. Such opposition, however, would then give the Germans the chance of blaming the occupation powers for putting a check to « negotiations for unity ». This would, at least, discharge the Bonn Government from that responsibility ».

THE KOELNISCHER RUNDSCHAU

The « *Koelnischer Rundschau* » of the 16th December takes up this theme. It says : « The only comfort is the knowledge that all the nations state that they want peace... German democrats who are waiting in vain for a real Europe, are now awaiting the Big Four conversations with patience, but with a keen anxiety. For it will there be decided, in effect over their heads, whether and how they will be able to live in peace, not only with their neighbours of the West, but also with those of the East ».

THE FREIES VOLK

« *Freies Volk* » of the 18th December relates how, in the presence of more than 1,000 students of Bonn University, the former Home Minister of the Federal Republic, Dr Heinemann, expressed the hope that President Grotewohl's proposal of discussions would be accepted. Dr Heinemann asserted that the continued division of Germany in two would make of her a field of battle in the event of a new war. Such a war would be one beteween brothers. Western Germany should not allow herself to be incorporated in the Atlantic Pact. « *We have always loked with too much partiality towards the West, and with insufficient towards the East* », he said. « *Europe can only be saved if peace is saved* ».

The same journal reports the remarks of the well known publisher Ernst Rowohlt who described the proposals of Herr Grotewohl to Dr Adenauer as marking important progress along the road to German unification. « I should be very glad », he stated, « if Herr Grotewohl's approach led to a positive result, and if negotiations for the whole of Germany could indeed be brought to a successful conclusion within the framework of the proposals of the German Democratic Republic ».

THE FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE

The « *Frankfurter Allgemeine* » reports a further important statement by Dr Niemoeller who has again made his position quite clear on the subject of German rearmament. Having asserted that « we should on no account allow ourselves to rearm against our own brothers », he emphasised that the Church should interest itself in politics, because it cannot shirk its responsibilities towards men. There could be no law governing or limiting the Church's responsibility. That man who, is at the head of the German nation, for the time being, and who, without consulting the people, is offering the people's resources in manpower to the wide world, should present himself as a volunteer. As for Otto Grotewohl's letter to Chancellor Adenauer, Dr Niemoeller stated that he would not be inclined to promise anything « ipso facto » from these conversations. He considered that the German problem could not be solved without the United Nations.

The « *Frankfurter Allgemeine* » also publishes an article dealing with a public opinion poll among students of the Stuttgart Technische Hochschule on the question of German rearmament. The results were 76.5 per cent against, and only 10 per cent for rearmament.

THE HAMBURGER FREIE PRESSE

Under the title « *Adenauer must reply* », the « *Hamburger Freie Presse* » publishes an article saying, in part, « The Grotewohl letter should not and must not remain unanswered... We are not alone in holding this view. The centre group, as well as the leadership, of the « Freie Demokratische Partei » (Free Democratic Party) have published resolutions urging the Chancellor to take this step. »

In conclusion, we mention a public-opinion poll recently carried out by the weekly journal « *Der Spiegel* » (Hanover, the 25th December), to which 35,000 readers replied. It appears from the replies received that the overwhelming majority of Germans are opposed to their own rearmament. Here are the results :

80 per cent of readers were against a new war ;

12 per cent only considered war necessary ;

82.6 per cent were against compulsory military service ;

15.8 per cent were in favour of compulsory military service ;

68.4 per cent of readers were against German participation in a European army,
even if such participation were on a basis of equality with the other nations.

To the question of whether Germany should join in a Western military pact, 81.5 per cent of readers replied « NO ».

OBLIGED TO RESIGN

Helmut Hansmann, Editor of the Frankfurt « Abendpost »

Writes to his colleagues

Publicly announcing his reasons for doing so, Helmut Hansmann recently resigned his position as Editor of the Frankfurt journal *Abendpost*. This newspaper is directed by Udo Binz who, in the time of Nazi Germany, was attached to the central propaganda agency of the great I.G. Farben combine, which was later convicted of war crimes. Hansmann's step recalls that of John Peet, the British journalist who some months ago resigned his position as Reuters' Berlin Correspondent, after denouncing Western war propaganda. Hansmann's letter follows :

« Dear Colleagues,

« The public statement of the President of the U.S.A. to have the atomic bomb released in certain circumstances on the heads of innocent men and women, the significantly cold manner in which the western governments are replying to constructive peace proposals, have brought me to understand what a frightful menace is hovering over humanity. Even among the narcotic propaganda of the western press, which is pleading in a veiled or open manner for German participation in plans for war, one sometimes hears the voice of reason. The German population has waited till now in vain for a simple movement which would pull it out of its lethargy, its profound doubt and the obvious impasse in which it now finds itself, a movement which would lead it to the only practicable road, the conscientious and clear-sighted love of peace.

« As a delegate from Western Germany, I took part in the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw. The boycott of the licensed and controlled press of Western Germany, which opposes every meeting of the friends of peace, and the polemic against every attempt to mobilise the forces of peace in Western Germany, compelled me to give a pretext for my journey. The only way out for me was to say I was ill. I was, of course, fully aware of the consequences and possible results of my attitude.

« At Warsaw, there were the representatives of every nation in the world, nearly three thousand persons. There was no need for big words. Together, they spoke of those things which are preoccupying continents and nations. Their words were in the language of this single theme — to maintain peace, to spare women and children from terror and frightful destruction, and to spare men from the painful role of « death on the field of Honour ». There I saw for the first time with deep emotion what hope the people of the world have reposed in the struggle of the people of western Germany against the psychology of war and remilitarisation. I clearly saw that peace can really be won and that this struggle calls for all the strength of peace-loving men.

« As responsible editor of the Abendpost at Frankfurt, I thought, after my return from Warsaw, that I might be able to express in my newspaper for my readers, in the form of an explanation, the real motives, the reasons and the driving force of that which is separating the East from the West. I thought I might be able to play my part in bringing it to pass that Germans could meet other Germans and that the danger of a national catastrophe without issue might be removed for Germany. Meanwhile, my presence in Warsaw was made known and denounced by certain despicable agencies. The Director of Abendpost told me to leave the editorial staff without any noise and as quickly as possible. To avoid any scandal, he used the approved method of asking me to take the initiative of resigning, as he was not anxious to take upon himself the responsibility of dismissing a defender of peace.

« As efforts have been made to minimise my point of view and my opinions concerning the maintenance of peace, or even to ignore them altogether, I am throwing myself on public opinion. I speak to all Germans of good will who wish to safeguard peace, and to all my colleagues of the editorial staffs of the press of western Germany.

« In view of the catastrophe which threatens to burst on Germany, and in view of the efforts being made to make of Germany a second Korea, I urge them seriously to consider the work they are doing in the service of an unspeakable war propaganda. I ask them to bear in mind every minute that five years after a terrible war every effort is again being made to transform « German territory » into a war arsenal and to inject millions of Germans with the same accursed poison of that unhappy time so recently passed. »

Helmut HANSMANN.

PUBLISHED BY THE
WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
2, rue de l'Elysée, Paris

I.C.E., 18-20, FG DU TEMPLE
— PARIS (XIe) —

THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No 29 July, 1952

EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

BERLIN, JULY 1st — 6th, 1952

INDEX

— CALL FOR A CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE.

— ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS AND TO ALL THE PEOPLES ON THE GERMAN PROBLEM.

— RESOLUTION ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE RE-MILITARISATION AND FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN.

— RESOLUTION ON THE CESSATION OF THE KOREAN WAR.

— RATIFICATION OF THE OSLO APPEAL AGAINST BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE.

— SUMMARY OF REPORTS AND DISCUSSION.

— GREETINGS AND PRESENTS TO THE SESSION.

A special session of the World Council of Peace was held in Berlin, July 1 to 6, 1952.

The session which opened with a report by the President of the World Council of Peace, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, was greeted by Professor Walther Friedrich in the name of the German Peace Committee and Herr Friedrich Ebert in the name of the city of Berlin. There were 298 people who participated in the Session, representing 59 countries from all parts of the world and numerous international organisations.

Upon the proposal of the Bureau, the following agenda was adopted and discussed:

— Peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problem.
— An immediate end to the war in Korea.
— The race for armaments and the fight for a Peace Pact.

In the course of the 15 plenary sessions over which the President, the Vice-Presidents and the members of the Bureau presided in turn, 104 speakers from 59 different countries took the floor.

Three commissions worked during the session: one on the peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problem, chaired by Mrs. Isabelle Blume; another on an immediate stop to the war in Korea, chaired by M. Yves Farge; and the third, chaired by Signor Pietro Nenni, devoted itself to the drawing up of an Appeal For The Convocation Of a Congress Of The Peoples For Peace.

During the final general session, these commissions presented proposed resolutions, all of which were unanimously adopted.

In addition to the Call for a Congress of The Peoples for Peace, the session issued:

— an "Address To The Governments Of The Four Great Powers And To All The Peoples On The German Problem";
— a "Resolution On The Struggle Against Japanese Remilitarisation And For a Democratic Japan";
— a "Resolution On The Cessation Of The Korean War".

The Session ratified the text of the Appeal Against Bacteriological Warfare which was issued at the meeting of the Bureau at Oslo (April 1, 1952).

Finally, proposals for new members of the World Council of Peace were presented and accepted. Following are the names of the new members:

CHINA: Mr. LEE I-MAN (replacing Mr. WU LAN-FU), Mr. KUO FANG (replacing Mr. LIU CHING-SAN).
ITALY: Signor Saverio BRIGANTE, Prof. Mario MONTESI, Signor Giuliano PAJETTA.
ARGENTINE: Señora Maria Rosa OLIVER, Señor Alfredo VARELA.
COLOMBIA: Señor Regueros PERALTA.
LEBANON: M. Hussein SEJAM.
NEW ZEALAND: Mr. AIREY.

For the Bureau of the World Council:
FRANCE: M. d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE.
CHINA: Mr. LEE I-MAN (also proposed as secretary).

Appeal & Resolutions of the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace

APPEAL FOR THE CONVOCATION OF A CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The war still going on in Korea, the use of arms of extermination, the revival of German and Japanese militarism, the use of violence against the independence of nations, rouse the concern of every human being, even those who have not realised the danger of war until now.

The peoples of many countries are becoming aware of the danger that they may be drawn step by step into a new world war, regardless of their wishes.

Hundreds of millions of men and women have called for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for strictly controlled reduction of all armaments, and for a Pact of Peace.

In parliaments, in trade unions, in political, social and religious bodies, new currents of opinion in favour of safeguarding Peace are rising. Collaboration between all these forces is possible. This is necessary so that the course of events may be changed and Peace saved.

On December 5th, 1952, the Congress of the Peoples for Peace will begin in Vienna. This Congress should be prepared for in every country by discussions on the widest possible scale.

Men and women of all views and faiths, come together, discuss, and seek out solutions! Choose your representatives for this great gathering!

Your will for Peace must be expressed.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together, on the basis of aims arrived at it common, persons of every opinion and groups or organisations of every kind, who desire disarmament, security and national independence, free choice of their way of life, and the relaxation of international tension.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will bring together all those who wish to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over resort to force.

Peace can be saved!

Peace must be saved!

ADDRESS TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FOUR GREAT POWERS AND TO ALL PEOPLES ON THE GERMAN PROBLEM

Seven years after the crushing of the Hitlerite regime the Peace Treaty with Germany has still not been concluded.

The World Council of Peace interpreting the aspirations of millions of men and women throughout the world, addresses itself to the Governments of the Four Great Powers, the U.S.A., France, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., which, by the Potsdam Agreement, assumed a special responsibility for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It says to them that the time has come to assume their responsibility fully and collectively.

In fundamental contradiction to such a duty the separate agreements concluded in Bonn and Paris on the 26th and 27th May aim at a one-sided settlement. The agreements carry within themselves the rebirth of militarism and of fascism, deepen the division of Germany and of Europe, and are an obstacle to all practical efforts to promote general disarmament.

The peoples know well that unless there is a negotiated solution based on a firm determination to succeed, there is the real danger of there being no other outcome but war.

The World Council considers the best solution to be the immediate convening of a Four-Power conference, the object of which will be to take all decisions with a view to the peaceful solution of the German problem.

It considers, as the best solution, that the German people themselves, through free elections, achieve their unity and give themselves the Government which will conclude a Peace Treaty with all the States against which Hitlerite Germany made war.

This Treaty will have to recognise the right to sovereignty of a unified, democratic, independent and peaceful Germany.

This Treaty, in which Germany will agree not to enter into any military coalition, will fix the methods and times of evacuation of the foreign armies of occupation. It will thus help restore to the Nations of Europe the choice of their destiny in security, co-operation and respect for their independence.

The World Council of Peace, at the same time as it calls upon the Governments of the Four Great Powers, also calls on the peoples of all countries.

It salutes the great movement of public opinion

and the different actions which are developing, unhindered by frontiers and beyond divergencies of ideas or beliefs, against the danger which the ratification and carrying out of the Bonn and Paris agreements will involve.

It assures of its support those vigilant and courageous men and women who in all countries, and especially in Germany, are demonstrating their determination to join forces against this peril and who demand an explanation of the members of their Governments, leaders or Members of Parliament who bear the responsibility of supporting the realisation of these agreements.

The World Council of Peace solemnly declares that the co-operation of all men of goodwill is indispensable to the development of effective action without delay.

It calls upon the trade unions, political parties, organisations, and churches, particularly upon those of Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries and all the nations neighbouring on Germany. It appeals to the rising generation whose future would be ruined forever by war. It appeals to all those who are conscious of the threat which is hanging over the homes of the world, to all those who believe that disaster is not inevitable and that the gravity of the hour demands the greatest confidence in the capacity of the peoples to listen to one another and to find a common path of action.

With all their assembled strength the peoples can, in the months facing us, prevent the ratification of the separate agreements, impose the holding of a meeting of the Four Powers and make it reach a peaceful solution that corresponds to their own security as well as to the national interests of the German people.

RESOLUTION
ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JAPANESE REMILITARISATION AND FOR A DEMOCRATIC JAPAN

The San Francisco Treaty which was signed under pressure of the United States, and the Japanese-American Security Treaty have provoked, only two months after their being declared effective (April 28th, 1952), the strong opposition of the Japanese people who consider that these acts have been forced on them in violation of their vital interests and their desire for peaceful development.

Millions of people throughout the world support the Japanese people in their opposition to these Treaties and the Administrative Agreement following them, because they constitute a danger to the Peace, not only of the Japanese people and the people of Asia and of the Pacific, but also those in the rest of the world.

Events have confirmed the view expressed in the resolution of the World Council of Peace passed at its Vienna meeting, November 1st-6th, 1951. The rapid expansion of Japanese rearmament, the maintenance of U.S. occupation troops and of numerous war bases on Japanese territory, the signing of a so-called Peace treaty with the puppet regime of Chiang Kai Shek accompanied by the American support of aggressive groups in other parts of Asia, can only point to Japan as a base of aggression.

Faced with this threat of the extension of the war in Asia, the World Council of Peace is of the opinion that:

the San Francisco Treaty and the dependent agreements are not valid because of their disregard of international agreements; and must be replaced by a genuine treaty, signed by all interested States. That treaty should provide:

(a) for the withdrawal of all occupation troops and prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases in Japan;

(b) for the full sovereignty of the Japanese people and the necessity for their democratic and peaceful development.

The World Council of Peace salutes the heroic struggle of the Japanese people for Peace, independence and democracy against the forces of militarism and war, and appeals to all other peoples of Asia and the Pacific to give them the maximum support in this struggle thereby helping to ensure their own peaceful and democratic development. It further appeals to peace-loving peoples in all countries whose Governments signed the San Francisco Treaty to struggle for its replacement by a genuine Peace Treaty.

Towards this end, the World Council of Peace calls on the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to make the greatest effort to mobilise the forces of Peace and democracy at the Asia and Pacific Peace Conference to be held in Peking in the Autumn 1952, which will help to find a satisfactory solution to the Japanese problem and other problems concerning Peace in the regions of Asia and the Pacific.

RESOLUTION
ON THE CESSATION OF THE KOREAN WAR

For more than two years there has been conducted an atrocious war in Korea, characterised by massacres of the population, bad treatment and killing of prisoners-of-war, mass bombing of open towns, the use of napalm and poison gases.

The World Council, after having examined all the documents that have been submitted to it, is also convinced that bacteriological arms have been employed.

The American armed forces have repeatedly committed acts of aggresssion against China entailing the risk of a generalisation of the conflict: after the bombing of several Chinese towns, after the use of biological weapons on Chinese territory, after repeated threats of recourse to the atomic weapon, the recent

aerial attacks on the electrical installations of the Yalu, which supply industry of North-east China, constitutes a deliberate provocation designed to render more difficult the conclusion of an armistice.

The methods of war used by the American military command in Korea and the obstacles constantly put in the way of the successful concluding of the armistice negotiations, involves not only the responsibility of the United States, but that of all the Governments who approved the illegal intervention of the United Nations into the internal conflict in Korea, and which have placed their armed forces under the authority of the U.S. High Command, whose action, conducted in the name of the United Nations Organisation, is incompatible with the peaceful aims proclaimed by its Charter.

In order to put an end to the martyrdom of the Korean people and to safeguard Peace, the World Council of Peace calls on all peoples to demand:

(1) The immediate cessation of hostilities by the conclusion of an armistice respecting international laws and customs, the signing of which no longer rests as it does today waiting for the American delegation to abandon its unjust demands concerning the repatriation of prisoners-of-war.

(2) The ratification, and the respecting by all States of the Geneva Protocol of 17th June, 1925, which prohibits the use of bacteriological warfare.

The realisation of these immediate objectives will permit the re-establishment of a lasting Peace in Korea, by a peaceful and fair solution respecting the freely expressed desires of the Korean people and by the evacuation of foreign troops from their territory.

The war in Korea, with the atrocities which are accompanying it, and the use of weapons of mass destruction, constitutes a grave warning to all the peoples of the world.

RATIFICATION OF THE OSLO APPEAL

The World Council of Peace, at its Extraordinary Session in Berlin, approves and ratifies the Appeal launched at Oslo on April 1st by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace against the use of bacterial weapons in Korea and China.

Appeal against bacteriological warfare

We have examined with the utmost care the documents relating to the bacteriological warfare now being waged in China and Korea. This study has profoundly shocked us and filled us with horror. Bacteriological warfare is not only an abominable crime which must be stopped; it is a menace to the whole of humanity.

We appeal to the conscience of all men and women everywhere to call for a halt to bacteriological warfare and to demand the outlawing of bacteriological weapons. Particularly do we address ourselves to the men and women of the United States, for before each one of them there rises a question of honour and human dignity.

The fact that the war in Korea is being waged in the name of the United Nations constitutes a particularly grave circumstance. We place squarely face to face with their responsibilities the Governments that have approved the intervention of the United Nations and which consequently bear moral and political responsibility for the methods of war employed.

For our part, we have a double duty. Firstly, to inform public opinion and make the truth appear clearly in the sight of everyone.

In order that every human being may judge the terrible facts of which we have been made aware, we have decided to publish the documents submitted to us. The utmost possible light must be cast upon these criminal deeds.

With this in view, the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace has proposed the setting up of an International Commission to gather all the facts and all the evidence. The competence and impartiality of this Commission must be beyond dispute. To create it, we shall invite the participation of men and women outstanding in the fields of science, of law and of religion. We are sure that world public opinion will give its support to the efforts of this Commission.

Our second duty is to safeguard all the peoples against bacteriological warfare.

We note that the United States of America is the only one among the Great Powers to have failed to ratify the International Convention of June 17th, 1925, forbidding the use of asphyxiating gases and bacteriological weapons. We call on all the peoples of the world to press their Governments, with the aim of securing that this Convention be signed, ratified and observed by every State without exception.

We call upon them likewise to act decisively to secure that those guilty of employing this most cowardly and monstrous of all weapons be brought as war criminals before a competent tribunal.

In demanding the protection of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty, we are certain that we interpret the feelings of the immense majority of men and women. In their name, we proclaim the most noble of all causes: that of the right of every child to life, and respect for every human being.

If the peoples do not act immediately to stop bacteriological warfare, there will be no bounds to cruelty, nor to the unleashing of the forces of destruction of life.

We call upon humanity to defend itself.

Oslo, 1st April, 1952.

Summary of Reports and Discussion

FIRST SESSION

(Tuesday, July 1st, afternoon)

Presiding: Professor Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE, President of the World Council of Peace, Nobel Prize Winner.

Professor FRIEDRICH, rector of Berlin University, President of the German Peace Committee, member of the World Council of Peace,

welcomed the members and guests of the World Council of Peace to Berlin.

Professor FRIEDRICH stressed the great significance and the dangers of recent international events which motivated the meeting here of this Extraordinary Session.

"We are aware," he said, "that since the signing of the general treaty in Bonn and that of the aggressive Military Pact in Paris, political events in Germany have become the focusing point of the danger of actual war much more so than at the time of the preceeding Session of the Council in Berlin."

Showing that the whole world sees on the one hand the rebirth of aggressive militarism in Western Germany with a great feeling of anxiety and, on the other hand, they see with growing hope the will for Peace which animates the German people, Professor Friedrich pointed out:

"Our contribution to world Peace lies in the struggle against the so-called German Treaty, which is justly named, in the West and in the East of our Fatherland, the general war treaty. We see our principle task in the unceasing struggle for a peaceful solution to the German problem and for restoring the unity of our people."

Giving a brief picture of the recent achievements of peaceful work in the German Democratic Republic, Dr. FRIEDRICH then concluded:

"We are convinced that a united and peaceful Germany can only be constructed if the international agreements in force are respected and if the German people be given the chance to express their opinion freely and openly and to pronounce themselves on their own future."

Monsieur Friedrich EBERT, Mayor of Berlin, gave expression to the welcome of the Berlin population and of the municipality of the city of Berlin.

M. EBERT welcomed, in particular, Frederic Joliot-Curie, the great scientist, and the distinguished personalities who, under his presidency, have come to the World Council of Peace, "the true deputies of the peoples—their authentic representatives."

He noted how much the choice of the city of Berlin for the second time, as the meeting place of the World Council of Peace, puts emphasis on the great confidence that the forces of Peace throughout the world attribute to the will and the peaceful work of the German people and the Berlin population in particular.

"We want to make Berlin," the speaker continued, "into a city of friendship between the peoples, a city of Peace, the symbol of the will to life of the German people, the city of German unity."

Emphasizing in particular how the reconstruction programme for Berlin for 1952 constitutes a real confession of faith in this respect, M. EBERT concluded by expressing the confidence with which the population of Berlin looked towards the work of the World Council. "We are certain," he said, "that its decisions will contribute vigorously to the peaceful solution of the German problem. The decisions of the World Council of Peace will be for us, as for all other peace-loving peoples a guide which will inspire us."

Report presented by Professor
Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE
President of the World Council of Peace

Dear Friends,

First of all I wish to thank the distinguished visitors who have accepted invitations to be present at this session of the Council, and I bid them welcome.

Their presence here is a great stimulus to us, and I am sure that the knowledge and experience they bring will be of great value to us and will contribute to the success of our efforts.

I give my greetings to all the members of the Council present at this session.

The German Peace Committee and the Secretariat of the World Council have made a magnificent effort in organising our meeting here under excellent conditions. I am sure I am speaking in your name when I thank them for their energy and their devotion.

I should also like to put on record how much we have appreciated the kindly speeches of Mr. Ebert and Professor Friedrich, and how deeply we have been touched by the welcome given us by our German friends.

If we meet in Berlin, it is not only, as it were, in memory of our first session when we launched the Five Power Peace Appeal. It is because primarily we wanted to face the difficult problems of the hour in a capital which has acquired considerable importance through recent diplomatic and military decisions, and through the successive visits of those responsible for Western policy.

The grave events of the last few months led the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, which met at Oslo on April 1st, to call an Extraordinary Session here in order to discuss peaceful solutions to the problems which to-day divide humanity, and to find the best ways of putting them into operation.

The recent decisions taken on Germany and Japan, the obstacles preventing the conclusion of a truce in Korea, the use of bacteriological warfare, all show clearly the turn for the worse in the international situation, and give this session an importance of which we are deeply aware.

*

In this introductory speech I would like to give a swift survey of the general situation, and consider the conditions which our campaign must follow. In the course of this Council Meeting our General Secretary will speak on the activity of the Peace Movement and the ways of extending it.

The Bureau propose that in the course of the agenda, general or specialised reports would then be given, providing the basis for discussion. We shall have to examine again, in the light of acquired experience, solutions which were dealt with in earlier conferences; and new proposals will certainly be formulated.

It is not enough in an Extraordinary Session like this to formulate resolutions, however excellent; we must at the same time discover the best ways of putting them into operation. Only on that condition can our resolutions be considered as solutions.

We know indeed that the best of ourselves will go into the task of finding effective solutions, but we know perfectly well that we cannot find all the answers alone. It is vital that we associate in this task all the thousands of men and women who gave us the mandate for our last Congress, all those who have since joined our Movement, all those who, however removed from us they still may be, earnestly desire Peace.

The best way of reaching this end is by way of preparations for a great World Congress. The conclusions we reach at this Council Meeting should become the basis of world-wide consultations. That is why, at the very beginning of this report, I am formally proposing to you, in the name of the Bureau, the calling of such a Congress for the end of the year.

I should like to clarify this proposal a little more. We should never forget in the work we are here undertaking that this is the way to arouse throughout the world yet once again that ferment of explanation, of discussion, of analysis of all these problems, which forces on all those people concerned in the maintenance of Peace the inescapable fact that Peace is their own personal business and that there is an opportunity for them to take effective action to prevent war.

The result of our work, our resolutions and our conclusions, will certainly have their repercussions, from the moment they begin to spread. But even beyond their immediate effects I want to emphasize that they form the basic themes of the vast discussions and argument which will take place in all countries and in all circles.

This is the way the World Council campaign takes form and practical substance. In this connection, would you allow me to remind you of what I said on the 23rd of December of last year, in opening the National Conference of the French Peace Movement:

> "Be well persuaded that all the members of the World Council are profoundly aware that even the mere possibility of success in their actions or their influence depends on the labour of men and women like you, in every land.
>
> "Without the continuous work of explanation and comparison, without the benefit of millions of individual experiences organised in the national movements, without your strength, the World Council would rapidly be reduced to a simple gathering of powerless personalities . . .
>
> "The influence for Peace that the World Council must have on public authorities, on international organisations, whether or not dependent on Governments, will gain in force as your actions gain in strength and energy.
>
> "The World Council will enjoy a wider hearing as and when you gain a larger hearing in your own countries. If we reaffirm that the maintenance of Peace is a matter directly concerning every citizen, we mean once again that

it is your action, united with the actions of each and all of the peace-loving people in every other country of the world, that is in fact the final determining factor."

In the preparation of the Congress all those who already realise the dangers of war, and all those who want Peace, must study the solution which we offer, and discover others. In acquiring a just appreciation of the importance of the problems and of the action to be taken, they will at the same time acquire the power of persuasion which spreads the active will for Peace. This is how millions of men and women not yet associated with our movement will fight to save Peace and without whose help Peace cannot be saved.

It is by bringing the vast majority of citizens of all countries to adopt as their own the just and peaceful solutions proposed that they can efectively be put into practice. In fact, once a really conscious and active public opinion has been created, it will become impossible to make a pretence of ignoring these solutions, and to drag the peoples of the world into a recourse to violence, that is, to war.

It is not enough for the World Council to interpret the feelings of Peace-loving citizens. It must strengthen them in giving them concrete support. It must so act that these feelings and aspirations are translated into positive demands founded on the dictates of Reason.

The power of public opinion, stimulated by the Peace Movement, has already been demonstrated, thanks to the Stockholm Appeal, which prevented the use of the atom bomb in Korea.

A great many statements and declarations have already stressed the part public opinion plays. For instance, here are a few lines from an article published in February 1951 in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists by J. R. Oppenheimer, the American atom bomb expert.

> "I am sure I am right when I say that public opinion is a factor of the highest importance in the employment of atomic weapons. I have been assured of this by many military experts."

On a different level, I may remind you that at Vienna we stressed disarmament problems which had already been dealt with in the Address to the United Nations adopted at Warsaw. During the last General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, public opinion expressed itself in a number of ways, and the President of the General Assembly, Señor Padilla Nervo, emphasised to the delegation of the World Council how essential it was for public opinion to express itself energetically in order to guide the work of the Assembly into channels fruitful for Peace.

During that session of the General Assembly we were able to hand the text of our Vienna Resolutions to all the representatives of the United Nations. A large number of our delegations were received by representatives of the leading Powers, and it is no exaggeration to say that this pressure played a considerable part in the formation of the Disarmament Commission, charged with two main tasks, to eliminate the threat of weapons of mass destruction, and to reach an agreement on the general reduction and control of armaments.

On June 15th, the Disarmament Commission presented a most disappointing report to the Security Council. If that could happen, it was because public opinion was not sufficiently alert and active, and this in turn should indicate to us the way we have to go.

We have seen the effort that has been made in recent months to spread the idea that the only possible solution left was violence, and that the only outstanding issue left was how to create an armed force capable of either dictating its wishes or imposing them by war. No concessions, no appeasement! Only there is another idea which has been presented and which has been gaining ground slowly and surely in the minds of millions of men; the idea of negotiation as against the idea of resort to force.

The Five Power Pact Appeal, launched in this very city, has been accompanied by discussion and argument around the signature campaign which has given all those involved the opportunity of understanding the meaning and appreciating all the implications. They have demonstrated that resort to force is in no sense inevitable, and that all problems and differences can be resolved by negotiation.

We are convinced that in this way we have helped greatly in the creation of a spirit favourable to the idea of negotiation, and there are more and more signs that this is so in circles still far removed from the Peace Movement. To mention only one example among many: the resolution passed by the National Synod of the French Reformed Church, which met in Paris in June 1952:

> "The Synod, greatly concerned by the tension which is exacerbating mutual suspicions both within each country and among the nations themselves, and which is daily increasing the risk of war, has decided unremittingly to exercise all its authority in the service of Peace. They are convinced that it is always possible for Governments to reach agreement through justice, honesty and in full respect for pledges given. We adopt as our own the resolution of the recent General Assembly of the Methodist Church of the United States, insisting that all Governments should continue to negotiate, and should leave the door open to any proposal, no matter whence it comes, which contains a possibility of Peace."

Our Movement rejoices at the evidence of such actions which can only give still stronger support to the struggle for Peace.

*

I should now like to pass briefly in review some of the problems which will be treated more thoroughly in later reports. Two dangerous stages in the preparation for war are the signing of the Treaties with Japan and Western Germany.

The Peace Treaty with Japan, signed at San Francisco, to which neither the Soviet Union nor China were party, has a definitely aggressive character aimed against these two countries.

The reconstruction of the Japanese armed forces, under U.S. orders, the presence of U.S. troops, the setting up of naval and air bases, have made Japan a factor of aggression.

In a speech delivered at Paris on May 5th, 1952, before the Institute of Political Sciences, Mr. John Foster Dulles attempted to justify this Treaty—for which he was primarily responsible—by declaring that Japan was highly industrialised, and it was necessary for the security of the United States that it should be part of the so-called "free world". Otherwise, he declared, it might become a possible instrument of Soviet aggression, without apparently considering for a moment that the Russians and the Chinese might justifiably consider that the San Fran-

cisco Treaty might equally make Japan a possible instrument of American aggression.

Peaceful proposals had been made to settle the problem of Japan, proposals which guaranteed the security of each country while giving Japan the opportunity of existing, in assuring her of supplies of raw materials and outlets among neighbouring Asian countries. Japan, as was explained by Mr. Dulles, must pay for the coal she receives by long sea routes three times as much as she would pay if it came from her neighbours.

In present conditions how is one to solve the economic problems which face Japan? What contradictions! In order to safeguard "their security", the United States are creating a fantastic economic situation in a country which in fact they are colonising, a situation which, as it becomes intolerable, could sooner or later make Japan once more a danger to all.

Official American declarations, however, maintain that the situation in this country is good, and that the great majority of its citizens are in support of the present policy.

No one can be deceived by such assurances; the enormous demonstrations, like those of the last May day, as well as those which took place some days ago, are too revealing.

In his speech, Mr. Foster Dulles declared (1):

> "The Asiatics have not the same deeply ingrained civil and political traditions; moreover, terrified by the ghost of 'Old Colonialism', they are suspicious of the form of association and military position of the free world."

Mr. Foster Dulles was no doubt anxious to condemn "the old Colonialism", but certainly not this "form of association" which reproduces it in fact as demonstrated by the usurpation of sovereign powers to the profit of a controlling nation; by the building of military bases; by an interference in all national affairs, by juridical privileges; by priorities in raw materials, and so on, in fact, by what one can justly call "neo-colonialism". Are not the greater part of the countries of the so-called "free world", already its victims?

The substitution, however, under the pretext of defence of this U.S. "neo-colonialism" for "the old Colonialism" of the former Imperial powers, has given rise to serious difficulties in its turn.

I gave an example at our Vienna meeting when I referred to the bloody incidents in Egypt. Since then, a new and highly significant example of the contradictions which arise between these forms of colonialism—all none the less tending to the same end—has arisen in the case of Tunisia. The independence of Tunisia, justifiably demanded by the immense majority of Tunisians, an independence which would be in itself a guarantee for Peace, is certainly a problem with which the United Nations should deal. The Tunisians, supported by many other countries, presented a demand to the United Nations to put their claims and charges on the agenda. On this occasion the United States found herself in an embarrassing position. On the one hand she claims to condemn colonial powers as such (though she hopes to replace them), on the other hand, she depends on them for her military arrangements. Taking refuge in abstention, she prevented the Tunisian question from being put on the agenda.

This example not only demonstrates all the contradictions of interests inherent in the Atlantic arrangements. It also illustrates the serious fact that this policy deliberately falsifies the whole working of the United Nations, and is a threat to Peace. Which is exactly what Pandit Nehru showed in his speech before the Indian Parliament on June 12th:

> "The Arab and Asiatic nations would be obliged to take the tragic decision to withdraw from the United Nations if two or three powerful nations can prevent discussions there."
>
> "We do not take the decision of the United Nations not to discuss the Tunisian question lightly", he continued. "If the Asiatic and African nations cannot make their voice heard, it may be that they will decide to have an organisation of their own."

The Prime Minister recognised that the United Nations Charter is a good thing, but he added:

> "I am becoming more and more of the opinion that it is not being respected enough and that the United Nations has shifted from its original moorings and has become gradually a protector of colonialism. Many countries are beginning to believe that the United Nations, which was founded to preserve Peace, has become an organisation to prepare war" (1).

But under whose influence is the United Nations shifting its moorings and being transformed into an organisation for preparing war?

The Peace Movement sees in these events additional reasons for supporting the peoples who are struggling for their independence and for continuing to demand a return to the letter and spirit of the San Francisco Charter.

*

A moment ago, I pointed out the serious dangers to Peace contained in the unilateral measures adopted as far as Japan is concerned.

In Europe, we are witnessing an analogous situation and one which also presents grave dangers.

It is a revealing fact that even those who for years have been preparing the present organisation of Europe have not found it possible to admit to what were their intentions from the very first.

In the Parliament of my country, the Foreign Minister, on November 24th, 1949, exposed the dangers of the "active military participation of Germany in the system of European defence"; such participation, he said, would "lead to immediate international tension, to a danger of conflict for which France does not want to run the risk nor bear the responsibility".

It is not by hiding the facts under the deceptive cloak of the "European Defence Community" that the dangers, so solemnly proclaimed a short time ago, can be exorcised.

Under the pretext of unification and economic co-ordination, under the pretext of creating purely defensive military forces, what in fact has just been done is to proceed to the integration of a German militarism and imperialism revived as the core of a bloc constructed and animated with the aim of undertaking a new "Holy War".

We must expose the deception of this "European Community" and its dangers to Peace.

The unification of Germany by peaceful means is ruled out by the policy which is being pursued by

(1) U.S. Information Bulletin, No 1563, May 6th, 1952, page 3.

(1) Re-translated from the French.

those who wish to make the Parliaments of the signatory countries ratify the recent agreements.

In place of this unification, an attempt is being made to create all the conditions which will allow a militarist Government—which has in no way hidden its intentions—to bring about by military force the unity of Germany and to conquer Polish, Czechoslovakian and French territory. The very machinery by which the Third Reich launched the Second World War is being deliberately restored and if the peoples are not on their guard, the same catastrophe will come about.

These dangers are now being perceived by a very large number of German people and by people in all countries.

The hundreds of thousands of French and Italian people, of all walks of life who have publicly demonstrated their indignation against the coming to Europe of General Ridgway is striking proof of this.

If indignation is spreading every day to an ever increasing number of people in these countries, it is because they know that this General has come to constitute an aggressive European army in the heart of which is a supreme Wehrmacht thirsting for revenge; it is because they know that this General will do to their country what he has done to Korea.

Did not "The Times" declare, after the signing of the Bonn agreements:

"This is a dramatic reversal of alliances."

In a remarkable article in "Le Monde" (1), M. Hubert Beuve-Méry concluded:

"A broad section of 'high society' in the West is to-day voting for German re-armament with the same feelings, and with the same perspective, which yesterday brought them to Munich. It was better to handle Germany even if it was Hitlerite and whatever the price that had to be paid, since sooner or later she was to enter into battle with Moscow. To resist her, to weaken her, was to strengthen Bolshevism. To-day, the illusion remains that to re-arm Germany is the only means of holding back Moscow and, as then, whoever dares to doubt this is pilloried..."

In all the countries concerned, the fight has begun to oppose this race to war and here I would like particularly to salute the brave and encouraging efforts in this direction by a very great proportion of the German people.

The World Council of Peace has previously studied these problems and has suggested solutions.

Various offers for negotiations and practicable proposals for discussions have been made by the Soviet Government.

We believe, as the Soviet Note proposes, that Germany must not be part of any group of Powers directed against any peaceful State whatsoever.

It is clear that under the actual working conditions of the United Nations this neutralisation cannot be seriously assured by the admission of Germany to this organisation, as was suggested in the Big Three note of May 13th this year.

A proposal for another Four Power Conference is under consideration, despite the signing of the agreements in Lisbon and Bonn. We must see to it that these negotiations are undertaken. Each defender of Peace must grasp the importance of the declaration adopted by the recent international conference "For the Solution of the German Problem, against Militarism, for Peace and International Co-operation", held very recently at Odense in Denmark. After explaining "that a very serious step towards war has just been taken", this declaration maintains that possibilities exist for the peaceful solution of the German problem.

"The Great Powers can reach an agreement on Germany on condition that the rights which the conference summarises as follows, are recognised:

The right to national unity;
the right to a freely elected Government;
the right to a peace treaty;
the right to sovereignty and to security."

"We are convinced that sufficient guarantees can be found to ensure the security of neighbouring countries; without wishing to state them in detail, in the absence of German delegates, we nevertheless affirm that one of the most important is to be found in the measures taken to assure the free expression and the free development of all the Peace forces in Germany."

"In a similar way to all the delegates of the many nations participating in this conference, we must pledge ourselves 'to mobilise public opinion for a supreme effort to avoid the irreparable and to make the removal of this fearful threat the beginning of a lasting Peace'."

***

It is just a little more than two years since the war in Korea started. The constant concern of the Peace Movement has been to work for an end to the fighting, so that these unhappy people can rebuild their ruins and so that war does not spread over the rest of the world.

On this second anniversary it is impossible without shuddering to count the cost of this war—of which you will hear further terrible details later on.

The armed forces of the United States to which a few foreign contingents have been added, have been called up and public opinion in many countries has been mobilised for the so-called liberation of the Koreans.

Instead of liberation, all the towns have been razed to the ground, hundreds and thousands of men, women and children have been killed by bombs or burned alive by napalm; the discoveries of biology have been used not to heal the sick but to spread epidemic and all this to set up and maintain a dictator whom even his allies cannot help but criticise for his attitude and to stigmatize for the systematic corruption which he has introduced.

For a year now, the armistice hoped for by all the families of Korea, of China and the United States, has not been settled. The history of these perpetually held-up armistice negotiations will be laid before you. The intention not to reach a conclusion is flagrant. Why this obstinate deception of the universal desire for Peace? Is not Korea being considered as a testing ground by those who are preparing for war?

They want to keep military bases close to China which has never been forgiven by leading circles in the United States for having got rid of Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek who let himself—and still lets himself—be ordered around so willingly.

Further, the conclusion of an armistice would threaten to spoil the pretext made by President Truman for the virtual annexation of the island of

(1) "Le Monde" June 11th, 1952.

Formosa. Also the ending of this war would make it still more difficult to persist in the exclusion of the indisputable representatives of 450 million Chinese from the United Nations. Can one imagine, for example, a disarmament convention adopted by the United Nations and to which China would not be a party, solely so that the delegate from Formosa could be maintained as a permanent part of the mechanical majority?

All these reasons have inspired those who, month after month, have invented new reasons to prevent the successful conclusion of the talks.

The latest of the imaginary obstacles relates to the repatriation of prisoners-of-war. From the sensational and contradictory reports which have followed each other for some weeks, it is nevertheless possible to state that the international conventions on prisoners have been systematically violated. Is it not characteristic that General Colson—negotiating the release of his predecessor held by the prisoners he had the task of guarding—had been able to give the assurance "that in future prisoners-of-war would be able to count on humane treatment in the camp in accordance with the principles of international law." In particular, General Colson promised to put an end to the forcible screening of prisoners-of-war, admitting that many prisoners had been killed or wounded by the United Nations forces.

The "Washington Post" wrote in relation to these statements:

"For Heaven's sake, what have we done to Communist prisoners in the past if they are promised these things in the future?"

The events which have occurred in the prisoners' camp on the island of Koje, are extraordinarily revealing.

Veritable warfare has occurred therein and lives have been lost. Finally, how can we fail to judge with the utmost severity the intention of those who asked the agents of the corrupt regime in Formosa to examine Chinese prisoners?

To avoid at all costs a cease-fire agreement, planes have just launched an extremely powerful aerial offensive on the Chinese frontier. Some people are even asking whether the intended objective was not to provoke a Chinese re-action such as would start the third World War. Public opinion overwhelmingly disapproves of these actions.

It is only necessary to see the feeling aroused in the House of Commons in London, and the spirited declaration of Pandit Nehru in India to show that this action is meeting with serious opposition.

It is interesting to note the violent re-action of the American Press to the none the less very cautious words of Mr. Eden. The United States no longer tolerates the criticism of their allies and they have become so accustomed to resorting to force that no doubt they would not hesitate to threaten their own allies.

Our own position remains clear. By all the means in our power and with an ardour which must be reinforced by the knowledge of the atrocious sufferings which this war represents, we must work so that first the fighting ceases and so that the Korean people regain their liberty and independence.

I do not want to end these few remarks on the Korean tragedy without dealing with one of the most sinister chapters in the history of humanity—the use of bacterial weapons by the armed forces of the United States.

Tremendous feeling spread throughout the world on the announcement of the use of this new form of destruction which more perhaps than any other characterises the perversion of science.

The rejections and denials have multiplied, in spite of the accumulation of documentary evidence.

You all know the important resolution adopted by your Bureau at Oslo.

For my part, whatever be the appeals made to me and the pressure brought to bear upon me I remain faithful to the appeal which I launched on receipt of documents sent to me by Kuo Mo-Jo, and I re-affirm all the terms of the letter which I addressed on May 3rd to Mr. Warren Austin.

If the accusations of the use of bacterial weapons have still not had the desired repercussions everywhere, nevertheless they have provoked a lively concern in many circles, notably among scientists. In Mr. Warren Austin's own country, groups of scientific workers with at their head Professor Theodore Rosebury (who was until the end of the Second World War the director of the special laboratories of bacterial warfare) have solemnly asked the Government of the United States in an open letter addressed to Mr. Truman, to ratify the Geneva Protocol of June 17th, 1925. The same demand expresses itself equally in many other countries and in very different social groups.

The resolution made in Oslo on the proposal of the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace, provided for the setting up of an international Commission to go to Korea and China. A Commission of Lawyers, who were on the spot before this appeal, has already ascertained the facts and it has just published its report.

Furthermore, in answer to the Oslo Appeal, a commission composed of scientists from different countries is at present in China. Other experts will join them in the near future. We are all fully aware of the importance that will be attached to the work of this Commission.

In the course of contacting competent scientists, it appears that it will be necessary to consider the constitution of a Permanent Commission of experts: this Commission should be in a position to send teams without delay to the places where notice has been given that new attacks by bacterial weapons have been made.

I would at once like to make the following observation: while redoubling our efforts to bring bacterial warfare to an end, to prevent it from being used again, and to have the guilty brought to justice, we must not lose sight of the great danger which the piling up of atomic weapons constitutes for humanity. The horror which was aroused by the utilisation for lethal purposes of biological discoveries must not lead us into the serious fault of letting it be considered that atomic bombs are merely weapons of a classical kind. Atomic, just as bacterial weapons, are weapons of mass destruction and we must, more than ever, demand that they be outlawed.

This question of outlawing weapons of mass destruction leads me to return to the problem of disarmament which I raised at the beginning of my address.

*

We proposed, first in Warsaw and then in Vienna, solutions which became increasingly well defined.

At the General Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, a first important step was achieved—the

problem of classical weapons and weapons of mass destruction were closely linked and confined to examination by a single Commission.

This Commission, which has just submitted a rather disappointing report, tackled, without being able to solve, the essential difficulty of defining the order in which the various operations and convenants would have to be carried out.

The World Council upholds the view that by the signing of a preliminary Convention, the nations will have to undertake, on the one hand, to outlaw weapons of mass destruction and to control the operation of this outlawing and, on the other hand, to reduce armament. Once these undertakings are signed, it will be obligatory to proceed to a census, and to the setting up of the control organisation. It is clear that the reverse procedure—general census before undertaking to prohibit and reduce—present great dangers, since it would be to the great advantage of a possible aggressor to know by means of the preliminary census the means of defence of the country which he would attack.

It is necessary to recognise that the importance of the order of the succession of operations has not yet been fully understood by many people. It will be indispensable, in our work to be quite precise on this point so as to remove all confusion.

I have had occasion to make a few remarks on disarmament, and particularly on the control of atomic energy, in an article which was published in March 1952 in an issue of the review "Défense de la Paix". I would simply like to recall that the United States is continuing to block practical proposals of control which have been put forward, with the Baruch plan or a similar one.

I would remind you that this provides for the ownership by an international body based on a majority vote, of uranium and thorium mines, raw materials and nuclear industrial installations. This means giving to the United States, by the mechanism of the automatic majority, an actual monopoly over all the atomic activities of the world, and over all the deposits of uranium ore.

The World Council of Peace must recognise, as the many specialists of atomic energy do, that the condition of control proposed by the delegates of the Soviet Union are effective. It is necessary to point out that the proposals imply the relinquishing of important sovereign rights, but this is acceptable since it will be agreed to for the benefit of all in the interests of Peace.

The Baruch plan also implies the surrendering of sovereign rights but to the benefit, in fact, of a single nation only, which is unjust and certainly not in the interests of Peace.

It is necessary to enlighten those who have allowed themselves to be misled and to show them how, once more, the leaders of the United States are disguising the most selfish operations under the guise of generosity.

They base this demand on the wide-spread feeling that the exaggerated concern of sovereign rights of nations has been the cause of many wars and that it is necessary to foresee its abandonment. But as I said at Pleyel three years ago, the normal evolution of the world is certainly towards the disappearance of sovereign rights, and all the more so since the appliances of science tend more and more to link together the interests of all nations. The surrender of sovereign rights can be consented to when it would be to the benefit of all the nations in the world, the well-being of all and for Peace.

But this cannot be agreed to in an unreasonable manner and to the sole profit of a dominating nation. This would then be to play the game of imperialism which would end in those who abandoned their sovereign rights being colonised. Many who before did not believe in these simple reasons are now feeling the harmful effects of this policy which they had hitherto supported, and are beginning to express their disapproval.

The fact that some of these people participated in the Moscow Economic Conference, and the significance of this Conference in such circles, is proof of an awakening, and of the existence of an increasing drift of opinion which is opposed to the policy of conquest of American businessmen.

But uranium is not the only raw material which is preoccupying the attention of the leaders of the United States. And it is important to know all these preoccupations in order the better to understand one of the motives—and not the least important—of the foreign policy of the United States.

The report of the Presidential Commission of the United States[1] on the probable evolution of raw materials from 1950 to 1975, contains a mass of information.

At the present rate of increase of U.S. production which is doubling every twenty-five years, and in a world remaining divided into blocks, without economic relations, the United States could only with great difficulty procure for herself the necessary raw materials without almost totally depriving all her allies of them.

For instance, for oil, rubber, iron ore, zinc and manganese ore, she has so far absorbed half of the world production while only possessing less than 10 % of the population of the industrial nations.

In so far as uranium is concerned, in which she has very few ores, her needs amount to nearly the total production of her Allies (coming mainly from the Belgian Congo), which she uses and stockpiles on her own territory.

How can one avoid seeing in this fear of a famine of raw materials one of the most profound reasons for her "Holy War" policy?

It must be emphasized, however, that this dilemma is an artificial one: either to slow down economic progress, or make war.

It may be very praiseworthy to try and double production every twenty-five years, but not at the cost of producing want in the other countries of the world, not at the cost of war.

The truth is that by relieving humanity of the crushing burden of armaments, by turning the discoveries of science to peaceful uses, by accepting the peaceful co-existence of different systems, it would be easy to double the production of useful wealth every twenty-five years, not only for the United States, but for all the nations of the world.

***

In this preliminary survey of the events which have exacerbated international tension, and which emphasize the danger of a world war, I have tried to throw into relief some of the tasks which it seems to me are of essential importance for the Peace Movement.

It is undeniable that our campaign to prevent war has already had great success. None the less, faced

[1] U.S. Information Bulletin No. 1952, June 19th, 1952.

with the danger which becomes more definite every day, we must intensify the struggle in making the successive objectives to be attained quite simple and quite clear to everyone.

Our Movement is open to all Peace-loving people, and it must be firmly understood by everyone that our sole aim is to prevent the terrible world war that certain people are preparing, and to contribute towards the establishment of a just and durable Peace.

Influenced in various ways, above all by lying propaganda, many honest people still have doubts about the sincerity of our campaign and will not join us. But many of them are not so blind that they cannot see, in the light of events, the real causes of the danger of war. More and more, individually or in groups, they condemn the dangers of their Governments' policy, and take action in favour of Peace. We believe that in taking such action, they strengthen the Peace Camp, even if sometimes they misjudge our Movement.

It is most important that despite the contradictions which still trouble them, these people should have confidence in the value of the strength they represent for the maintenance of Peace, and that is within their reach. We wish them every success in all their activities. We are well aware that these contradictions will iron themselves out if they follow through the path they have chosen, and that it will lead them to the peaceful solutions of the grave problems of today.

The aim is to establish a durable Peace, of benefit to all, whatever way of life is preferred. After all, is this not the point where all these paths converge, the various paths taken at the beginning of the struggle by all the different people who want Peace?

To succeed in our task, we must at every moment as it were, stop to analyse events and their relationships both objectively and carefully. We must understand properly the process by which a very important section of humanity in many countries, desiring only to live in Peace, has been hitherto induced to support or acquiesce in a policy which we know must lead inevitably to war.

Without making any claim to being the only defenders of Peace, we can claim that the value of our basic principles, our experience, the broad composition of our Movement, which is a living example of "peaceful co-existence", allows us to accomplish these tasks successfully, to make our contribution to the easing of the international situation, and to bring to fruition the most effective peaceful solutions. If we, that is each one of us, each defender of Peace, are so strong a factor for Peace, there is no contradiction between personal, political and other convictions, and the means which are envisaged or employed for the maintenance of Peace.

There cannot be such contradictions when men have decided their aim is, without championing any particular regime, to avoid a new and terrible war.

We have already mobilised a force of public opinion with which the forces making for war must reckon, and the success we have achieved explains their fury and the campaign of lies they have unleashed against our Movement. But those who are preparing for war are trying to create psychological conditions favourable to their policy. They know perfectly well that if the great body of public opinion made a stand against them, they could no longer continue this policy with impunity.

Which is why at every step they try to disguise the worst and most sordid of their acts by invoking the ideals dear to every normal civilized man. It is in the name of liberty, social progress, human values, security and Peace that they are trying to induce the so-called "Free World" to accept the military and economic domination of one nation, to the profit of that one nation alone, and, in the end, to accept a war of extermination against those who do not agree with them. They attempt to place the responsibility for all the present difficulties on the shoulders of those whom they call potential aggressors, painting a terrifying picture of their way of life. Their apparent plans for Peace are no other than plans for war, meant to impose in the name of I-don't-know-what divine mission a way of life which in their eyes is the only one worthy of being lived.

What they are trying to create is a "Holy War" spirit; a spirit which has as its final end the extermination, in the name of liberty, of those who prefer another way of life than theirs. How else are we to interpret this speech of President Truman to a delegation of émigré Rumanians on May the 5th?[1]

> "Your country will yet survive as a free country. You shall have our complete collaboration in helping you to survive. And if I am able to continue the programme which I have launched, you shall see your country free again in your lifetime."

A clearer admission that this programme is a war programme could not have been made.

It is often not easy for those people whose social origin and philosophy gives them a preference for a particular way of life, to resist propaganda which leads them to believe that the only way to safeguard it is to support a policy which they know well could lead to war. These people must learn that it is their right to choose their particular way of life, and there is no question of having to support a policy which would impose on them a way a life they don't want. It is the right of every people to choose the regime they prefer. That is the principle of the peaceful co-existence of different regimes which is one of the fundamental bases of our struggle for Peace and which must be opposed to the policy of a "Holy War". The moment that principle is admitted, all differences between nations can be arranged by negotiation, which implies reciprocal concessions and which leads to the operation of peaceful solutions, to everyone's profit.

It is unnecessary to stress here the economic advantages which would accrue to all the nations from peaceful co-existence. Raw materials and markets would be accessible for all, throughout world.

I repeat, the great success of the Moscow Economic Conference testifies to this truth.

If this principle of co-existence is not admitted and "peace" is sought only on condition that one particular ideology or regime must triumph, then negotiation must be rejected, concessions can no longer be made and one's will must be imposed by force, that is to say, by war.

This policy which consists in employing violence and presenting the peoples with faits accomplis is increasingly arousing the concern of all those who,

[1] U.S. Bulletin No. 1578, May 29th, 1952.

for the reasons which I have just mentioned, were induced to support it.

To substantiate this, I will quote an excellent article by Professor Maurice Duverger which was printed in the conservative newspaper, "Le Monde", April 12th, 1952, and entitled "Co-existence or a Holy War?" I quote the following extracts:

> "The first question is the military level which the West finally wishes to attain: Is it a question of equilibrium or one of superiority? Responsible persons here are discreet. Officially, one talks, above all, of equilibrium; in practice, many think in terms of a margin of superiority. The question in itself scarcely makes sense.
>
> "Furthermore, it will always be difficult to gauge whether the equilibrium has been achieved or surpassed. All defeated conquerors believed themselves the strongest at the beginning. The crux of the problem lies in the ultimate aim of rearmament: is it a question of maintaining Peace or destroying Bolshevism? Do we want co-existence or a Holy War?
>
> "Those who bluntly pose this question are generally considered as neutralist, 'cryptos', or traitors. Could it be that the West has a bad conscience?"

An ever increasing number of honest people, faced with the slander and the flagrant contradictions between the words and the deeds of the leaders of the Holy War policy, are beginning to perceive the dangers which they are running. They are discovering that the real objectives of this policy which they supported were in opposition to their deepest aspirations. This complete change of opinion in favour of a true road which leads to Peace is taking place at the present time in the minds of very considerable numbers of human beings.

It is understandable that this growing potential for Peace is not yet able to express itself strongly. When a man has supported in good faith a false "peace" policy for a number of years and begins to realise that he has been misled, he goes through a period of confusion and sees no way forward. A certain time must elapse before he can have confidence again and before he can find the way forward.

And this is an essential part of our task—to give back confidence to those—and they are very many—whose confusion leads to apathy and an acceptance of the inevitability of war.

But there are still others who do not yet realise the harm they are setting in store for themselves and for others by supporting the Holy War policy. In the forefront of these, it must unfortunately be said, are a very large number of American people.

It must be recognised that the American people, who have shown so many admirable qualities, and whose magnificent productive work can be so useful to the world, is suffering from the effects of unbridled propaganda and from a system called "internal security" which is isolating them more and more from the rest of the world.

They are made to believe that their security, the way of life which they love, are in danger, that such is the case for many peoples who are their friends, and in order to guarantee their essential mutual defence or to defend freedom, humanity, social progress, etc. . . . these people are being asked to make very heavy sacrifices in money and in work and even in the lives of many of their young men. Unthinkingly, trusting in the words of their statesmen and their generals, they are ready to throw themselves and the world into a terrible adventure.

How can the American people reconcile the principles they invoke of freedom, humanity and social progress with the fact that wherever, what they believe to be American aid is practised, Governments which are enemies of social progress and freedom, and are hostile to honest dealings, are put into power?

How can these principles be reconciled with the fact that Chiang Kai-Shek has been installed in Formosa, Syngman Rhee in Korea and Bao-Dai in Indo-China?

Does this mean that mutual defence can only be assured by what are the most corrupt and reactionary forces in the world?

This flagrant contradiction is already recognised by many Americans who are courageously struggling to enlighten their fellow citizens.

There are also statements by soldiers, workers, businessmen and tourists who return to the United States after having stayed for some time in other countries under United States influence. They tell their fellow citizens that the people of these countries feel no gratitude towards them. They learn that the reason why there are so many inscriptions on the walls and on the pavements, telling the Americans to go home, is because what they believe to be American aid to these countries has resulted in the worst social reaction, impoverishment, loss of national independence and the persecution of patriots, and that this is realised by people in all walks of life in these countries.

We must help the American people out of the isolation in which they are being kept. By acquainting them with the truth as to the consequences of the policy which they are supporting, we shall rid them of their dangerous illusions and we shall make them conscious of that part of the responsibility which they bear.

We can assure them that their true friends are not to be found in those whom they believe to be such. Would not the preparation of the World Congress present a good opportunity for the millions of men and women, young and old, who are following the true road which leads to prosperity and Peace, to write to the millions of men and women in the United States and enlighten them?

All this activity, in the fore-front of which stand the American Defenders of Peace, will combine to create a healthy and powerful current in the United States.

We must bear in mind that, faced with the dangers which are focussed in a third world conflict, anxiety, weariness and inhibiting confusion have taken hold of a very large number of honest people. In this situation, where it is continually a question of poverty and war, their lives become unbearable and many end by saying "We must put an end to it". This state of mind, once it becomes general, has already in the past led to making the people accept the unleashing of war. In contrast, it is our duty, by showing the solutions and the advantages of Peace, while there is still time, to transform this despair into a will to change the course of events, in favour of Peace.

We must put an end to it—by taking the road to Peace.

*

In the last part of this address, I would like to clarify some aspects of the attitude which must be stimulated throughout our movement if we desire to get broad public opinion invincibly set against war.

If the proposal which is put forward to you to prepare for a great World Congress for Peace for the end of this year meets with your agreement, we will have to envisage during this Council meeting, the general outline of its tasks.

These tasks must be inspired by the will to change the course of events and must lead to solutions for the relaxation of international tension.

We have never, since the beginning of our Movement, since Pleyel, had to confront such a formidable situation. There have never been so many nor such great threats of war.

But I am convinced that without the weight of the World Peace Movement, the situation could be very much more serious. Have we not already succeeded in creating cracks in the war structure?

We must intensify our activity more than ever. The thousands of meetings, discussions and conferences which will start the preparation of the great World Congress we are planning will provide us with powerful means.

We have reason to be optimistic because we perceive that on many sides the war structure is beginning to totter.

In this race between War and Peace, we shall be able to awaken the universal conscience in time and it is Peace which will win.

PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN AND JAPANESE PROBLEMS

SECOND SESSION

(Tuesday, July 1st, Evening Session)

Presiding: Professor Walter FRIEDRICH (Germany), Rector of the University of Berlin, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Report by Mr. Gordon SCHAFFER (Great Britain)

President of the British Peace Committee

Member of the World Council of Peace

on the Peaceful Solution of the German and Japanese Problems

The introduction to the first two questions on the agenda of this Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin—those of Germany and Japan—was made by Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Chairman of the British Peace Committee and member of the World Council.

He referred to them as the "twin problems of Germany and Japan" and said that the one could not be discussed without the other since the two problems were intermingled. Peace had to be won both in Asia and Europe and freedom must be restored both in Japan and Germany.

"Both in Japan and West Germany, the agreement concluded at Potsdam between the war-time allies has been broken. The attempt is being made to force a solution in Asia without the Chinese People's Republic which speaks for a quarter of the human race, without the people of India and without the Soviet Union whose armies defeated the main Japanese land forces.

"In Europe the plan to remilitarise Western Germany is put forward against the united opposition of the people of the German Democratic Republic who have chosen a new path of Peace, friendship and social advance, against the nations in the East of Europe which suffered immeasurably at the hands of the Nazis and against the Soviet Union who bore the main brunt of the bloody struggle against the Nazi aggression."

But in both Japan and Germany the people are refusing to become cannon fodder for a new world war, said Mr. Schaffer and added:

"Later in this debate we shall hear from our friends and fellow fighters for Peace who are in the centre of these struggles. We have here representatives from People's China, from the brave people of Korea, from India, and I hope that the delegates from Japan have succeeded in reaching our Conference. We have here representatives from both sides of Germany, proving that on this platform for Peace the unity has already been achieved for which the whole German people are waiting."

The rest of Mr. Schaffer's speech was devoted to the German problem. He spoke of the "artificial slashing of an arbitrary frontier across the territory of a great nation" as being "an affront to the German people and a perpetual danger to world Peace" and recalled the warning made by the World Council when it had last met in Berlin in February 1951:

"In betrayal of the wishes of the people in whose name treaties were signed insisting on the disarma-

ment of Germany, military and Nazi forces are being revived. This military and industrial re-armament of Germany constitutes the most serious danger of a new world war."

Today, talk of Western German units in a European army has given place to blatent demands for a West German army.

"Herr Blank, Security Commissioner of Western Germany, announces 12 armoured divisions and an air force as great as the one which conquered France.

"The former Hitler generals and their allies in America, make no secret of their desire to recreate West German armies to try once again to fight the war which Hitler lost. Hitler's former generals declare openly that their conception of the so-called defence of the West is to wage war against the German Democratic Republic and the Western territories of Poland. Walter Lippman, the American commentator, has warned that the former Hitler generals seek to drag America and her allies into a war against Poland's capital, Warsaw, and against Kaliningrad in the Soviet Union. Hugh Dalton, the British Labour leader, told in Britain of his horror when he found that certain leaders of the German Social Democratic Party were demanding not only Poland's Western territories, but Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia as well.

"I am glad," continued Mr. Schaffer, "that we can record that these leaders do not represent the majority of the membership of the German Social Democratic Party which is taking a great part in the struggle in Western Germany against the contract signed in Bonn."

Dealing with the fact that the industrialists who financed Hitler were back in power, Mr. Schaffer said:

"West German newspapers have printed exposures showing that 85 per cent of the senior officials in the Federal German Foreign Office were formerly Nazis. In West Germany today men and women who fought fascism are victimised: a Nazi Party card today is too often a passport to high positions . . .

"Hitler's generals are making their own terms. They will only prepare to fight Hitler's war over again if it is admitted that Hitler was right first time; that Hess was right when he flew to Britain in May 1941 to urge the British Government to end the war in the West and join the Nazis in an attack on the Soviet Union; that Himmler was right when he offered to open the gate to the British and Americans in return for assistance against the Russians."

It was in an effort to confuse the people who ardently desired the final destruction of nazi-ism and fascism that certain leaders in Britain preached hatred against the German people because they wanted a war against Germany and not against the Nazi aggressors.

"But," Mr. Schaffer continued, "the peoples learned many lessons during the war. They understood why Hitler Germany was allowed and even encouraged to prepare war. They learned of the role of the international trusts and cartels in preparing for Hitler's aggression. The anti-trust department in Washington published the evidence showing that Hitler's war was made possible by the agreements between the German cartels and the cartels of the United States, Japan and other countries. Hitler had no oil or rubber, but he had coal and so by agreement between Standard Oil and I.G.-Farben, Germany was given every facility to make oil from coal and rubber from oil. Nazi Germany needed tungsten and other rare materials. She got them by agreement between Krupps of Germany and General Electric of the United States.

"Even when war had begun, representatives of Standard Oil of the United States and I.G.-Farben of Germany met at the Hague. They concluded an agreement recording their determination to resume their happy relationship after the war . . .

"Mr. President, fellow fighters for Peace, surely the issue could not be clearer. The tragic years since 1945 can be understood only if one sees them against this background. The cartel kings who gave a pledge at the Hague to resume friendly relations when the war ended kept their promises, the Western powers who signed the agreement of Potsdam to break up the cartels have broken theirs."

"Our world Peace Movement has sought since its foundation to bring behind the banner of Peace men and women of the most varied viewpoints. When we say that we are a broad movement proudly claiming to speak for all sections of our common humanity, threatened by common disaster, we mean it sincerely and without qualification. We have gladly welcomed the support of some who believe that Western re-armament was genuinely planned for defence.

"But on this question of rebuilding a Nazi-dominated Western Germany, there can surely be no division of opinion.

"If the leaders of the Western Powers want the friendship of Hitler's generals, they cannot expect the support of their peoples. If the leaders of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium and Denmark wish to greet as allies those who ravaged and tortured their countries they must expect to meet the anger of their peoples."

Mr. Schaffer then drew attention to the movements against German re-armament parallel to that of the World Council of Peace.

"A group of prominent personalities from France and Belgium, Socialists, Liberals, Communists, retired officers, in fact men and women from almost all shades of opinion in both countries gave their pledge to join in opposing German re-armament and safeguarding the Peace they had won together.

"In March 1951 just under 900 delegates from 17 European countries met in Berlin to voice the opposition of the workers. They called on all workers to unite on this issue and the struggle for a peace treaty with a united demilitarised Germany . . .

"In December 1951 French and German leaders of opinion again from the most varied sections decided at Strasbourg to plan a conference representing Germany and her neighbours. Out of that initiative came finally the conference held just over a fortnight ago near Copenhagen—a conference which gave the most serious study to the many and varied aspects of the German problem and showed that although there are many differences in detail there is a very broad measure of agreement on principle."

After dealing with the opposition of the peoples to

German re-armament in France, in Western Germany and in Britain, Mr. Schaffer said the Session should take note of the danger to Peace implicit in the open threats to use armed force in an attempt to revise the frontiers of Germany and Poland.

"The plain fact is that the demands in the West of Germany for the use of armed force against the Oder—Neisse frontier, backed as they are by shrill propaganda from America and Britain, is the blue print for world war three. These frontiers were agreed by all the war-time allies who also sanctioned the transfer of the German-speaking population. It seems to me that if this Council were to give a warning that potential aggressors are playing with fire by these threats, it would strengthen the cause of Peace.

Frau HOERETH-MENGE (Germany), member of the Munich City Council, member of the Committee of the League for Human Rights, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Recalling the resistance movement in West Germany against the anti-national policy of the Bonn Government, Frau Hoereth-Menge stressed that all honest Germans are fully aware of the value of the Soviet proposals regarding the German question which also correspond to the national interests of the German people as to those of neighbouring peoples. They are fully aware that the German people can assure their existence only if they succeed in putting an end to their division and in creating a united, democratic, sovereign and peaceful German State which will not threaten her neighbours.

Abbé Jean BOULIER (France), Member of the World Council of Peace, then analysed the legal aspects of various aggressive military pacts, particularly the recent Bonn and Paris Agreements.

Mrs. FORCHAMMER (Denmark), Vice-President of the National Council of Women (an invited visitor), explained that, having been frequently a victim of German militarism, Denmark is against any re-militarisation of Germany. The Western Powers have integrated West Germany into the Atlantic Pact. Specifically, she said:

"The neighbouring States clearly see the mortal danger which springs from the re-armament of a Germany which, in the heart of Europe, creates the situation of a new Korea. On the contrary those sections of the population who want a demilitarised Germany, see the creation of a demilitarised zone in the heart of Europe as a decisive factor in reducing tension, and the starting point of general disarmament."

Herr Stephan HERMLIN (Germany), the writer (an invited visitor), showed that the repeated refusals of the Adenauer Government in considering the peaceful proposals of the German Democratic Republic are a reflection of the United States' desire to see German militarism reborn.

He quoted the words of the West German statesmen, Kaiser and Hallstein, claiming Polish, French and Czech territories. The current plan aims at conquering the German Democratic Republic and its realisation would be in conflict with the Potsdam Agreement. Herr Hermlin gave a series of recent facts showing the war preparations of the Western Powers, specifically the organisation of groups of spies and saboteurs. Some of these admitted their acts in court. It was intended to bring back fascist terror and it was openly admitted that there was no question of re-unifying Germany, but rather of "liberating the Eastern provinces."

President Pieck had made it clear that if it was impossible to prevent the putting into effect of the war agreements, the German Democratic Republic would have to think of its defence. Herr Hermlin then spoke of the free and creative work carried on in the German Democratic Republic: "Our workers and our farmers no longer work for the war-lords. They love their new life. They are ready to defend their soil and their factories. They will also defend the confidence which other peoples are beginning to place in us."

THIRD SESSION

(Wednesday, July 2nd, morning)

Presiding: Signor Ricardo LOMBARDI (Italy), Deputy, former Minister, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Bruno FREI (Austria), journalist (an invited visitor), said that the Austrian people know that a peaceful solution of the German problem, such as the Soviet Government has proposed, would also mean a peaceful solution of the Austrian problem. The United States want to make Austria a fortress between Germany and the Balkans; the Austrian rulers favour these plans, in alliance with the Yugoslav Government. They plan to turn Austria into a "bulwark" between East and West when by nature she is a bridge between them. But the determination not to participate in any military alliance is grow-

ing daily; the will to remain neutral is being strengthened.

Mme Isabelle BLUME (Belgium), Deputy, Secretary of the World Council of Peace, drew attention to the danger which the extension of the European Union to the Scandinavian countries represented from the viewpoint of political power. Although it does not make sense, many people have been taken in by it. The detrimental action of the Strasbourg Council has been to create supra-national powers, such as the Schuman Plan and the European Defence Community. These supra-national powers present a serious danger since they are beyond parliamentary control and permit men who are not responsible to their people to create situations of conflict, without the people having a chance to intervene.

Mme BLUME then proceeded to define forms of activity against the authoritarian powers in the Defence Community; the Peace Movement in each country must win over its Members of Parliament and, if possible, its Government; it should try to reach the Catholic Church and the Socialist Party. Parliaments of certain countries could appeal to the Members of Parliament of the six countries involved. A document on the European Defence Community needs to be published. Our voices should be heard by the Council of Europe and the people must be won over through thorough-going work of enlightenment. But above all, we must carry on a vast campaign among the people of the United States to acquaint them with the truth about these problems.

Sig. Saverio BRIGANTE (Italy), First Honorary President of the Supreme Court of Rome (an invited visitor), made it clear that the United Nations had not been created to establish or maintain certain balances of power with the aid of military coalitions, but to achieve united world action for Peace. To assure the application of this new principle, there can be only one force, that of the United Nations. The military treaties concluded at present within the framework of the Agreement on the European Army and dealing with the establishment of bases, the passage and stationing of troops on foreign territories, are therefore in contradiction with the U.N. Charter; the Charter in fact provides that no such agreements could be arrived at and concluded except upon the initiative and with the participation of the Security Council. With such agreements, Sig. Brigante stated, we have therefore returned to a system of military coalitions which cannot safeguard Peace.

"Any preventive treaty, even to prepare for urgent military steps, belongs exclusively to the domain of the Security Council, assisted by the Military Staff Committee.

"The movement of armed forces from one country to another constitutes in itself a danger to Peace; only the Security Council has, therefore, the power to co-ordinate, control and direct.

"Obviously, we must recognise the right to resist an armed attack, even collectively, but to exercise this right of legitimate defence we cannot have preventive armament treaties not planned by the Sovereign World Power, that is by the United Nations and, for the latter, by the Security Council. Otherwise we shall fall into the old system of coalitions which, up to the present, has perpetuated war in the world, and not Peace."

As for the German problem, Sig. Brigante noted that because of her artificial division, Germany cannot but aim for re-unification through all available means. The re-unification of this country must be accomplished, but for this we must adhere to the principles of International Law.

Leon KRUCZKOWSKI (Poland), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, speaking in the name of the Polish people, communicated the emotion and indignation of that people, so cruelly hit by the last World War, at the signing of the treaties which will reconstitute an aggressive German army; this is a new step towards war, a threat to the security of the other nations and specifically those who are neighbours of Germany. It is also an act aimed against the national sovereignty and the fundamental interests of the German people themselves.

The speaker then emphasized the ardent desire for Peace of the great majority of the German people. Seven years after the victory which was won in a common struggle against Hitler imperialism and militarism, the great majority of the German people are rising up against the attempts being made to drag them into the new plans of U.S. imperialism.

The sincere relations of friendship, good neighbourliness and co-operation which unite the German Democratic Republic and Poland are also an essential token of Peace and happiness.

Mme Elin APPEL (Denmark), professor, Member of the World Council of Peace, then dealt with the creation of a unified, neutral, demilitarised Germany without any alliances which must become the concern of the Four Great Powers.

She was followed by **Arnold ZWEIG** (Germany), the writer, Deputy, President of the Academy of Fine Arts and Member of the World Council of Peace. He showed that German unity, if constituted democratically, will threaten neither the security of neighbouring countries, nor the Peace of the world.

Mr. Babo ZACHARESCU (Rumania), professor of political economy (an invited visitor), stressed the importance of the economic questions in the dilemma: Peace or war.

Trade relations between the countries of South-eastern Europe and Germany should be improved to the mutual advantage of these parties and in the interest of Peace. At one time these relations were very important. Ever since 1945, the economic life of the South-eastern European countries has been transformed and developed; this represents a more fertile field for trade than a backward economy. It was proved at the Moscow Conference that Rumania, for example, could buy much German merchandise and in return sell, among other things, large quantities of oil and agricultural products. On the whole, such exchange would make possible a constructive and peaceful development of the German economy. Mr. Zacharescu showed on the basis of statistics that the volume of trade is growing between the countries of South-eastern Europe and the German Democratic Republic.

Contrasted with this, and despite the mutual desire for trade, commercial exchange between these same countries and Western Germany have dropped because of the attitude of the Occupation Powers. The

division of Germany therefore becomes a deterrent both to international commerce and to the development of Germany's economy which some consider a dangerous competitor. The rulers of the United States want to hold the German economy in a state of bondage. Leading economists and businessmen of West Germany protest against this situation and consider the development of German-East-European commerce preferable to the arms' race for the maintenance of Peace.

FOURTH SESSION

(Wednesday, July 2nd, afternoon)

Presiding: Alexander FADEYEV (U.S.S.R.), writer, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Meir YAARI (Israel), Deputy, Member of the World Council of Peace, dealt with the struggle of the people of Israel against the re-militarisation of Germany, against the preparations for aggression in the Middle-East and specifically against the projected Middle-Eastern Pact.

M. Jacques DENIS (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, Member of the World Council of Peace, stated that, in order to set up new German and Japanese armies, many young people are needed, and to make them accept military service, it was necessary to deceive them. The principal theme used is that of a "United Europe", and within this framework, that of a "European Youth".

He made it clear that the promoters of this idea are agents of the U.S. Information Service and army and American businessmen. Their main task consists of preparing the youth for the European army with the aid of newspapers and other publications, in a spirit of revenge against the Soviet Union. But the young people are not ready to accept these lies and M. Denis gave many examples to prove this. He stressed, however, that we must not underestimate the continual effort made to poison the minds of the youth, particularly in the schools, while national traditions are being trampled upon; this is doubly important since continuously worsening living conditions may more easily drive the youngsters into the army.

Europe's youth must again find common interests in peaceful and constructive relations by being offered a noble, beautiful and inspiring goal.

This must become not only the concern of the young people, but of the entire Peace Movement.

Herr FRENKEL (Germany), an invited visitor, showed how legally invalid the treaties of Bonn and Paris are. The only legal basis for a German settlement is the Potsdam Agreement.

Frau FASSBINDER (Germany), professor at the University of Bonn (an invited visitor), said that her remarks would centre on the neutrality or the neutralisation of Germany. Being a member of the "Emergency Organisation for European Peace" and working in close collaboration with Pastor Niemöller and other personalities, her contribution would reflect their conceptions, generally identical with her own.

Frau Fassbinder dealt with the roots of the idea of neutrality: the example of Switzerland and Sweden; the fear that Germany might again become a battlefield; the knowledge that her military strength does not correspond to the demands of today's weapons, and so on. How did political figures like Pastor Niemöller, Dr. Heinemann and Frau Helene Wessel envisage this neutrality?

Not a unified Germany tied to Russia, but not a unified Germany tied to the Atlantic Pact, as envisaged in the Contractual Agreements, either.

What remains to be decided is whether this should be an armed, unarmed, or slightly armed neutrality.

She thought that it would be appropriate to safeguard the borders within the framework of a United Nations force to maintain order, since Germany would be a member of the United Nations.

She made it clear that what she had just said represented possibilities, and not present conditions. In such a neutral Germany, the much feared Nazi ideas would have little chance to develop.

In conclusion she affirmed that the road of fruitful neutrality for Germany can be found only in Peace.

Sig. Giuseppe NITTI (Italy), Deputy (an invited visitor), took the floor in the name of the delegation from the Odense Conference and was attending the Council meeting as an observer.

He gave a brief account of this Conference, emphasizing its independent character and the diversity of membership it had obtained, and then showed that the peaceful solution of the German problem could not prevail while the country remained divided; it could only regain its sovereignty through a genuine Peace Treaty. The Contractual Agreements which are an open violation of the Potsdam Agreement, aggravate the division between the two parts of the world. The Odense Conference showed that the chances of Peace depend on the recognition of the rights of the German people and on valid guarantees for the neighbouring countries. In the absence of the German delegates the Conference was unable to deal with all these problems. A Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem will take place in the near future.

M. Abderrhaman BOUCHAMA (Algeria), architect, Member of the World Council of Peace, then described the danger which the rebirth of a militaristic and revanchist Germany would represent for the peoples of North Africa.

Dr. Jean-Pierre MAY (France), Member of the World Council of Peace, emphasized the aggressive nature of the Bonn and Paris treaties which carry with them dangers of which ever larger sections of the French population are becoming conscious.

FIFTH SESSION

(Wednesday, July 2nd, night session)

Presiding: KUO MO-JO (China), writer, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Frau Charlotte FLEISCHMANN (Germany), District President of the Christian-Socialist Union (an invited visitor).

The speaker conveyed greetings and a message from Dr. Josef WIRTH, former Chancellor of the Reich, from Wilhelm ELFES and Frau von KARDORFF-OHEIMB, a member of the "Congress For Mutual German Understanding and an Equitable Peace Treaty", who were unable to obtain their interzonal passes to participate in the Session.

First she said that the "Work Circle for German Understanding" to which she belongs, has recently had very satisfactory contacts with all groups in Western Germany. She continued:

"We are wholeheartedly opposed to the General Treaty and to all agreements attached thereto. Not only do they run counter to the national interest of the German people, but they also create a threatening state of affairs which corresponds neither to the Hague Convention nor to the right of sovereignty, nor to any other right commonly accepted among nations.

"This general treaty would mean for Germany a permanent state of division and would be instrumental in keeping our people forever deprived of their legitimate rights."

In conclusion, Frau Fleischmann demanded the constitution of a united and strong Germany, a guarantee for a democratic regime, a guarantee for Peace in Europe.

Professor Felix IVERSEN (Finland), President of the Pacifist Council, Member of the World Council of Peace, exposed the dangers threatening Peace through the attempts of the Western Powers to bring about German unity by the use of military power on the part of Western Germany.

Herr TAFFERT (Germany), a farmer (an invited visitor), then told why the farmers of the German Democratic Republic want a united, peaceful Germany.

Wanda WASSILIEVSKA (U.S.S.R.), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, stated that the General Treaty is a war treaty, and no effort is being made to conceal it. The provisions of the treaty envisage the possibility of intervention—under various pretexts—of American-Anglo-French troops stationed in Germany. This, in fact, deprives the Bonn State of all sovereignty. These provisions bear a grave danger for Peace. Certain modifications in form do not change at all the fact that Western Germany will be kept under the control of the occupation troops.

Mme Wassilievska, quoting examples from history, declared that a restored German imperialism would not content itself in trying to reconquer the Eastern territories, but would also menace the West. She then spoke of how the former Nazi generals are put back into the saddle, how Western Germany is being oriented towards war production, including the manufacture of bacteriological weapons. This policy has for its purpose, according to Herr Adenauer, the setting up of "a new order in Eastern Europe". Furthermore, one article of the Bonn treaty provides that these provisions would eventually be extended to all of Germany. Moreover, it becomes clear that this treaty is to play the same role as the treaty with Japan.

The demands of hundreds of millions of men and women the world over are expressed in the following terms:

—Conclusion of a Peace Treaty with Germany;

—A chance for the German people to lead a normal life in a normal state;

—Germany to cease being a threat to Peace and to become a truly democratic State.

—Such a Germany to enjoy full sovereignty which, among other things, would imply her right to have an army for defence.

We have faith, the speaker went on, in the possibility of a peaceful solution of the German problem because we have faith in the struggle of the peoples, in whose front ranks stand the German people. She closed by supporting the proposal of President Joliot-Curie, and by asking that the World Council of Peace appeal to the Four Great Powers to meet with the aim of discussing free elections and the formation of a Government for all of Germany, the prompt conclusion of a Peace treaty and the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany.

Walter DIEHL (Germany), a student, Member of the World Council of Peace, then showed that the peaceful unification of Germany would be the starting point for a general peaceful solution in Europe.

Frau Anna SEGHERS (Germany), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Frau Seghers made several suggestions:

"'The White Book'—how are we to present such a book based on authentic material which we know so well here in Germany? I will give you just one passage which might well appear in such a book and which would open the eyes of a lot people who are still far from us.

"Before 2,000 Bonn students, the War Minister of the Federal Republic, declared recently:

'French public opinion believed that they were on the side of the victors and that France had won the war.' The report states that there was prolonged laughter. When this had subsided, Herr Blanc added:

'I think I must have made an unintentional joke.'"

Frau Seghers continued:

"I consider that we, the German Defenders of Peace, must consider it an honour to be given the task of making this 'White Book' which should demonstrate not only the level of militarisation in Western Germany, but also the important changes which are coming about in the heart of the German people. The German people have learned how to distinguish between their old and their new friends. And at this point I come to what Herr Hermlin said yesterday:

'The different groups from Germany who are partially represented here, the different parties, philosophical conceptions:... must make contact, without hesitation, with the corresponding groups amongst other peoples.'

"We promise the greatest response from a meeting of the mothers of the entire world for the defence of their sons. There is no woman, be she black, white or yellow, be she a Soviet woman, an American, a French, English or German woman, who would want to give up what she holds most dear as cannon fodder. That is why the idea of this conference, which is as simple as it is powerful, must find an extensive and deep response."

Colonel MANHES (France), President of the International Resistance Federation (an invited visitor).

Col. Manhes spoke in the name of the International Resistance Federation. It was useless, he said, to try to make the resistance fighters believe that a divided Germany constitutes less of a danger than a unified Germany: the lesson of Korea has not been lost. The fight of the German people for unity is just. Since certain groups do not believe in the possibility of a peaceful solution of the German problem, it becomes necessary to carry on intensified activities to clarify public thinking on the development of the German people. In the face of a campaign of lies, we must bring about an understanding that the peaceful solution of the German problem is to be found in the signing of a just Peace Treaty with a unified, democratic and peaceful Germany and a refusal to become involved in any bloc or coalitions directed against a former Allied State.

Professor HROMADKA (Czechoslovakia), Member of the Central Committee of the Council of Churches, Member of the World Council of Peace, spoke of the bonds of friendship which unite the German people and those of her neighbours.

Vaino MELTTI (Finland), a civil administrator, Member of the World Council of Peace, then spoke of the opposition of the Finnish people to the reviving of the German military forces, as well as to any participation in the Atlantic Pact.

SIXTH SESSION

(Thursday, July 3rd, morning)

Presiding: Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER (North Africa), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

The first speaker, **Mr. Desmond BUCKLE** (Union of South Africa), a Member of the World Council of Peace, spoke of the struggle of the South African peoples against racism and fascism, a struggle which is an integral part of the fight for World Peace.

Sr. José Luis MASSERA (Uruguay), a mathematician, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Sr. Massera stressed the close connection between the war preparations in Germany and Japan on the one hand, and in Latin-America on the other. They are the same kinds of military pacts, the same plans to utilize the economic potential, the same attacks against democratic freedoms and the Defenders of Peace. Consequently, it becomes impossible to separate the struggle of the German, Japanese, Korean, French and Italian peoples from the great struggle for national independence of the peoples of Latin America.

The Latin Americans understand that if war broke out in Europe, their countries would be immediately involved through the bilateral treaties. For this reason they have a deep interest in the German problem.

Mme Aneska HODINOVA-SPURNA (Czechoslovakia), Vice-President of the National Assembly, Member of the World Council of Peace.

Recalling the pact of Munich which opened the way to World War II, Mme Hodinova-Spurna commented that also today war treaties are being signed, while the talk is hypocritically of Peace. The Czechoslovak people are all the more opposed to these treaties since they see themselves directly threatened by war preparations which are setting up a German army on their borders with former nazi generals under Ridgway's command. The recent agreements signed by the Western Powers with Adenauer are intended

to nullify the Potsdam Agreement, against the interests of Peace and against the wishes of the German people. The plans of the imperialists, Mme Hodinova-Spurna warned, are bound to fail. The peoples of the world fight for Peace. The Czechoslovak people are ready to lend all their aid to the German people for the building of a peaceful State.

With the speech of Mr. KAWAMURA (Japan) the discussion on the Japanese problem, which was included the first point on the agenda, commenced.

Mr. KAWAMURA (an invited visitor) demonstrated that Japan is today the biggest war base of the United States in Asia. But her rearmament is being hampered by the will for Peace of the Japanese people. The struggle of the Japanese workers was well demonstrated by the four general strikes in defence of their liberties and democratic rights. The events of May 1, 1952, were the high point of these manifestations. On that day, 4,000,000 workers were gathered in 400 organised meetings throughout the country. The workers know that the suppression of their freedoms opens the road to war. Because the struggle and the people's happiness are constantly blocked by the war policy, it will not be easy to make the latter succeed. Rearmament crushes the economic life, the young people fight against conscription and the peasants rise against the confiscation of their land for military purposes. Manufacturers and businessmen demand the re-opening of trade with China and the USSR. This shows the possibility of developing a very broad national movement, encompassing all sections of the population. This movement cannot be stopped by the intensification of the war policy of the Yoshida Government; on the contrary, this can only lead to an intensification of the struggle for national liberation.

Mr. Kawamura stated that the establishment of a People's China was considered a profound historical lesson by the Japanese people, themselves engaged in a national liberation struggle. He pointed out that the spirit of internationalism, demonstrated by the Chinese in coming to the aid of Korea in defence of Peace in Asia, showed the Japanese people that solidarity with all Asian peoples was the road to follow. Furthermore, the revelations about bacteriological warfare and the murder of prisoners-of-war have increased the hatred of the Japanese towards the American occupiers and have stirred them to intensify their fight against war, for the immediate withdrawal of the occupation forces and for national independence. The speaker added: "The national liberation movements of the South-Asiatic countries such as Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Malaya and Burma are bound to be more closely linked with the struggle of the Japanese people. The Yoshida Government, upon orders from the Americans, pursues a so-called plan of South Asian development with regard to these countries which, in reality, is nothing but a disguised method of robbing them of their strategic raw materials, and of building military bases on their territories. The Japanese and South Asian peoples must join hands in order to doom these policies to failure."

Mr. MEI JOU AO (China), a lawyer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

The signing of the San Francisco "Peace Treaty" with Japan, without the participation of India, Burma, the USSR and the People's Republic of China, the conclusion of a "Security Pact" between the United States and Japan, the signing of the "Administrative Agreements", the dissolving of the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council for Japan, the treaty signed between the Yoshida Government and Chiang Kai-Shek, all these are measures which violate international agreements with the aim of re-militarising Japan and of turning her into a centre for war in the Far East, a base and dependency of the United States.

United States troops will continue to be stationed in Japan and will continue to establish numerous air and naval bases there under different forms and names. Japanese military groups are being set up, comprising hundreds of thousands of men, with heavy equipment and a U.S. officer's corps. A Japanese air force is in the process of being formed, the production of weapons is being taken up on a large scale and the Japanese war criminals have been freed.

A heavy burden weighs on the Japanese economy; 70 per cent of the budget is designated for war, more than 10,000,000 workers are unemployed, the people are undernourished and there are no freedoms.

Such a situation menaces the Peace of Asia and the world. But the Japanese people, despite overwhelming difficulties, carry on an incessant, courageous struggle which is constantly growing. All Asian peoples consider the struggle of the Japanese people their own. The great success achieved by the preparatory Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Countries, recently held at Peking, is an example.

Mr. U. HLA (Burma), a writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, in the first part of his speech showed that for nearly five years there had been no

Peace will be assured if all peoples unite and join forces.

Mr. Arild HAALAND of Norway (an invited visitor) spoke of the opposition of the Scandinavian peoples to Germany's rearmament, and expressed himself for a unified and neutral Germany.

Peace in Burma. Profiting from the worsening of Burma's economic situation—which the imperialists themselves had provoked—they were extending their domination and turning Burma into an aggressive base within the framework of their general plan for war. But they clashed with the peaceful desires of the Burmese people who were struggling against the re-armament of Japan, against the war in Korea and the bacteriological bombardments. This struggle of the Burmese people linked up with the world struggle for Peace. In order that this struggle should be victorious and the general war plans of the imperialists be put in check, unity was an essential condition.

Señor Eduardo MORA VALVERDE (Costa-Rica), (an invited visitor), explained how the people of Central America fight against the San Francisco Treaty and against imperialism.

Señor Manuel CRUZ from the Philippines (an invited visitor), then painted a picture of the struggle of the Philippine national liberation movement against the transformation of its country into a base of aggression for the United States.

Mr. SURJONOGORO (Indonesia), an industrialist, (an invited visitor) observed that by her geographical position and natural wealth, Indonesia was in the front rank as a producer of strategic raw materials. She has also been called upon to furnish manpower for the next war. As a result of war preparations, misery and famine reign in the country. Fifty per cent of the population suffers from tuberculosis. In Indonesia, democracy has been destroyed, fascist laws have been created to break the resistance of the people. The Indonesian people demand:

—Withdrawal of foreign troops from Japan;
—Non-intervention in the internal affairs of Japan;
—Full freedom for the Japanese people to make their own unfettered choice;
—Sentencing of war criminals recently cleared;
—Prohibition of the use of bacteriological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction;
—A new Peace Treaty with Japan and annulment of the San Francisco Treaty;
—A peaceful solution of the Korean problem and the conflicts in Viet-Nam, Malaya, Laos and Cambodia;
—The conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

Sra. Mireya LAFUENTE (Chili), an artist, (an invited visitor), said that the revival of Japanese militarism and its alliance with the United States constitutes a threat to Peace, and to the security and sovereignty of the countries bordering the Pacific. The people of Latin America know that Peace in Asia means Peace for them as well as respect for their sovereignty.

The San Francisco Treaties and the continuation of the Korean war, together with the use of bacterial weapons, is a threat to the Chilean people.

Sra. Lafuente then referred to the military pact between Chile and the United States, which means in fact the total surrender of the country into the hands of the United States. With united forces the people are waging an energetic struggle against the Pact, in the interests of the country and for Peace in the Pacific.

Mrs. Jessie STREET (Australia), was a member of the Australian delegation to the Conference on International Organisation (San Francisco 1945) at which the United Nations was constituted; Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mrs. Street recalled the treaties signed last year between the United States and the different countries of the Pacific (the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Japan). All of them had features in common, and in common with the Atlantic Pact, and all referred back to the United Nations Charter. They were all, however, in contradiction to many clauses of the Charter, particularly those giving the Security Council the chief responsibility for the maintenance of Peace in the world.

The "threats of aggression", moreover, invoked to justify these Pacts were nothing but pretexts, since the word "aggression" was used for all the efforts made towards social and national liberation by the peoples of the world. Furthermore, the authors of these pacts did not hide the fact that these Pacts were designed to "liberate" those countries which had adopted a new social order.

These two aims were condemned by the United Nations Charter, which stipulated the rights to independence of all countries, and no interference in the affairs of other countries.

Mr. Mulk RAJ ANAND (India), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, recalling the history of Japanese imperialism, remarked that the current attitude of the United States towards Japan shows that the lesson of Pearl Harbour has been forgotten. The San Francisco Treaty seriously affects the peoples of South-east Asia. China who did so much to conquer Japanese imperialism, was not consulted, the USSR was ignored. The reason for this is that the treaty seems designed to prepare war against these countries. Concluded, as it was, without taking into consideration the treaties of Yalta and Potsdam, it cannot be considered valid.

The plans which now are to be realised in Europe have already been put in practice in Asia.

The peoples must wage a united struggle to obtain a just Peace Treaty with Japan, an end to the war in Korea, the representation of China in the United Nations and the return of Taiwan to China. The treaties with Japan and Germany are imperialist plots to subject the world. The peoples must transform the fight for Peace into a fight for truth. If those who know the truth remain silent, they act like criminals. The Indian people were well aware of the crimes committed in Korea and were also conscious of the responsibility they bore humanity.

Hon. Ivor MONTAGU (Great Britain), publicist, Secretary of the World Council of Peace, drew a parallel between the current situation in Germany and that of Japan and showed that both fit into the "global policy" of the United States.

AN IMMEDIATE END TO THE WAR IN KOREA

SEVENTH SESSION

(Thursday, July 3rd, afternoon)

Presiding: Leopold INFELD (Poland), scientist, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Report by Mr. KUO MO-JO (China)

the writer, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace,

on The Cessation Of The War In Korea

Mr. Kuo MO-JO proposed to limit himself to a few general remarks on the Korean problem.

He recalled that the war has been in process for two years, and the armistice talks for almost one year. The unreasonable demands and provocations of the Americans, he said, have hindered the success of the negotiations. Under the circumstances, the Chinese and Korean peoples have shown great patience and extreme firmness.

There remains only one problem to be settled; that of repatriation of prisoners-of-war, and discussions on this problem have lasted since last November. Mr. Kuo MO-JO went on:

"In reality there is no problem. According to historical precedents, and particularly on the basis of the Geneva Convention of 1949, the two parties must repatriate their war prisoners as soon as fighting has ceased. War prisoners cannot give up their privilege to return home to a life of Peace. However, the United States are not inclined to observe the Geneva Convention and instead demand the right to continue to hold more than 100,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners-of-war. This, ladies and gentlemen, is how the armistice talks have been stopped."

The U.S. representatives use different means and pretexts to suspend and delay the negotiations. Yet, the Chinese and Koreans, according to Mr. Kuo MO-JO, have made important concessions; in particular they have agreed not to send the repatriated prisoners back into combat.

The speaker then examined the general attitude of the Americans which shows their intention to undermine the negotiations.

First of all the large-scale use of bacteriological weapons while the negotiations were going on.

Furthermore, the huge massacre of Korean and Chinese war prisoners on the isle of Koje. What was the reason for this action? The refusal of the prisoners to submit to the pressure put on them by the Americans so that they would refuse to be repatriated. This has been admitted by the U.S. camp commandant.

Finally, on top of all this, the hydro-electric stations of the Yalu river have been bombed. These are the common property of the Chinese and Koreans.

We appeal to the peoples of the world to help realise the following objectives:

(1)—To put an immediate end to the use of bacteriological weapons and to ask the peoples of all countries to request their respective Governments to ratify and observe the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925 on the prohibition of the use of bacteriological weapons.

(2)—To put an immediate end to the murder of peaceful civilians and the blind destruction of quiet cities and peaceful construction work.

(3)—To put an immediate end to the ill-treatment and massacre of prisoners-of-war which is contrary to International Law.

(4)—To arrive at an immediate agreement in the armistice negotiations so that the two parties will be able to repatriate their war prisoners unconditionally, in accordance with the Geneva agreement of 1949 on prisoners of war.

(5)—To bring about immediately a settlement of the Korean problem on a reasonable basis of equality, after the conditions of the armistice have been agreed upon.

In conclusion, Mr. Kuo MO-JO maintained that the peoples who are masters of their destiny cannot be subdued, and he closed with this serious advice:

"Let the people of the world arise and put an end to the serious threat of this war crisis. The people of the United States of America have a special responsibility to save the world from this calamity which could cause tragedy beyond all imagination.

"Scientists, and particularly American scientists, have the moral responsibility of putting science in the service of humanity and of preventing its use as a weapon of massacre."

Mr. HAN SER YA (Korea), writer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

The speaker emphasized that if the negotiations in Korea fail it is because the U.S. Government does not want Peace, as was proved by the unleashing of the bacteriological war while the negotiations were in progress.

The Korean people have countered these barbarous methods very effectively. Furthermore, a great wave of protest has arisen in all countries of the world and has made it impossible for the Americans to hide their crime any longer. The desire for war on the part of the U.S. Government has equally been proved by the obstacles placed in the path of the armistice negotiations in regard to the prisoners-of-war issue, in violation of the Geneva Convention of 1949; by the indescribable cruelties inflicted upon the prisoners in connection with the so-called "voluntary choice" at Camp Koje. The speaker then related that the imperialists have intensified their barbaric attacks on non-military objectives and against the population. They have proceeded with heavy bombing of the hydroelectric stations on the Yalu river in trying to provoke a renewed total outbreak of the war in Korea and its transformation into a third world war.

Report by M. Yves FARGE (France)

President of the French Peace Movement, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace,

on "Bacteriological Warfare, the War in Korea and its International Consequences"

After explaining the circumstances in which he went to Korea with the writer Claude Roy as delegates of the French Peace Committee, M. Farge showed how all the evidence which had been placed before him concerning bacterial warfare had been diligently sifted and whenever there was the slightest doubt as to whether certain phenomena may or may not have been caused by natural circumstances, the Korean authorities themselves had asked him not to take them into consideration.

Because he did not claim any scientific training, M. Farge had surrounded himself with scientists and doctors, many of whom had received part of their training in Western Universities and institutes such as in the Universities of New York, Harvard, Paris, the Institute of Tropical Medicine in Liverpool, and so on.

As a result of his investigation, M. Farge had reached the following conclusions:

"There is in existence a concerted and studied plan controlling the development of the bacterial war, and this plan has become apparent during its course;

—The essential aspects of the unfolding of the attack coincide with the military and scientific data published in the United States in books, periodicals, newspapers and reports;

—The laboratory findings in Korea and China corroborate the admissions of prisoners, even though these admissions contain scientific heresies;

—Biological war as now being waged must be looked on as a stage in a sequence of atrocities, a stage which may lead to the use of atomic devices whose presence near the theatre of operations is known...

"A study of the whole of the files made it possible to show that the aggressor set out from the first to solve the problem of widest possible artificial dispersal of pathogenic agents, by wind or by man; hence, for the former method, the use of leaves, feathers and paper, for the latter, the scattering of insignificant objects that a passer-by might put in his pocket without thinking twice about it. But it was very soon understood that this was, if I may put it so, simply the professional craft aspect of bacteriological warfare, and that thorough collation and comparison of facts was necessary on a much deeper scale.

"From this moment, certain facts which had been obscure became plain. The question had arisen: what was the significance of the meat and dead animals dropped by aircraft but not carrying bacilli? From the cases examined and collated it became clear that the meat and carcasses had been disseminated. It was obvious, therefore, that the flesh was intended to create favourable conditions for the breeding and survival of the flies bearing pathological agents of intestinal infections."

And M. Farge continued:

"Another question had arisen: what was the significance of the tree-leaves dropped by aircraft. What was their target and what were they for? It was necessary to collate and compare the observations made in Korea and in China to notice that these leaves were generally scattered in regions where silkworms are reared or cotton grown. The solution of the problem did not belong any longer to the microbiologists, but to the Institute of Agricultural Research in Peking, whose job it became to isolate a parasite on the leaves dropped on silkworm-rearing areas, and a pathogenic fungus on the similar leaves dropped on cotton fields.

"The first example I have taken from the sphere of epidemiology, which affects man directly, the second from the sphere of agriculture, where the evidence discloses a plan to starve mankind of produce; the third I shall take from the industrial sphere and cite it as illustration of intent simultaneously to harm economic life and human life.

"It concerns attempts to poison sea water. These attempts have been made in the areas that restock the fisheries of the Gulf of Pechili and on the North coast of the Yellow Sea. Insects carrying typhoid bacilli—particularly a kind of cockchafer—were scattered broadcast off the seacoasts around the ports of Dairen and Tsingtao; these two ports are separated from one another by some 200 miles as the crow flies. This naval operation against the coasts of China constitutes a direct act of aggression against that country."

M. Farge was told by microbiologists that the cholera bacteria dispersed in or near reservoirs by U.S. aircraft are—like the plague bacilli—of exceptional virulence.

"In one of the laboratories I visited there was a map of Korea on which were marked 340 red dots. The dots were scattered over the whole area of North Korea, they were particularly dense round towns and villages, traffic junctions, sheets of water and springs.

These 340 spots each represented bacteriological warfare attacks carried out by one or more aircraft. Do not conclude from consideration of this map that there had been only 340 bacteriological attacks on Korea: I must make clear that the 340 were attacks which had been investigated and clarified, having been made the subject of check and cross-check.

A first survey of this map and of the files on which it was based disclosed the following three plain features:

(1) The intestinal epidemic diseases spread by insects and objects have been dropped on or near reservoirs, springs, streams and rivers;

(2) Diseases of the respiratory system, particularly plague, have been spread by insects or objects dropped on the ruins of towns and villages and on the places where troops or civilians have congregated in conditions of precarious shelter;

(3) At traffic junctions and on lines of communication there has been a special air drive utilising appropriate methods, among them spraying of aerosols by jet aircraft."

Summing up this section of his speech, M. Farge concluded:

"Whichever way you look at it, the Korean dossier is impressive: it shows that in its plan of bacteriological aggression the American General Staff took into consideration the geographical, climatic and demographical conditions of the country, and this study must have required long premeditation and minute preparation."

M. Farge then showed how the bacterial phase of the Korean war could be explained. In a country that is absolutely destroyed by "ordinary means" of warfare, but in which the people do not admit defeat, these "ordinary means" no longer paid. It is at this point that bacterial warfare appeared and it was intended to reach the people among the ruins.

Dealing with bacterial attacks against North China, M. Farge stated that, since the liberation, a great effort has been made to educate the population in sanitary precautions.

"... The protective steps adopted as soon as bacteriological warfare started have been thorough to the last detail. Thus in every village, town and city, watch towers have been erected; competent inhabitants ensure round-the-clock observation by taking watch in turn; with the aid of loud speakers or gongs, they give the alarm to the population, who scrutinise the sky as soon as the noise of an aeroplane engine is heard.

"In these conditions, the dropping of bacteriological containers can scarcely escape the vigilance of the population and anti-epidemic services are quickly on the move.

"So it was that in old Manchuria, organised in this way to meet the menace, the following was observed: on April 4th, 1952, a large number of voles, dead, half-dead, and in a small proportion still living, were dropped on the roofs, courtyards and ponds of 31 villages and townships of a district that had just been flown over by U.S. aircraft. Seven hundred of these voles were picked up: they carried plague. Plague had never been known in this district, either amongst men or animals.

"The Mukden zoologists, like those of Peking, say these voles do not correspond to any of the 15 known kinds of small rodent in Manchuria. I have one of these voles in my possession, together with other incriminating evidence brought back from my journey, including a variety of spider of which the country of origin should be determined. Similarly I have also brought back, so that our own scientists can associate themselves with the research, a very complete file of documents dealing with the cases of encephalitis which have appeared in the regions flown over by U.S. planes; for in certain regions of North-East China, in circumstances exactly established, an unknown infectious disease has made its appearance; its clinical symptoms coincide with those of acute encephalitis, but at post-mortem some cases show pathological changes characteristic of pneumonia. Its character as an induced disease is not open to doubt."

M. Farge then dealt with the allegation in the West that plague has been introduced into Korea by the Chinese volunteers. The futility of this suggestion is exposed by the fact that simultaneous operations on men, cattle and crops have taken place (using the same pathogenic agents) in areas often very far from each other. He said:

"... It is difficult to imagine how, naturally, on the same territory and at the same time of year, could spread:

(1) Microbes intended for man, which, consistent with the means of diffusion we have outlined, use all the agents and means of locomotion given by the geographical, demographical and climatic conditions of the country and season;

(2) Microbes affecting animals, dropped on the places and at the time most likely to result

in the most serious epizootics, such as the bacillus Pasteurella multicida borne by wolf-spiders and the anthrax bacillus borne by feathers.

(3) Agents carrying pathogenes capable of destroying, or in any event spoiling, crops. We quote, for example, maize dropped on maize-fields in leaf (carrying bacilli of maize anthrax); ripe soya pods and stems dropped on fields where soya shoots are just beginning to come up (carrying the cercosporiosis virus of soya); dry leaves—such as we have already described—carrying agents of diseases capable of attacking mulberry trees, that is to say, centres of silkworm culture, and also agents capable of infecting cotton plantations.

"Can reason accept simultaneity as a natural circumstance when it takes this character: the same objects and the same insects carrying the same pathogenes appearing at the same time in Korea and in North-East China? The black springtail, the big house-fly and the chironomid midge carrying typhoid bacillus; spiders and small fish carrying dysentery bacillus, the stable fly and wisps of cotton carrying paratyphoid bacillus; spiders and feathers carrying anthrax bacillus?"

After describing his interview with the prisoners-of-war, Lieutenant John Quinn and Lieutenant Kenneth Enoch who had confessed to taking part in germ raids and given a good deal of other detailed information, M. Farge had this to say:

"Quinn and Enoch give the names of two civilians who came to instruct their groups and squadrons on bacteriological warfare; they give another 18 names of officers who received these instructions with them.

"A first and vital question must be put to Mr. Acheson: do these two civilians and 18 air officers exist? And if, as I believe to be the case, there are religious leaders in the United States whose moral authority is unchallenged, could they not be asked to come together, and call upon these 18 air officers to take an oath upon the Bible that Enoch and Quinn have either spoken, or violated, truth?"

M. Farge added that:

"John Quinn is a Catholic, he knows the value of example, and that is why he has launched the following appeal. 'I appeal not only to Christians, but to whomsoever is able to help outlaw bacteriological warfare, with such urgency, that it may never again be used. I have never heard of a religion that would not forbid employment of a weapon whose nature renders it particularly effective against women and children.'

"Because I asked him how he reconciled his obligations as an officer with his duty as a civilised man, he replied: 'My duty is to the people—and not only to the people of the United States—but to the peoples of all the world'."

Refering to those whose repugnance of the very idea of bacterial warfare prevents them from examining the evidence which goes to prove that it is in fact being waged against Korea and China, M. Farge warned:

"If the Korean war is a testing ground for the war that may be waged tomorrow, it is also a testing ground for every man who claims to think, judge and act. The razed towns, the massacred civil population, the burning napalm which turns human beings into torches and pulp, the poison gases of which too little has been said; today the viruses, the vibrios and the microbes, tomorrow the atomic weapons. Beware, the depth of horror felt may become the extent of horror realised!"

M. Farge also asked:

"But I ask all the defenders of Peace in the World, all those of courage and feeling, to keep clear before their eyes this other picture that I bring back from Korea.

"In the evening, when the guns are silent, talks take place from trench to trench, on the horrors of the slaughter, on the bloody trickery that is all this war amounts to for the Americans, on inhuman bacteriological warfare. Chinese volunteers and Korean soldiers start discussions with the soldiers opposite.

"Meetings have already taken place between the lines; soldiers have lost their lives coming out of the trenches to talk to their enemies.

"Is this not a great lesson for the Peace Movement?"

And added:

"The things I have so recently seen have made me realise that, while events are growing graver, duty demands that we should be ever more patient, more obstinate, more all-inclusive, in seeking ever broadening bases of agreement and action."

In conclusion he posed three questions "to all who are disturbed, uneasy or anxious". They were:

"—Biological warfare began in those same first six months of 1952 during which the Government in Washington has been giving back their arms to the Nazi and Japanese war criminals. Does not this bacteriological warfare amount to resumption—on the scale of an experiment on the entire human race—of the cruelties of Nazism and fascism?

—We have known wars that were undeclared. With biological warfare are we not entering an era when war need no longer be admitted?

—If it be so—and this is my third question—have we done all we should have done that, one day, we may not be forced to admit that the Third World War began in fact on the territory of Korea with experiments in methods and arms of mass destruction?"

And finally:

"All these evils, all these miseries, all these tragedies I have described, we must ceaselessly tell to those about us: Take care! Indifference and inaction are, even now, the faults that conscience will never forgive!"

Mr. H. C. A. LASSEN (Denmark), a professor (an invited visitor), then suggested that negotiations between leaders from East and West was the only means of settling the germ war.

M. Pierre BICQUARD (France), a physicist, (an invited visitor), then demonstrated how bacterial warfare was being waged and how it had been prepared in the United States over a period of years.

EIGHTH SESSION

(Thursday, July 3rd, night session)

Presiding: M. Louis SAILLANT (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Nazim HIKMET (Turkey), the poet, Member of the World Council of Peace.

The strikes of dockers in the port of Alexandretta, supported by merchants, workers and peasants, was an expression of the will of the Turkish people resolutely to oppose the sending of soldiers to Korea and the unloading of American weapons. Out of 18,000 Turkish soldiers who were sent to Korea, 12,000 are already dead or wounded or have been made prisoners. On returning to their country these soldiers speak about the atrocities of the Korean war, in the cities and villages. In this way, with the return of these soldiers from Korea (who in turn are being hunted arrested, and tortured by the police), there grows the condemnation of and action against the Government and its policies. Some of these ex-Servicemen are even hiding in the mountains and fighting the police, arms in hand. Mr. Hikmet then read a series of news items published in the Turkish Press which show the intensity of the struggle of the Turkish people against the war in Korea and for Peace. This struggle links soldiers, peasants and workers closely, and despite tortures, despite the arrest of 1,300 Defenders of Peace, the Peace Movement in Turkey is growing.

Professor Louis HIRSCHFELD (Poland), bacteriologist, (an invited visitor), then called upon all the scientists of the world, especially those of America, to take a stand against bacteriological warfare.

Mr. DUONG BACK IEN from Viet Nam, (an invited visitor), brought the Session and the German Defenders of Peace the warmest greetings of his people, engaged in struggle for their national independence and World Peace.

He branded as barbaric and inhuman the acts committeed in his country against old people, women and children, and showed the heroic resistance of the civilian population. The army of aggression also tries to starve the Vietnamese people by systematically destroying the crops and burning and massacring everywhere. The aggressors want to drag the young Vietnamese into a puppet army against their compatriots in the People's Army, but they are not willing to accept this shameful slavery. Mass desertions are spreading in the army of Bao Dai, units of which are joining the People's army, sometimes in whole companies.

This struggle is an integral part of the struggle in defence of World Peace. The people of Viet Nam are aware of their great responsibility before the entire world. While engaged in armed struggle with the French colonial aggressor, the Vietnamese fully realise that the peaceloving French people are their closest comrades in the struggle and enthusiastically follow the activities carried on in France against the "dirty war". They are equally closely bound to the peoples of North Africa who are fighting to win their national independence.

Mrs. Mary JENNISON (Canada), Secretary of the Canadian Peace Congress, (an invited visitor), brought greetings from the Rev. James ENDICOTT and then showed how a broad movement for an end to the war in Korea has developed in Canada.

Metropolitan NICOLAI (USSR), Member of the World Council of Peace.

After discussing the problem of germ warfare unleashed in Korea, as well as the crimes committed on the prisoners-of-war and the recent provocations perpetrated by the bombing of the Yalu river power stations, the speaker then appealed to the dignity and honour of the American people. American Christians, he stressed, among their own people, owe it to themselves to induce their Government to end the germ war and to ratify the Geneva Convention. Moreover, the American people would save their honour and their dignity in punishing the criminals of the bacteriological war.

This appeal to the American people, the majority of whom are Christian, would win the support of all honest men.

Metropolitan Nicolai then recalled the important Conference of churches and religious associations of the USSR, held recently, which showed that the basis for a general agreement finds its broadest expression in seeking and defending Peace. This Conference launched an appeal to believers everywhere in the world, calling upon them to support the decisions of the World Council of Peace. He concluded by calling for the unity of all who hate war.

NINTH SESSION

(Friday, July 4th, morning)

Presiding: Mr. MUKAROVSKY (Czechoslovakia), Rector of the Charles University, Prague, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mrs. Rose KOSKY of Great Britain, (an invited visitor), spoke of the struggle of British women against the Korean war; she also mentioned that the latter demand the immediate exchange and repatriation of war prisoners.

Mr. FANG CHIH CHAU (China), doctor of medicine, (invited visitor), acquainted the audience with the facts and evidence regarding germ warfare which he had personally witnessed as a member of the medical corps.

Mr. Felix IVERSEN (Finland), President of the Pacifist Council of Finland, Member of the World Council of Peace, then indicated that the duty of the United Nations was to arrive at a quick settlement of the Korean conflict, rather than continue it.

Mr. John Adams KINGSBURY (United States), former adviser on the Social Security programme in the Roosevelt administration, (an invited visitor).

Mr. Kingsbury expressed his confidence in the power of the Peace forces and remarked that the reason for his belief, among others, was that he had just returned from China where he had seen the extraordinary confidence in the ultimate victory of Peace on the part of the Chinese people. According to him, the Chinese people are not fighting against the American people but for their own basic interests.

He was convinced that, some day, the American people will understand how much they owe the Chinese and Korean martyrs. If the American people knew the truth, they would be horrified over the use of bacteriological weapons, just as are all other peoples. Mr. Kingsbury pledged to bring that truth to the American people, on the basis of his findings.

Professor Heinrich BRANDWEINER (Austria), professor of Canon law, Member of the World Council of Peace, dealt in a short speech with the violations of International Law committed by the U.N. troops in Korea.

Mr. H. C. CROWTHER (Great Britain), scientist, Member of the World Council of Peace, made it clear that in order to advance the fight for Peace among the peoples of Western Europe, the war-makers had to be denounced.

Sr. Diego MONTANA CUELLAR (Colombia), professor of law, (an invited visitor), described the struggle of the Colombian people against the sending of troops to Korea.

Report by M. Jean LAFFITTE (France)

General Secretary of the World Council of Peace,

on the Armaments Race and the Fight for a Peace Pact

M. Laffitte proposed to deal with the campaign for a Peace Pact and the possibilities of broadening it.

The idea of a Peace Pact is not only our own, he said; it is supported by public opinion outside of the Peace Movement which at first hopes for and then demands the same solutions as we do. He developed the basic reasons why we are asking for a Peace Pact.

First of all, because there is no other way of avoiding war apart from an understanding between the Great Powers, and then, because the Pact is precisely the most important action for ensuring that the spirit of negotiation prevails over resort to force. In other words, because the Pact can become the symbol of peaceful co-existence which would be recognised and accepted first by the parties involved, and then by the entire world.

M. Laffitte reviewed the considerable progress made in the world by this idea of peaceful co-existence. He quoted in this respect certain stands taken by individuals, particularly in connection with the last session of U.N. and recently by the Methodist Church of the United States.

He remarked that if today statesmen, heads of Governments, organisations and the most diverse movements are forced to mention co-existence more and more frequently, it is because the desires of the peoples on that issue are a known fact.

Any assurance of a possible and desirable co-existence is first, and above all, the reflection of the peoples' wishes.

Nearly one-third of the world's population, had so far pronounced itself in favour of a Peace Pact, although no more than half has been reached. Never before in the world has there been a will expressed with such power.

M. Laffitte then posed the problem of broadening out as a permanent and fundamental necessity on which depends the success of all past and future activities of the World Council. Peace cannot be saved by one single country, nor by a single people, but only by the united efforts of all the peoples. For example, it would be just as nonsensical to pretend that Peace could be achieved without China, as it would be to think that it could be done without the United States.

The World Council of Peace has set itself the task of making representations to the United Nations and of reminding it of duties of its mission. During the last General Session of U.N., the repercussions of the

peaceful aspirations of the people were already greater than they had ever been before. M. Laffitte then analysed the progress made through meetings with international organisations, such as the World Council of Churches, the International Red Cross, Quakers and others; through the constant broadening out of the World Council itself; through the holding of important regional conferences in the preparations for which the Council had helped and encouraged; through the great success of the International Economic Conference of Moscow; through the preparation of an International Conference of Doctors, supported by the World Council, and through international meetings of scientists, educationalists, film technicians, town-planners, and so on.

Without wanting to play a monopoly role in such undertakings, M. Laffitte stressed, the World Council encourages them and calls upon the Peace Movement to support any gesture or activity, from wherever it may emanate, which on a given issue contributes to an exchange of views and mutual understanding. In closing, M. Laffitte emphasized that: "If it is true today that international tension has increased, it is also true that the chances for unity to save Peace have never been greater. Never before has the Peace Movement had so many known and unknown defenders."

Mr. Leopold INFELD (Poland), scientist, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, emphasized that the American people must be convinced that in fighting for Peace we are fighting also for their happiness. We cannot hold the American people responsible for the acts of their Government, and we must understand that "these men and women have been crushed by an avalanche of lies and deceits, poured out by the most ingenious advertising agents the world has ever known". They have been convinced that when we speak of Peace we mean to weaken America with a view to attacking the "Free World". Mr. Infeld thought that this had to be taken seriously and an answer given to it.

Speaking as a Polish citizen, Mr. Infeld declared:

"I would like to tell them more dramatically than I can do here that 6,000,000 Poles perished during the last war. I would tell them what it means to rebuild Warsaw, what it means to rebuild Poland, my country, that the war almost completely destroyed physically and economically . . .

". . . Neither my own Government, nor any Government of the countries we proudly call the Peace-loving nations has ever attacked anyone because he or she spoke or worked for Peace . . .

"If these Governments to which Poland is bound by ties of friendship did not yearn for Peace and if they believed that talk for Peace is a softening-up process then they too would fear talk of it . . ."

The most important job is to convince the American people that when we speak of Peace we really mean Peace. The rest will be easy, because from the moment that this conviction will have taken roots, the post-war political events will become easily comprehensible and appear in their true light.

Mme Eugénie COTTON (France), President of the International Federation of Democratic Women, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, recalled that the recent Conference in Defence of Children in Vienna led people of very different opinions to undertake the fight for Peace. The sensitive feelings of women and all people who have a heart leads them to that consciousness of Peace. That is the spirit of Peace and tolerance.

In addition Mme Cotton noted that since the signing of the Bonn Treaty, the analogy between the war in Korea and that now being prepared in the heart of Europe becomes more and more evident.

She asked for a tremendous campaign of explanation allied with positive action against German re-armament. She demanded that an appeal be made to the American people directly and quoted an example of French women who sent a letter to American soldiers in France; she suggested a meeting with American women. Mme Cotton closed in expressing her conviction that in the fight for Peace, the women will be able to carry with them all those as yet undecided because they do not know that they can win Peace, as well as those who are hostile because they do not know the facts.

TENTH SESSION

(Friday, July 4th, afternoon)

Presiding: Professor J. D. BERNAL (Great Britain), Member of the Royal Society, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Report of Professor J. D. BERNAL on Disarmament

Professor Bernal began by saying that current international problems were open manifestations of a deeper problem—re-armament and disarmament—and that it was the duty of the Peace Movement to show that the way out of the steadily worsening situation was through negotiation and disarmament.

Previously the World Council had re-affirmed its beliefs in a policy of comprehensive, fair, rapid and practicable disarmament, in the general proposals in Warsaw in 1950 and, more precisely, in the Vienna resolution in 1951.

"But we have done more than that," he declared.

"The activity of the Peace Movement has turned what were blind fears and vague aspirations of the peoples throughout the world (and not least in countries most active in waging the cold war) into a clear demand for disarmament. This popular demand proved its effectiveness in forcing the issue of disarmament in the United Nations. The Sixth Session of the General Assembly set up a Disarmament Commission which for the first time was charged with considering together as one single problem the reduction of armaments and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction. It thus had in its power the achievement of a genuine disarmament."

But this was not to be, said the Professor, because of the attitude of certain Powers "who make no secret of their policy of accelerated re-armament."

Re-armament was the genuine policy of these Governments—"the Realpolitik in which they are following the footsteps of ill-fated militarists of the past. **Disarmament** is merely a polite gesture which they have no intention of turning into action but which they perform to quieten the fears of their own people and to make them believe that the hard sacrifices which they are called upon to bear are only temporary. **Re-armament** is serious policy; **disarmament** is not.

"It is our main task in the World Peace Movement, and especially in the Peace Movements in the countries of the Atlantic Pact, to reverse this attitude. We have to see to it that Governments take disarmament seriously and abjure re-armament altogether.

"This is by no means an impossible task, or even one that need take very long to perform. If our movement lives up to its responsibilities it should be able to gain enormous support from the spontaneous reaction to the universal and ever-growing experience of misery and frustration that the policy of re-armament is imposing on the peoples throughout the world . . .

"People are beginning to see that this policy of Peace through strength is only another name for an armaments race and to realise that it conceals an intention to launch, when the time is ripe, a new Holy War to liberate the countries of Europe as far as the Urals, and to restore to China the 'free' Government of Chiang Kai-Shek and the open door to American enterprise."

Professor Bernal then showed how in Britain advocacy for war has to be disguised as "liberation" without making it clear that this would mean aggressive war, because of popular resistance to this policy—a resistance which is increasing.

He went on to show how the re-armament programme everywhere was getting into serious difficulties—partly political, partly economic. He mentioned specifically the resistance of the German and Japanese peoples. In spite of all attempts to restore reaction, owing to the resistance of the peoples, "the timetable has gone seriously wrong".

"The overwhelming force anticipated in 1952 is now delayed to 1954 or 1955 and that delay is of the utmost importance for it gives the possibility for the forces of Peace to rally and by their united action to bring the whole process of re-armament to a stop."

As far as the economic factors are concerned, mass unemployment and economic slump is being added to the lowering of the standard of living of the peoples of the Atlantic Pact countries.

"Partly due to the violent price fluctuations produced by the starting and stopping of United States stockpiling, but even more to the diminution of the purchasing power of the workers, consumption goods, particularly textiles, cannot find buyers and the classical symptoms of a slump appearing even in America despite the gigantic sums spent on re-armament.

"In Britain the long period of full employment is over, and nearly half-a-million people are unemployed. These effects are made worse by concurrent dollar crisis so that the whole economy is threatened. The Government is desperately trying to maintain its re-armament policy in these unfavourable circumstances, but it has been forced to delay its execution and opposition to it grows from day to day. The Labour Party can no longer be counted on to support American policies regardless of the consequences. Important sections of it have already voiced their opposition and there is no doubt that these are supported by an enormous majority of British workers and by a substantial proportion of other sections.

"Analogous developments, but of an even sharper political character, have occurred in France and other European countries. Even in the United States itself the great oil and steel strikes show that the economic effects of re-armament are making themselves felt there as well. People, not only workers but businessmen, are looking for some escape from the intolerable economic situation where, not only any hope of improvement, but even an expectation of maintaining their situation, is rapidly vanishing.

"Here, despite all the determination of the directors of policy in Washington to resist, it will be impossible to shelve for much longer a genuine move towards disarmament. What form this should take is a question which our movement should examine and re-examine with the greatest care . . ."

The Disarmament Commission at the United Nations had done nothing to clarify this question, continued Professor Bernal. From the outset there was a contradiction between a plan—essentially American—which was merely concerned with specifying the stages of revealing information on armaments (leaving atomic and bacteriological weapons to the last) after which any discussion of reduction or limitation might occur; and the plan of the Soviet Union in which an agreement for a one-third reduction and abolition of weapons of mass destruction under strict control should come first, to be followed immediately by a full declaration at one time of all forces and armaments, including atomic armaments. No effective approach between these two standpoints had been made. Although by May, "it was becoming painfully apparent, even to well-intentioned supporters of American policies, that the disarmament conference was leading nowhere", nevertheless, a serious examination should be made of the Three Power proposals to place upper limits on the armed forces of the Five Powers—the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China to be allowed from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 men and Britain and France to be allowed 700,000 to 800,000 each. There was nothing in the proposal about limitation of armaments or the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

"In the first place, for all their apparent precision, the proposals are remarkably vague," commented Professor Bernal. "It is not at all clear what 'armed forces' mean. A trained infantryman forms a count-

able unit, but armed forces can include or exclude almost any type of man, particularly in the technical services. The plain intention of this vagueness is to limit severely infantry formations while leaving the door open for an inflation of nominally civilian workers in scientific weapons radar, atomic bombs, as well as auxiliary naval ratings, staff of bases, etc. Even if such evasion were rigourously excluded, the arrangements still operate enormously in favour of the Atlantic Forces with their high proportion, especially in their air and naval services of mechanised equipment to manpower.

"Nothing whatever is said in the proposals regarding limits for armaments . . . Limiting manpower alone would inevitably lead to a greater development relatively or even absolutely of mechanical equipment, using highly trained cadres. It would put a premium on the use of 'scientific weapons'.

"The figures presented are clearly there for propaganda purposes; they bear no relation to military or economic realities. France and Britain together are allowed armed forces equal to those of the Soviet Union with nearly twice the population. 'China' is given only as much as the United States with hardly more than a third of the population. No mention at all is made of Japan or Germany. Such proposals can hardly be treated as serious and it is not surprising that Mr. Malik would not consider them as a basis for discussion. They can hardly have been considered as such by their proposers. If armed forces mean what they say, it would imply the reduction of United States forces by more than half. If the U.S. Government are apparently willing to reduce their armed forces by more than half, it seems very strange that for months on end they have refused the Soviet Union's proposals for a reduction by a third . . ."

Professor Bernal then dealt with the futility of discussing disarmament in a commission of the United Nations as at present constituted, that is without the People's Republic of China being represented. In fact any real attempt to discuss disarmament must include China "and this in itself in a decisive argument in favour of immediate Five Power negotiation," he said.

Another important aspect of the discussion at the Disarmament Commission was the consistent rejection of any attempt to prohibit atomic or bacteriological warfare.

". . . the American representatives revealed very clearly what they understood by atomic energy control. It was for them a matter of directing—preferably by purchase—all atomic material to the uses that the Atomic Development Agency should decide. Such a policy is clearly incompatible with the plan of any nation to use atomic energy in its own way for constructive purposes but perfectly compatible with the ultimate retention of stocks of atomic bombs."

The same strong resistance was shown to all attempts to control biological warfare and "it was painfully clear that the retention of both atomic and biological weapons was being defended at all costs . . ."

Professor Bernal continued:

"If we are to succeed, and we must succeed, in bringing about disarmament while there is yet time, we can expect nothing from Governments overtly committed to re-armament and ever more rapid preparations for war.

"The Disarmament Commissions and the proposed Disarmament Conferences will not succeed in achieving disarmament unless they are backed by public opinion more powerful and more vocal than anything we have ever seen up till now.

"Yet we have today, more than ever before, a reasonable hope of achieving this result. As time goes on, the policy of re-armament is creating by its economic and social consequences a powerful opposition which is only beginning to learn its strength.

"People of all occupations . . . need, and need desperately, a reasonable hope of some way out of the fate that hangs over them. That lies, as we know, in negotiation and disarmament, but it is not sufficient for us to know it. It is not sufficient for us to be able to produce, as we produced in Warsaw and Vienna, a reasoned plan along which re-armament can be reached. We have to present this plan in a way that the people can adopt it and press for it as their own. We do not claim that we have the precise formula for Peace. We do not or should not demand that people accept our solution. What we ought rather to create is the feeling that there is an alternative to the cold war and let people look for what it is themselves. They will inevitably be drawn to our solution because it is the only one that is honest, fair and practicable.

"We have failed—I have failed myself in the past—by presenting the question of disarmament as some kind of academic themes, some ultimate solution that lay on a plane above the awkward and urgent questions of the day. Taught by experience, we should now know that disarmament means nothing unless it arises of itself out of current problems. It should come from discussions about the war in Korea with its napalm bombs and bacterial warfare, about the German question with the re-establishment of the Nazi generals, about the rise in the cost of living, about unemployment in the textile industry.

"We need to preach disarmament not for and by itself but as a practical solution to particular problems."

In conclusion, Professor Bernal said:

"In forming our movement we had first of all to agree to a unity built around specific actions—the abolition of the atom bomb in the Stockholm Appeal and the demand for a Five Power Pact launched at Berlin. The enormous impression made by those two initiatives carried out among hundreds of millions of people in identical terms, had an indispensable value in expressing a sentiment of unbreakable unity.

"But now while preserving that unity and rich in the experience of working together, we need to pay ever more attention to the particular anxieties and needs of different groups of people at different times. Our movement must more and more come from the people and not merely go to them.

"It is not only by passing resolution or attending congresses, essential as they are, that the movement for Peace will grow, but even more by finding the way to express forcibly and effectively the will of the people for Peace."

Mr. Alexander KORNEICHUK (U.S.S.R.), the writer, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. KORNEICHUK observed that the American proposals on the reduction of armaments are beginning to lose popularity even in the United States. The representatives of that country presented to the U.N. Disarmament Commission a new project for the "maximum level of armed forces." He analysed this proposal and noted that the projected number of U.S. ground forces would, as a result, be reduced from 1,580,000 men to 1,500,000. However, no maximum was being contemplated for either air or naval forces (2,300,000 men in the U.S.). Yet, the known strategy of the United States is based essentially on these two branches of the Armed forces. The same is true for Britain and the allies of the Atlantic Pact.

Furthermore, the plan presumes to set a maximum for the Chinese armed forces, regardless of the fact that its authors refuse China's participation in that Commission. The speaker thought that this indicated the desire not to arrive at any reduction of armaments. He showed also that in this plan there is no question of reducing or eliminating the 400 U.S. bases throughout the world; on the contrary, additional appropriations have been made for their strengthening under the pretext of assuring world security. Mr. Korneichuk commented on the many people, particularly in France and Italy, who have come to understand the true meaning of the Atlantic Pact and who realise what the loss of national independence means.

Instead of collective security, U.N. brings the world a colective menace. The aggressor is using U.N. to have allies for his aggression. Only a Peace Pact can assure the security of all. It can also allow for the settlement of the armaments' problem. Mr. Korneichuk called for a strengthening of the fight for the conclusion of a Peace Pact and formulated the people's demands:

—Reduction from one-third to one-half of all military, naval, air and land forces, police and semi-military groups.

—Reduction from one-third to one-half of all types of armaments, heavy and light.

—Prohibition of all atomic weapons and weapons of mass destruction.

—Establishment of strict control on the basis of equality.

M. Emmanuel d'ASTIER de la VIGERIE (France), Deputé, former Minister, Member of the World Council of Peace, recalled the circumstances in which the French Peace Movement called upon the French people to demonstrate against the coming of General Ridgway. These circumstances are part of the policy carried out by the French Government and are characterised by:

—the desire of the United States to intensify its occupation of a recalcitrant France and to tame it to its requirements;

—the desire to re-arm Germany more quickly against the wishes of the French and German peoples;

—the desire to introduce into Europe the methods of provocation and destruction employed in Korea.

Those were the circumstances under which the demonstrations of the people of Paris against the coming of General Ridgway took place on May the 28th.

M. d'Astier then examined the question of neutrality. He remarked that in France, Italy and Great Britain the groups who dream of a neutral policy are particularly important and comprise many people outside of our Movement. The Peace Movement must give a constant accounting of its activities to these people: first of all we must repeat over and over that the Peace which we are seeking must benefit all people, whatever their way of life, and that we do not conceive of it as something which can be imposed by one part of the world upon the other; furthermore, we must make clear that the concept of peaceful co-existence must include "the freedom of the peoples of the world to control their own destiny and choose their own Governments themselves". The important part already being played by the neutral elements in the fight for Peace must stir us to make many more contacts and to engage in joint action with them, that they may have special ideas. M. d'Astier then recalled the hopes which the idea of Germany's neutralisation had aroused, a neutralisation which might perhaps be extended to all of Western Europe and particularly to France. However, we must not lose sight of our overall objective, a disarmament convention and a Peace Pact. M. d'Astier concluded:

"But the chances of Peace will not be assured until the American people (who have a right to security like all the others) talk about these essential objectives together with the other peoples, until there is discussion on peaceful trade, disarmament and prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. In short, a Peace Pact must make it possible to find once again the true criteria of collective security which today have been so seriously distorted.

Such an effort at enlightenment in Western Europe, this discussion with the American people, will be the chief task of the World Movement for Peace."

Mr. Ilya EHRENBURG (U.S.S.R.), writer, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Ilya EHRENBURG began "not only is the war of which a handful of criminals dream dreadful—dreadful likewise are the fever of waiting, the mutual mistrust, the lies, the hatred, the blank walls cutting off one people from another, the clash of arms, the younger generation growing up haphazard, the deathdealing inventions ranged against the increasing defencelessness of man."

And Mr. Ehrenburg stated that everywhere in the world the common people think that "This can't go on".

It was not enough to know that we are supported by a half of humanity. We must win the American people to our cause.

The American people have been made to believe that the Communists want to destroy the "American Way Of Life" and want to invade the United States. Mr. Ehrenburg went on to show that if a certain way of life suits the American people, everyone has the right to like or not to like it, but quite definitely, nobody has the right to interfere with it.

"It is time the plain American should understand that the Russians are not massing to deprive him of

his little Ford, that the Chinese have no intention of meddling with television programmes in the U.S.A., that the Koreans do not lust after Mr. Smith's refrigerator, that the Poles are unconcerned whether the aforesaid Mr. Smith does or does not shake the hand of Dulles or even Truman, and into the bargain dreams of making not only millions but billions . . . But if the handful of criminals decides to propagate the "American Way of Life" by force of arms, that way of life will collapse like a house of cards."

One might discuss the merits of this or that way of life, but it is impermissible, in the name of freedom, to suppress the freedoms of others. There is in the United States a 'Society for the Liberation of Russia', but in the Soviet Union there does not and could not exist a 'Society for the Liberation of America'. Much as the Soviet people would like to see the abolition of racial discrimination they know that this is dependent solely on the heightening of American consciousness.

If American soldiers occupying France or Italy are received with outbursts of hostility, this is not the result of Communist intrigues aimed at the 'American Way Of Life' for which they are not reproached, but rather because the people of these countries see in the American soldier the shadow of that war which their leaders want, a war for which they hold them responsible. The Soviet people, do not hate the Americans, but on the contrary, appreciate their qualities, their science and their technical accomplishments.

"No one in the Soviet Union has ever encroached upon nor ever will encroach upon the American way of life. Let every people live according to its lights, let every people find the path to Peace, whereby the ideals, interests and tastes of one people shall not interfere with any other people's living, thinking, creating."

It is impossible to try to impose a certain way of life upon the Chinese people with the help of a vote in U.N.

"To avoid the peril of war, one must sit together at one table and come to terms. The Soviet people wants Peace with any America, the America of the Progressives and the Republicans and the Democrats. It wants Peace with the American workers and with the American capitalists, it wants Peace not only with its friends but with its enemies."

Many times the U.S.S.R. has proposed discussions but the U.S. Government has always rejected the invitation. Surely there are differences. But in an atmosphere of mutual understanding it is possible to get together.

In concluding, Mr. Ehrenburg appealed to the American people:

"Today is the national day of the United States. On the 4th of July, 1776, the American people overcame those who held them in thrall and established the independence of their Republic. It is on this day that I call to you, citizens of America! Remember the ideals that inspired the first of your forefathers, tell your responsible leaders to give up 'bragging and threatening', to sit down round a table with Soviet representatives, with the representatives of the other great powers and honestly try to reach agreement. Thereby you will save your country, your children, your future too. I believe in the head and the heart of the American people. Later this year will be held a great Peace Congress, high hope of all the peoples. Let the people of America realise the importance of this Congress and send there a delegation that shall voice the will of every class and every party. I desire only to say that in the persons of the Soviet delegates they will find friends, able to appreciate the distinct path of every people, and desiring not to enforce on others their way of life, but to save the life, culture and future of all humanity."

Mr. Howard FAST (United States), writer, Member of the World Council of Peace.

(This speech was recorded and brought from the U.S.)

Mr. Fast explained that he was unable to come to the Session since he has been made a prisoner inside his own country like so many other Americans who speak for Peace.

"Since I have only a little time to talk to you I will try to say a few things of great importance to all of us. I speak about my own people for I know them best. The great majority of them are good people and they want to live their lives in peace and give no hurt to others. This may sound strange in the light of the unspeakable horror that is happening in Korea. It is not my intention to deny the facts of that horror. The world has seen over the past two decades people of many nations turned into beasts under Fascist leadership and playing the role of beasts. The world has also seen noble and great resistance to fascism. It must be understood that both of these qualities are present in America . . .

"Therefore you may ask, if this is the case, why such a broad sentiment for Peace is not reflected in a powerful Peace movement. Well, firstly there were many errors that the leaders of the Peace Movement have made. We lacked boldness and again and again we underestimated the mood of the people. We failed to build a united front in a bold and confident way and we held back again and again because we did not believe that the people were ready when they were.

"Yet, on the other hand there is much that we did do and the Peace Movement in America, whilst small and not united, is nevertheless a factor which must be considered. Nor can one overlook the confusions that exist in America. Never in history was any people so subjected to a bombardment of lies and powerful propaganda as they are. News itself is one of the most monopolised products in America and truly it may be said that the people do not know . . .

"No effort has been spared to decry the ability of progressive America to fight back, yet the progressive forces have not been destroyed, nor have they given up the struggle. The forces for Peace grow stronger . . .

"Today as I speak, 600,000 steelworkers are on strike. They do not as yet see the connection between their misery and the war drive of the Truman Government. Much depends on whether and when they and the millions like them see this connection and turn their great will for struggle into the fight for Peace.

"Thereby much depends on those of us who lead the Peace Movement in America. We bear a most grave responsibility. We will attempt to fulfil it out of devotion to mankind and to our own beautiful and fruitful native land."

M. Jean Jules RICHARD (Canada), writer (an invited visitor), then dealt with the possibility of peaceful co-existence between countries of different regimes.

Mr. Petros KOKKALIS (Greece), professor, Member of the World Council of Peace, followed and showed the struggle of the Greek people against the transformation of their country into a base of aggression for a war in the Balkans.

Mr. Bernard BEREANU (Rumania), Secretary of the International Union of Students (an invited visitor), showed how students, in the desire to improve their life and studies, participate in the movement for World Peace.

Mr. Georgi PIRINSKI (Bulgaria), Vice-President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee (an invited visitor), devoted the main part of his speech to demonstrating how it was possible to create a broad Peace Movement in the United States.

ELEVENTH SESSION

(Friday, July 4th, night session)

Presiding: Sra. Branca FIALHO (Brazil), President, Brazilian Federation of Women, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. J. C. KUMARAPPA (India), economist, a disciple of Gandhi (an invited visitor).

Mr. KUMARAPPA showed that the history of mankind during the last period has seen a development of the technical production of weapons to the detriment of the well-being of populations; this trend must be reversed in order to put mankind on the road to Peace and progress. The so-called "underdeveloped" countries have become the prey of the industrialised countries who acquire their raw materials cheaply. The wealth of natural resources of a country, in this manner, may become the cause of its misfortune. Mr. KUMARAPPA foresaw a development of the economy of each country making each of them self-sufficient. Such an economy should be in the hands of the State. Foreign trade would concern itself only with surpluses. Only in this manner, Mr. Kumarappa concluded, would greed and violence disappear and the underdeveloped countries progress.

Signor Ricardo LOMBARDI (Italy), Deputy, former Minister, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

The struggle waged by the peoples of certain West European countries, Sig. Lombardi explained, mingled with the struggle of the colonial peoples oppressed by their Governments and ranges the peoples of the world on the side of the colonised countries. The process of colonisation, gradual subjection of the West European ruling classes—an economy of loot—is becoming a reality for the West European countries. Sig. Lombardi then showed how the economy of the Western European countries is passing into the hands of American capital: in a direct manner (as exemplified by the coal-steel pool); indirectly by the elimination of these countries from certain markets (for example, Morocco and Iran). The gradual sapping of the independence of these countries is being achieved by the unilateral limitation of commercial exchanges, by the unbalanced finances of these exchanges which cause deficits for Europe. The United States attempt, in this manner, to export their own crisis. The West European countries, unable to make up these deficits, are renouncing all economic independence and are being reduced to the state of a protectorate.

M. Gabriel d'ARBOUSSIER (North Africa), Member of the Conseil de l'Union Française, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, demonstrated that the Western Powers, in order to make war, need raw material and particularly man-power from Africa. Specifically, France and England no longer conceal their strategic plans on that Continent. But in order for these plans to succeed it would be necessary for Africa to be completely tied to the policy of the West. However, the Africa of 1952, is no longer the Africa of 1914, nor even that of 1939. She will not become a strategic base since the war plans run up against two facts:

—the peoples of Africa have learned by bitter experience that the partnership they were offered was that of the horse and the rider;

—a tremendous feeling of resistance has been developing among the African peoples who no longer want to live the lives of slaves, as in the past. They have begun the great battle against oppression and colonial servitude. An uninterrupted chain of bloody incidents has been taking place: but the dead of today are proof that the African peoples no longer want to live on their knees and demand the right to govern their country themselves and to exploit its natural riches themselves. Science shows that there is an ancient Negro civilisation which is today striving for revival on a higher level. This was the message of brotherhood, confidence and asurance which M. d'Arboussier wanted to bring in the name of the peoples of Black Africa who want freedom because they know it is inseparable from Peace.

M. Antoine TABET (Lebanon), architect, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, then showed how the struggles of the peoples of the Middle East and of North Africa for their national independence and against the Middle Eastern Pact are part of the struggle for Peace.

M. Ahmed EL KASSAR from Syria (an invited visitor), explained how the peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problem and an end to the war in Korea would be of great assistance to the struggle of the Syrian people for their independence.

Mr. Emile HABIBI (Israel), Deputy (an invited visitor), showed how, in the fight for Peace, the Israeli people and those of the Arab countries are righting the wrong that was done them in dividing them artificially.

M. Ben SLIMAN (Tunisia), doctor of medicine, Member of the World Council of Peace.

(M. ALLEMAN of France read M. Sliman's speech at the latter's request.)

M. Ben SLIMAN recalled the events which took place some months ago in Tunisia—brutal arrests of the leaders of the National Movement, of the Peace Movement, of which he was one, and of Communists. These arbitrary arrests provoked a mass uprising of the people, a signal in turn for a savage onslaught on them. But this repression did not break the Tunisian people. On the contrary, it opened the eyes of those who still had illusions and taught them to count only on themselves to obtain their independence. M. Sliman stated that in fighting for their independence the Tunisian people are undermining an important jumping-off point for aggression. The head of the French Government admitted, in effect, that the continued presence of the French in Tunisia was a question of strategy. Tunisia has become transformed into a base of aggression: fourteen air bases are in the process of being constructed, munitions depots have been installed and extended manœuvres take place on its territory.

In fighting to be masters in their own country, the Tunisian people are quite naturally fighting for Peace. They understand that their fight for independence is not an isolated one, and they are conscious that war is the greatest hope of the imperialists. The events of the last months also taught the Tunisian people to know their enemies and their friends: the attitude of the United States in the U.N. has enlightened them on its hypocritical claim to anti-colonialism.

M. Vassos LYSSARIDES (Cyprus), doctor of medicine, Member of the World Council of Peace, then showed why, in the face of the grave war danger in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, it is imperative that the Peace Conference of the peoples from these countries be convoked.

Mrs. CHAN SUAT HONG from Malaya (an invited visitor), demonstrated that the struggle of the Malayan people, linked to the struggle of all the peoples of Asia and to that of the British people, can make it possible for the war now being fought on their soil, to be brought to an end on the basis of negotiations which respect the principle of the rights of all peoples to self-determination.

Mr. Mahmoud HORMOZ (Iran), a magistrate, Secretary of the Iranian Peace Committee, Member of the World Council of Peace.

With each intensification of the war preparations, Mr. Hormoz declared, the conditions of life for the people of the Middle East become more difficult. It is therefore not astonishing that these peoples choose the road to Peace. The Conference of Ottawa and Washington in 1951 envisaged ways and means of seizing the natural ressources of these countries, of recruiting their sons and of setting up a Middle Eastern Command. But the protests of the people who saw no need for being defended against the Soviet Union, were such that until now not a single Government has agreed to become part of the proposed pact. Then terror methods were tried, at the instigation of envoys from the United States such as dictatorial coups d'état and arrests of Peace defenders.

Mr. Hormoz illustrated these claims by showing that 1,200 U.S. advisers hold considerable power in Iran; arms abound, strategic plants are being constructed, although the economic situation of the country is catastrophic. Close to 50 airports have been installed, many more than are necessary for Iran's defence; high officers of the U.S. army visit Iran and the countries of the Middle East periodically; their interests range from oil in Iran to the Suez Canal. The peoples of the Middle East are also linking their struggle for liberty to the struggle for Peace; they are demanding disarmament, a peaceful solution of the Korean, Japanese and German problems, the conclusion of a Peace Pact. In concluding, Mr. Hormoz showed that despite all difficulties the peoples of the Middle East are firmly determined to hold their regional Peace Conference in the near future.

TWELFTH SESSION

(Saturday, July 5th, Morning)

Presiding: Mme Eugénie COTTON (France), President of the World Federation of Democratic Women, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace; **later: M. Antoine TABET** (Lebanon), an architect, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Prasert SUPSOONTHORN from Thaïland (an invited visitor), spoke of the struggle of his people against the transformation of their country into a jumping-off point for provocations on the borders of China and Viet-Nam.

Mrs. Sucheta KRIPALANI (India), leader of the Socialist Praja Party in the Indian Parliament, Member for New Delhi (an invited visitor).

The Indian people, said Mrs. KRIPALANI, aim

for the end of imperialism and believe in peaceful co-existence. India has not known war directly, but she has suffered from the consequences of war: Famine, in 1943, killed 3,000,000 people in the state of Bengal alone. She thought that, unlike the League of Nations and the United Nations, the World Council of Peace can prevent war because it represents the peoples, and it is they who suffer from war.

Some countries behave as if war were inevitable and arm accordingly. The Indian people have welcomed the proposals of the World Council of Peace for disarmament because they know that it was non-violence which made it possible for them to be victorious over Britain which, in terms of violence, was superior to them. Non-violence is superior to violence, just as negotiations are superior to war. We are for disarmament. Our sympathy goes out to the peoples of Korea, Viet Nam and Malaya. The Indian people greet the coming Conference of Peace of the Asian and Pacific countries. The Indian people must use all their weight to achieve the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers (we are asking that it be signed at New-Delhi), the withdrawal of all occupation troops from foreign territories, for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

M. Paul RODI (France), a journalist, Member of the World Council of Peace, then showed how, as a result of the havoc created by the Atlantic policy, it has become possible to rally a large portion of the public in the West European countries to the Peace Movement.

Mr. Kristinn ANDRESSON of Iceland (an invited visitor), gave the example of how a small, peaceful country, which has never known war or military service, fights for Peace.

MR. WIRTANEN from Finland, (an invited visitor), underlined that it is necessary to explain to Social-Democrats, Liberals, and Catholics what we mean by peaceful co-existence, in order to enlarge our Movement considerably.

Mr. Joseph R. SANDY (Great Britain), Member of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. SANDY, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers) said he knows that Peace is in the hearts of men. Never before has the need been so imperative to combine faith and action; Christians must get together with all their brothers and struggle alongside them. In the present situation the choice is not between different nations, but between life and death. We are against war and for negotiations. This, then, is our idea of a common basis. We set up no barriers either between ourselves, or between us and others.

Sra. Branca FIALHO (Brazil), President of the Brazilian Federation of Women, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Sra. FIALHO said that since 1947 World War III has been in preparation in Latin America (the Rio de Janeiro and Bogota Treaties). Under the terms of these Treaties, the countries of Latin America would be forced to participate in the war if the United States considers it has been attacked. The right to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries was also stipulated. A series of bilateral military pacts have served to strengthen these two Treaties with the aim of assuring the economic, military and political subjection of these countries to the United States.

Four-and-a-half-million signatures for a Peace Pact, a victorious struggle against the sending of 20,000 soldiers to Korea and the fight for the oil rights, testify to the great force for Peace in Brazil. Ten million signatures for a Peace Pact, that is Latin America's contribution to the world campaign. But the peoples are equally opposed to the preparation for war on their own soil; for this reason they fight, by different methods in each country, against the conclusion of bilateral pacts. This made necessary united action on their part, and the holding of the regional Peace Conference in May at Montevideo was the crowning success of that unity. The campaign for a Peace Pact permitted us to make the profound reasons for the fight for peace understood in our countries. Without the countries of Latin America the United States cannot make a war because they need their raw materials and their men.

Sr. Juan MARINELLO (Cuba), the writer, Member of the World Council of Peace, also showed the serious encroachments upon the national independence of the Latin American peoples caused by the war preparations and the need for unity among these peoples in the fight for Peace.

Sr. Ernesto GIUDICI (Argentine), General Secretary of the Argentine Peace Committee, (an invited visitor).

Latin America, said Sr. Giudici, has suffered at the hands of the U.S. Government real economic oppression, and he gave the following picture:

—the so-called "American aid" to underdeveloped countries is a source of profits and of oppression;

—the United States buys cheaply those raw materials which play an important part in the maintenance of its war economy;

—it is paralysing the export of manufactured goods, thereby creating an economic depression;

—it is making it impossible for Latin America to buy machinery for her industries, thereby forcing her into one-side development of agriculture;

—U.S. capital investments in Latin America are constantly increasing;

—they are forcing these countries to set aside a large part of their budgets for the purchase of war materials.

Faced with this situation, the consciousness of the Latin American peoples is growing rapidly. This is worrying the United States Government which needs these countries to an even greater extent because the other countries of the world are in opposition to its war policies.

Sga. Alessandra PIAGGIO of Italy, (an invited visitor), spoke of the great desire for Peace among all Catholics, a desire which manifests itself in the form of different movements whose actions, in her opinion, should be co-ordinated.

Sr. Manuel SANCHEZ ARCAS (Spain), an architect, Member of the World Council of Peace, brought to the World Council of Peace greetings from the Spanish Peace Council in Mexico, under the presidency of Dr. José GIRAL. He stated that Spain,

with the eager help of Franco, has become part of the U.S. aggressive system of which she is a base of prime importance. This was sealed by the tripartite Pact of Spain-Portugal and the United States, and by the Mediterranean agreement in which Spain participates.

Sr. Arcas then went on to explain the consequences of this policy which virtually sold Spain, as well as Spanish Morocco, to the great advantage of the U.S. monopolists. The intensively exploited labouring masses constitute for them a source of incalculable profit and a reserve of manpower, since Spain possesses an army of 2,800,000 soldiers which the Spanish dictator intended to integrate into the European army.

But the Spanish people oppose this policy—as was proved by the strikes in Barcelona and Madrid which for all Spanish defenders of Peace represented an invaluable sign of confidence—and are taking their place resolutely in the camp of Peace.

Rev. U. SARANANKARA (Ceylon), a Buddhist Monk, (an invited visitor), launched an appeal to all the Buddhists of the entire world to act for Peace.

Sr. Carlos Augusto LEON (Venezuela), the writer (an invited visitor), then denounced the exploitation by the United States of Pan-Americanism, a doctrine of Peace and of peaceful co-operation, for the aims of war and oppression.

THIRTEENTH SESSION

(Saturday, July 5th, afternoon)

Presiding: Mr. Jessie STREET (Australia), Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

E. E. U. COLLOCOTT (Australia), Doctor of Philosophy, (an invited visitor), expressed the peaceful feelings of the Australian people and their desire to live in friendship with all the peoples of Asia and Australia.

Sr. Eli GORTARI de GORTARI (Mexico), Professor of Philosophy, (an invited visitor), then recalled the victorious struggle of the Mexican people against the conclusion of the bi-lateral military pact with the Government of the United States.

The Polish poet, **Jaroslaw IWASZKIEWICZ**, (an invited visitor), appealed to the writers of the United States, France and Great Britain who were so alive to social realities of their countries, to participate more actively in the struggle for Peace, to which they appeared to be so indifferent.

Sr. Pablo NERUDA (Chili), the poet, Member of the World Council of Peace.

In Sr. Neruda's estimate, the proposal of the World Council of Peace to celebrate great cultural anniversaries has had tremendous repercussions for unity of world culture, despite the reaction of those who want to divide the people. These American intellectuals who refuse to march in step with Truman and who do not want to implant Western culture in Korea with Ridgway methods, are faced with a tragic situation and are treated like ordinary criminals. This policy in dealing with intellectuals extends to the entre American continent. The plan of the aggressor in the field of culture is to deprive us of freedom of speech, to isolate us and to divide us. In conclusion, Sr. Neruda ardently greeted all men of culture in Spain, Turkey, the United States and Latin America who are victims of repression.

Rev. John HARTLEY TELFER (U.S.A.), Minister, First Unitarian Church, Wichita, Kansas.

The Rev. Hartley Telfer indicated that "Peace does not mean cultural uniformity, nor the sameness of economic and political systems. Co-existence is necessary because the world is one; it is the motherland of mankind."

He thought the message by Mr. Ehrenburg would be well received by the American people. Co-existence between the United States and the USSR is necessary because each needs the other.

The Rev. Hartley Telfer then showed that the standard of living of the American people is falling because of the policy of rearmament and also because they are deprived of fruitful commercial trade with certain foreign countries against which artificial barriers have been set up.

Touching on the Korean problem, he showed that the duty of every American consists in seeking out the truth hidden from him and to let his countrymen know about it. Although there are still many Americans who are not convinced that the United States was wrong in undertaking the war in Korea, there are many more who are doubtful and are asking themselves what business we had going into that country.

The Rev. Hartley Telfer continued: The American people have never experienced total war on their own soil. Nor have they known fascist oppression' as have the peoples of Europe and Asia during the war. That is why they have not yet fully understood the words of Roosevelt about the need to wipe out fascism and of maintaining friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. But the majority of Americans do not want war. They are waiting for Peace. All they must now learn is that it is not a question of waiting for it, but of conquering it.

FOURTEENTH SESSION

(Sunday, July 6th, afternoon)

Presiding: Signor Giorgio FENOALTEA (Italy), lawyer, Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

M. Emile CAVENAILLE (Belgium), Member of the World Council of Peace, a businessman who participated in the Moscow Economic Conference, underlined the importance of trade relations for the strengthening of Peace, particularly in small and medium industries in the Western countries.

M. MEYER (France), leader of an agricultural organisation (an invited visitor), then showed that farmers, hard hit by the war and victimized by the new war preparations are taking and will take, an ever greater part in the fight for Peace.

Finally, **Sig. Giorgio FENOALTEA** informed the gathering of the letters and messages of greetings to the Session. He also said that many presents had been received, a group of which was destined for Korea. He then read a message by Mr. Youssef HELMI, President of the Egyptian Peace Committee, and Mr. Saad EL DIN KAMEL, Executive Director of the newspaper "Al Kateb", both members of the World Council of Peace, now interned in a concentration camp.

FIFTEENTH SESSION

(Sunday, July 6th, afternoon)

Presiding: Signor Pietro NENNI (Italy), General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Italy, Deputy, former Vice-President of the Italian Council, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace.

Before Sign. Nenni's speech with which the Session closed, Mr. Roy GORE (Great Britain), Secretary of the World Council of Peace, read the names of new candidates to the World Council of Peace, which had been approved. Mme Isabelle BLUME read the "Address to the Governments of the Four Great Powers And To All The Peoples On The German Problem" which was unanimously adopted. Mr. Mulk RAJ ANAND read the Resolution On The Struggle Against Japanese Remilitarisation And For A Democratic Japan, which was unanimously adopted; M. Yves FARGE read the Resolution On The Cessation Of The Korean War, which was adopted unanimously; Sign. NENNI asked the World Council of Peace to ratify the text of the Appeal Against Bacteriological Warfare, drawn up by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace (April 1, 1952) in Oslo. The text was unanimously adopted. Finally, Sign. NENNI read the text of the Call for a Congress of The Peoples for Peace which was unanimously adopted.

Closing speech by Sig. Pietro NENNI (Italy)

Vice-President of the World Council of Peace

Sig. Nenni first drew attention to certain general features of the international situation:

Three stages have been passed in the course of these last months by aggressive militarism:

—The San Francisco Treaty and the Administrative Agreements signed between Japan and the United States of America and coming into force on April 28, 1952.

—The General Treaty and the Contractual Agreements of Germany with the United States, Great Britain and France, signed in Bonn on May 26th of this year and ratified at express speed by the American senate.

—The Agreement on the "European Defence Community" (European Army) signed in Paris on May 27th, 1952.

At the same time the Korean war is being carried on and has even become aggravated; in spite of the cease-fire talks, while the bombing of the Yalu by U.S. aircraft has given new proof that the Pentagon has not given up the plan of provocation which was also that of General MacArthur.

The other conclusion to be drawn is that the objective deterioration of international relations has brought about a change in world public opinion, a broadening of the Peace Front, a heightened militancy of the masses and also an intensification of persecution.

Under these circumstances, Sig. Nenni said, "an immense effort has become necessary, and to bring it about we have just called for a Congress of the Peoples for Peace."

"A Congress is neither a parade, nor a fair, but the opportunity for fundamental work. The coming Vienna Congress will be worth what its preparatory work has been worth. The fate of the Congress will not be decided on December 5th at Vienna, by the number and quality of the delegates who attend it from all over the world. The fate of the Congress will be decided by the quality of our work between now and the time it convenes: it will be decided in the depths of Black Africa, in the Middle and Far East, India, the United States and Latin America. It will be decided in Western Europe, the USSR, China, Korea, the Eastern People's Democracies, to the exact degree that we shall find the means and the words to get in contact with that part of public opinion which has misunderstood our activities or participated in the slander which was constantly used to break the force of our propaganda."

Noting that the Bonn Agreement is of concern to all mankind, he asked that a campaign against its ratification be undertaken. This will not be an easy job, but the Peace Movement will be aided by a growing spirit, particularly in the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany:

"I will give only a few examples. The day after the bombing of the Yalu, Bevan, of the British Labour Party, turned to his Government and said: 'Tell the Americans that the British people will not make war against China'. He is already taking a polemical position as advanced as ours, and even more advanced than many members of our World Council of Peace.

"He is not obliged to come to us. But we should go to him and say: 'Mr. Bevan, we agree with you'. However, it is not only a question of saying things, but of doing them. And to do them there must be joint activity, or at least activity on parallel lines. Because it is very clear that in order not to be dragged into a war against China there are steps to be taken and things to be done which will not do themselves.

"The case of the Social Democrats of West Germany on the question of the ratification of the Bonn Agreement is even more striking.

"The day has come when Herr Schumacher was forced to take a position against the Contractual Agreements signed by Chancellor Adenauer. The moment has come when the German Social Democrats felt obliged to proclaim as a "Day of National Mourning" the day of the signing of the General Treaty of Bonn, May 26th . . .

"The problem of ratification will present itself in a very similar way in France and Great Britain.

"A large French Socialist, Radical-Socialist and even de Gaulliste sector opposes with much vehemence and emotion the Contractual Agreements and the Paris agreements, although they are themselves responsible for them. Be it the honorable M. Herriot or the old Socialist, Grumbach, their speeches sound alike and the firmness which seems to inspire them gives reason for the belief in the possibility of creating a rather large opposition front in Parliament and in the country.

"I know there can be many a slip twixt the cup and the lip. I know that in certain cases we must expect the classic move from the gentleman who, at the last minute, will vote for ratification while still talking against it and beating his breast in depair.

"But others will be drawn into an opposition against the Atlantic policy which is becoming more and more coherent. But the man in the street is less complicated and less warped than the wily experienced politician and, in the final count, it is he, the man in the street, who forms public opinion and without whose support politics are but a house of cards which will collapse at the slightest breath.

"This is the direction in which we must pursue the broadening of our Movement, in which this session has shown marked progress . . ."

Sig. Nenni thought that the preparations for the Congress and the Congress itself will be the opportunity for the Peace Movement to seek "new friendships". He concluded in drawing from the world struggle for Peace, just as from the spectacle of Berlin rising from its ruins "a great lesson of confidence and optimism".

GREETINGS AND PRESENTS SENT TO THE SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Two thousand letters, telegrams and messages of greeting were sent to the Session of the World Council of Peace, of which 1,400 came from factories, schools and administrative bodies in Germany.

An exhibition of presents from the German people to the World Council, to its President and to the Korean delegation was set up in the hall where the Session was held.

The many messages included those from the "National Council of the National Front of Democratic Germany", the "Democratic Peasant Party of Germany", the "Christian-Democratic Union of Germany", the workers from the "Neptune" naval shipbuilding yard in Rostock; the "Lowa" rolling-stock construction works in Görlitz, the "Zeiss Ikon" plant in Dresden, the chemical combine of Leuna, the steel plants of Brandenburg, Hennigsdorf, etc . . .

A worker from the E.M.W. plant at Eisenach, Walter Euccarius, wrote:

"Having been a regular soldier, I experienced the last world war, with all its horrors, from the first to the last day. A new world war would be conducted with still more horrible weapons and would bring untold misery to mankind . . .

"We Germans do not need a war and want to live in Peace with all peoples. In my capacity as member of the Peace Committee of the E.M.W. plant at Eisenach, I personally pledge to make an even greater effort to safeguard world Peace."

From Düsseldorf, Frau Kathinka von Kardorf-Oheimb wrote:

"As President of a circle working for an understanding among Germans and for an equitable Peace, I am awaiting with impatience the resolutions of the World Council of Peace. Let us hope that it will bring us Germans re-unification which in turn will make possible a peaceful life in mutual respect."

Numerous messages also arrived from peoples' organisations in Korea; from the state of Bahia in Brazil (in the name of 310,000 signatories of the Appeal for a Pact of Peace); from Pernambuco (Brazil); from Rio de Janeiro, a telegram from the Brazilian Peace Movement said:

"The Movement of the Brazilian Fighters for Peace greets the meeting of the World Council. We are informing you that 4,500,000 signatures have been gathered for the Appeal for a Peace Pact. In the name of the millions of Brazilian Peace fighters, we express all good wishes for the success of your deliberations which will strengthen the position of the Brazilian people in the defence of Peace and for national liberation."

From Springs, Transvaal (Union of South-Africa); from Rumania and Czechoslovakia; from Mufti Ifhan Babahon Ibne Abdoul Magid Han (Kazakhstan) in the name of the clergy of Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

A letter from the Peace Council of Lapland (Finland) was particularly interesting. It said:

"We, the inhabitants of Lapland, suffered very much from the fury of the Nazis who destroyed the homes of our province during the war.

"The conviction that the chances of maintaining Peace are as real as the chances of war is gaining ground among ever larger groups. In our province, 59,600 inhabitants have signed the Appeal for a Peace Pact."

A telegram also arrived from Youssef Helmy and Saad El Din Kamel, Egyptian members of the World Council, greeting the Session of the World Council from inside their internment camp, and pledging their "determination to fight for Peace until victory"; also a telegram from M. André Bonnard, Swiss member of the World Council of Peace:

"Detained in Switzerland by police interference, I send fraternal greetings to the World Council and express the desire for Peace of the Swiss people."

THE BULLETIN
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL
OF PEACE

CONTENTS

Appeal and Resolutions of the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace 4

Appeal for the Convocation of a Congress of the Peoples for Peace . . . 4

Address to the Governments of the Four Great Powers and to all Peoples on the German Problem 4

Resolution on the struggle against Japanese remilitarisation and for a Democratic Japan 5

Resolution on the cessation of the Korean war 5

Ratification of the Oslo Appeal 6

Summary of Reports and Discussion 7

Report presented by Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace 8

Peaceful solution of the German and Japanese problems 16

Report by Mr. Gordon Schaffer (Great Britain) on the Peaceful solution of the German and Japanese Problems 16

An immediate end to the war in Korea 25

Report by Mr. Kuo Mo-Jo (China) on the Cessation Of The War In Korea 25

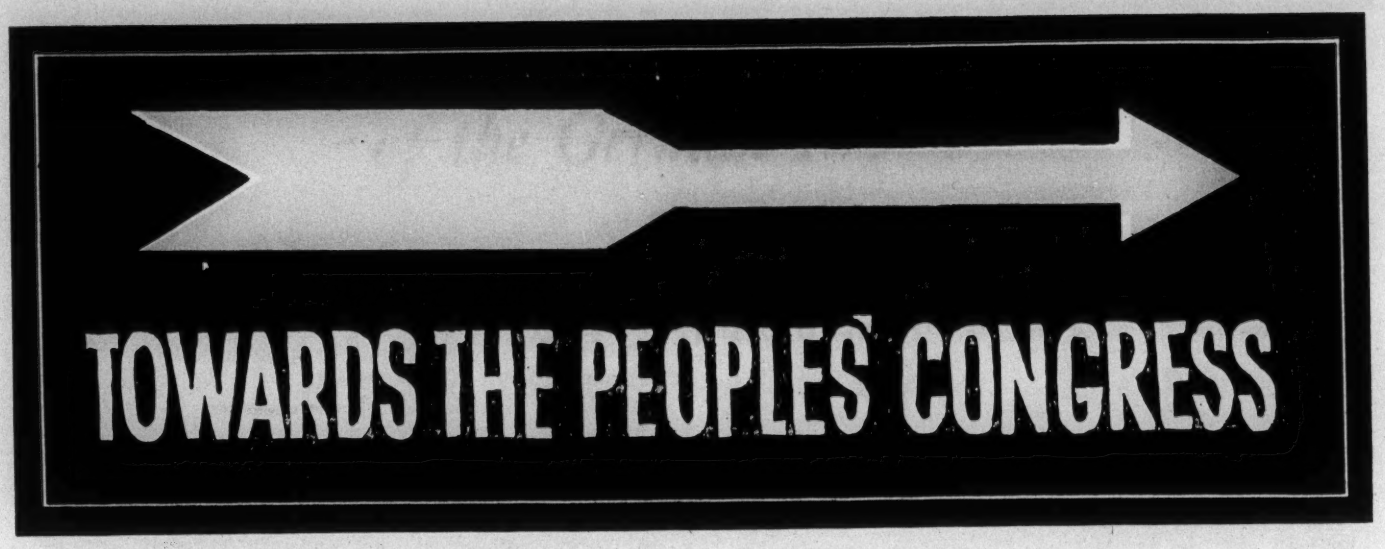
Report by M. Yves Farge (France) on "Bacteriological Warfare, the War in Korea and its International consequences" 26

Report by M. Jean Laffitte (France) on the Armaments Race and the Fight for a Peace Pact 30

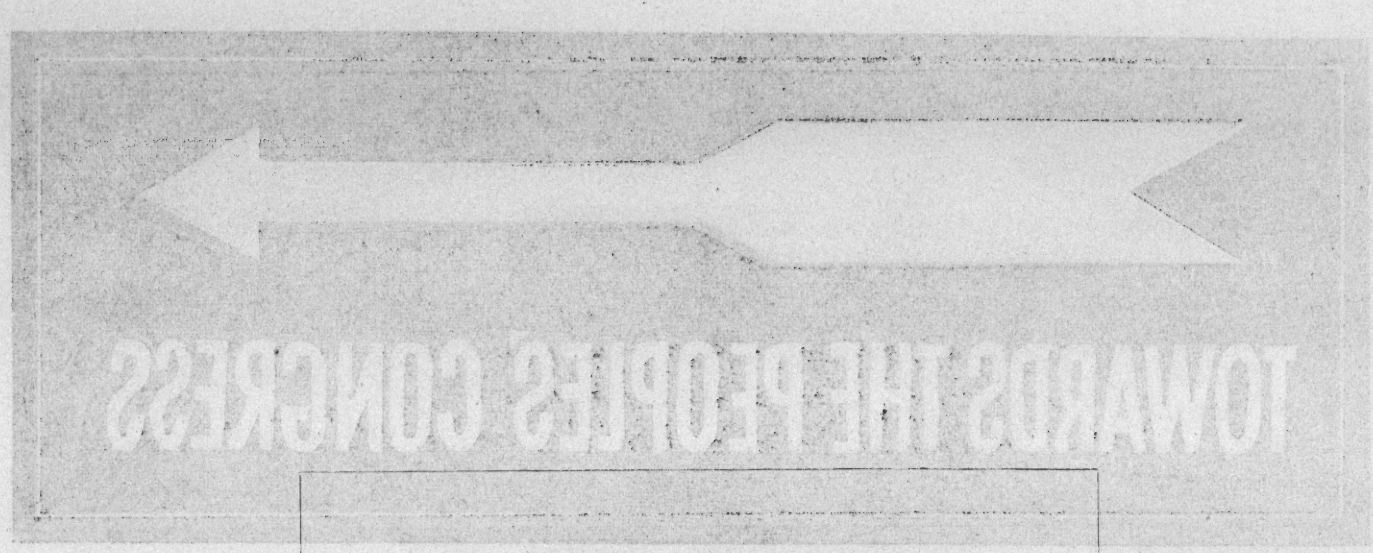
Report of Professor J. D. Bernal on Disarmament 31

Closing speech by Sig. Pietro Nenni (Italy) 40

Greetings and presents sent to the session of the World Council of Peace . . . 41



No 2 — OCTOBER 24th, 1952 — PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE



Many newspapers, reviews and bulletins appearing in different countries have published articles and reports taken from the first number of this bulletin.

In publicising in their respective countries the preparations throughout the world for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace they are helping to make the Congress a "discussion on the widest possible scale".

We remind everyone of the fact that all articles and information contained in this number can be reproduced and we urge all our correspondents to make known by all possible means the material which they consider useful.

STATEMENT

of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace on the preparation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace to be held in Vienna.

December 12th, 1952

The Appeal for a Congress of the Peoples, issued by the World Council of Peace, is arousing great interest in all countries, and is already evoking a considerable response.

The resort to a policy of force in international relations has resulted in tension, the effects and dangers of which are daily more obvious. Faced with this situation, social groups of the most varied kinds, in particular political, trade union, religious and pacifist, agree that a way must be found to break the deadlock.

How can the wars now going on be stopped?

How can the cold war be brought to an end?

How can the independence of nations be safeguarded and the security of every country be guaranteed?

The answers to these questions can only be found through genuine discussion among forces truly representative of the peoples' desire for Peace.

The Congress of the Peoples called by the World Council of Peace will be an international assembly bringing together men and women of different countries and devoted to different ways of life.

The participation of delegates, guests and observers will not imply their adherence to the Peace Movement.

The Congress of the Peoples will try to find, in free and effective discussion, reasonable solutions to the questions today dividing the world.

Agreement reached, even on a single point, will make easier understanding on further points and will contribute to a lessening of international tension.

The peoples will find the road to Peace together.

Adopted unanimously.
Vienna, October 16th, 1952

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace . . .

Although it was built during our century (it was finished in the Autumn of 1913), this hall already has a great history.

The first concert was given on October 19th, 1913. Richard Strauss had composed the music for this concert. The audition of his "Prelude Solonnel" was directed by Ferdinand Löwe. This work had been specially composed to fit the majestic proportions of the great concert hall.

On the occasion of the centenary of the death of Beethoven, in 1927, the "Missa Solemnis" was executed in the great hall by the Philharmonic Orchestra and the choirs of the National Opera, under the direction of Franz Schalk, with Elisabeth Schuman, Rosette Anday, Hermann Gallos and Richard Mayr. Among the public were the great German scientists, Hermann Abert and Albert Einstein; the present Minister of Education in Czechoslovakia, Zdenek Nejedly, an authority on the works of Beethoven and Smetana; the composer Boris Assasieff of Leningrad; the founder of American musical science, Carl Engel of Washington and the great English musicologist, Edward Dent. Romain Rolland also came here to talk on Beethoven.

The concerts given during the Beethoven centenary and other great international musical festivals made this musical centre famous. The very history of this concert hall testifies to the fact that Peace is a necessary concomitant of the development of musical life. The "sun of universal culture", to quote Romain Rolland speaking of music, shines brightest when the theme of Peace triumphs over the fracas of war, as in the "Missa Solemnis" of Beethoven.

The great concert hall in Vienna is where this truth finds daily confirmation.

. . . will open on December 12th, in the Great Concert Hall in Vienna

Britain prepares...

Above the Gothic spires of the world-famous university city of Cambridge where generations of scholars from many different lands have for centuries assimilated and made contributions to world culture, a thousand balloons floated skywards trailing messages of Peace.

And so began a week, during which the citizens and scholars of Cambridge were constantly reminded that civilisation, whether it meant for them individually the pursuit of learning or a workman's pride of craftsmanship, the preservation of traditions and principles, or the maintenance of a family according to certain standards, all this is threatened with total obliteration. But they were also reminded that they themselves can help save the Peace — and the civilisation they cherish.

Across one of the main streets, there flew a huge banner bearing a Peace emblem designed by a well-known sculptress; in the city centre there was a bookstall and information bureau; a concert sponsored by the Musician's Organisation for Peace was advertised by 10,000 programmes distributed door-to-door and was well attended. There was a dedication service in a church; film shows were arranged by the local Labour Party and the Cambridge Assembly of Women, while several meetings were addressed by speakers of varying political and religious views.

A message from the United States ambassador wished the Peace Week "all success". Another, from the Soviet ambassador, read: "I wish you good success in your work for the promotion and understanding between our peoples."

This is one of the latest examples of the preparations that are being made in Britain for the great Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

Other towns and cities have also been quick to respond to the Appeal of the British Sponsoring Committee for the Peoples' Congress which includes some 60 well-known professional men and women and prominent trade-unionists, and to the new feeling of urgency amongst the people (reflected in the mood of delegates at the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party Conference which was flooded with resolutions from every part of the island demanding, in one way or another, an end to current conflicts, to re-armament and for a let-up in restrictions on international trade).

In Glasgow, for example, a Peace parade marched through the city, recently, bearing a tableau and over 100 posters drawing people's attention to the things which concern them most — the rising cost of living, pools of unemployment, lengthy conscription and so on — all of which were linked with the international tension and the way this can be eased by the peoples voicing their views at the Vienna Congress.

In the West-country city of Bristol, a conference attended by Quakers, trade union and co-operative branches, shop stewards in a local aircraft factory, the local branch of the Assembly of Women and students from the university, unanimously passed a resolution demanding immediate negotiations for the ending of hostilities in every part of the world. At the same time it drew up a list of prominent citizens who will be asked to form a panel from which delegates will be drawn to attend the Peoples' Congress.

But not only are preparations being made on a regional scale. Even more important, delegates are being chosen for Vienna from the factory floor, from the pit-head and on the docks, as well as from trade union branches, co-operative guilds and religious organisations.

At least ten delegates have already been elected in this way from London and Yorkshire alone.

In a Glasgow shipyard, the shop stewards have welcomed the Congress.

In a big engineering shop in Scotland where a decision was taken to send delegates to Vienna, it was estimated that if 3,000 workers were to pay 6d each week for a fortnight, the expenses would be found for two delegates.

Another method of overcoming the difficulty of expenses was solved by railwaymen in one depot who got in touch with their colleagues in another and decided to send a delegate to Vienna jointly.

But perhaps the medium which is winning the widest publicity and support in Britain for the Vienna Congress is the "Note-books for Peace", of which more than 7,000 are in circulation.

On the cover, under the tittle: "Your Voice For Peace", people are asked such questions as:

"How do you think the danger of war could be reduced?"

"Can anything be done to reduce the burden of armaments?"

They are then asked to contribute their views to the discussion at the Peoples' Congress by writing them down inside the 16-page notebook.

In addition, pamphlets describing the purpose of the Congress and the ways by which it can be made a success are being distributed and, together with the Notebooks for Peace are stimulating discussions in factory canteens, in house meetings over a cup-of-tea, in church halls and sewing circles, in formal discussion groups and, informally, in pubs and clubs.

Twelve of the women members of the British Sponsoring Committee including the wife of an air Vice-Marshall, a celebrated actress and an eminent zoologist, have sent an appeal to over 2,000 womens' organisations in Britain. "War settles no differences," it says. "There must be an alternative to death and destruction. The Peoples Congress will bring together all who wish to replace violence and war by negotiation and understanding."

Britain's young people — whose interests are so vitally concerned in a country where the conscription period is longer than anywhere else, are also playing a vigorous part in the preparations.

They are joining in the great international relay to Vienna, which will carry messages from young people the world over. The British team will start from Clydebank, Glasgow, on November 9th after a celebration of World Youth Day. On its way South, the team will collect votes in favour of a reduction in the two years' conscription. Meetings, socials, concerts and film shows will take place en route. By the time the relay reaches London, it is expected that thousands of votes will have been collected and will feature in London's World Youth Day Celebration on November 24th.

The theme "things can't go on as they are", is a common one in Britain today in every section of the community — among housewives contending with rising prices; among shopkeepers who see their customers dwindling and among businessmen starved of raw materials and denied overseas markets.

This is why the Congress of the Peoples is receiving widespread recognition as a timely event of supreme importance to all who gain from a world at Peace.

...for the Congress of the Peoples

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLES CONGRESS by Henri MATISSE and Pablo PICASSO

Dear Friends who work for Peace,

We are glad to learn that men of all opinions are going to unite for a free discussion of the problems of Peace.

We are in agreement with them in the desire to see a lessening of international tension.

Disarmament must be brought about by negotiation between States and not by a display of force.

We are convinced that mutual respect between peoples and the forms of governments of their choice will advance the cause of Peace and, to maintain this thing we all hold dear — Peace — we think that discussion is better than threats.

In the profound belief that thanks to the united efforts of all, the spirit of Peace will prevail over that of war, we send you our best wishes for success in your meetings.

10th October, 1952.

Signed: Henri MATISSE
Pablo PICASSO.

AN APPEAL of Anna SEGHERS

A writer expresses what his people feel and think. The Congress of the Peoples expresses what the peoples feel and think.

It cries "Halt!" to the war-makers. It points the way to men to free themselves from the anguish of death and intolerable tension and advance towards a future of security and Peace.

To those who make profit out of war and armaments, all works of art are only things to be bought and sold. Their contacts with artists are on the basis of contempt or corruption, of slander or flattery. A work of art is sold for some base price or forgotten — or burned under fascism or during war.

At the Congress of the Peoples, the words of the writers will carry their full weight. There, they will express what their peoples feel and think.

For they are the conscience of their people. If this were not so, their words would be like a silent bell.

However great their talent, it would dry up drop by drop, like a river in a dry land, without source or mouth.

We call on artists to join us in defending their art and the art of all centuries and all peoples at the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna.

We call on writers to speak on behalf of their people and their own children in their works and at the Congress of the Peoples.

We call on them to express in loud voice, each in his own tongue, what his conscience and the conscience of his people dictates.

Result of the exchange of letters between Sig. Giuseppe NITTI and Professor Frederic JOLIOT-CURIE

We have learned that at the meeting called by Sig. Nitti in Rome after receipt of the letter from President Joliot-Curie, the personalities present decided to establish a secretariat which will be independent of the Italian Peace Movement and will ensure the participation of different well-known people and organisations at the Congress of the Peoples.

The point of view of Signor TERRANOVA Christian Democrat Deputy

Raffaele Terranova, Deputy and member of the Christian Democratic Party — the Party to which Premier De Gasperi belongs — took part in the meeting of Members of Parliament organised in Rome by Sig. Giuseppe Nitti. During this meeting a committee was formed of persons not belonging to the Peace Movement but who want to go to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna. Sig. Terranova gave the newspaper "Paese Sera" these points of information on the intentions of this committee of Italian Members of Parliament. The following is an extract from his statement.

"The fullest and most explicit guarantees have been given to those who want to go to Vienna to find a meeting place for the exchange of opinions and suggestions on general and specific ideas for peaceful co-existence of the peoples. Professor Joliot-Curie has shown great wisdom and breadth of vision in accepting the demands put forward in Sig. Nitti's letter which asked for certain guarantees. In this way, Professor Joliot-Curie has set a good example of the way in which people can get together despite widely differing points of view.

We know that many Peace Committees are organising very broad delegations which are not solely composed of active peace workers. Nevertheless, we also know that there are many Italians, including myself, who wish to retain the fullest freedom of judgement and action with regard to the Defenders of Peace and yet wish to be present or represented in Vienna. It is not unlikely that certain Defenders of Peace may be surprised at or opposed to our proposals. If so, I believe that they would be showing an extremely partisan spirit, which has certainly not been shown by their President, Professor Joliot-Curie. No one has the monopoly of working for Peace. Others may say we are mistaken because we are ready to talk and act with the Communists, the Russians and the Chinese; but do we not have to talk with and listen to everyone if we really want to establish Peace?"

THE SPONSORING COMMITTEE FOR THE BRAZILIAN DELEGATION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES

Fifty - three personalities of all backgrounds, professions and opinions, including M. P.s belonging to the Social-Democratic Party, the National Democratic Union, the Brazilian Labour Party, the Social Progressive Party, the Republican Party, the Christian-Democratic Party and the Republican Labour Party, and five independent M. P.s have just set up a Sponsoring Committee for the Brazilian Delegation to the Congress of the Peoples.

The Sponsoring Committee has launched the following appeal to the Brazilian people:

"The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will open in Vienna on December 12th. Today the peoples are much more conscious of the danger of being dragged into a war they do not want.

"We welcome the appeal for the convocation of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and we invite the Brazilian people to give every support to this document by working with it and by seeking to unite all those who wish to protect our motherland and mankind from the horrors of a new war.

"The Brazilian delegation to the Congress of the Peoples will express the traditionally peaceful feelings of our people and their desire to contribute to the safeguarding of Peace.

"Let all take to heart the words of the Convocation Appeal for the Congress."

The following people signed this appeal: Senora Branca Fialho, educationist, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace; General Edgard Buxbaum; Monseigneur Costabile Hipolito, Catholic Priest, apostolic protonotary, Vicar of Sagé since 1892, founder of the Rosario Gymnasium at Porto-Alegre; Silvio de Campos, lawyer, former President of the State of Sao Paulo; Jorge Amado, writer, Stalin International Peace Prize winner; Santiago Americano Freire, professor at the Minas Gerais University, winner of the Gold Medal of the International Congress of Biochemistry (Paris 1952); Matias Olimpo, Senator of the Republic, member of the National Democratic Union; Julio Rocha Xavier, lawyer, Deputy, former assistant Governor of Parana, member of the Brazilian Labour Party; Campos Vergal, Social-Progressive Party, Deputy in the Federal Parliament, spiritualist leader; Henrique Fialho, judge in the Court of Appeal of the Justice Tribunal of the Federal District; Candido Portinari, artist; Janio Quadros, Christian-Democratic Party, Deputy, in the State of Sao Paulo; Bibi Ferreira, theatre and cinema artist; Father Benedito M. Cardoso, director of the Saint Francis de Sales Institute in the State of Sao Paulo; Clovis Ribeiro Cintra, Deputy from the State of Mato Grosso; Arnaldo Marques, doctor, professor at Pernambuco University; Tarcilo Vieira de Melo, Social-Democratic Party, Deputy in the Federal Parliament, former secretary of Education for the State of Bahia; Arnaldo Estrela, pianist, professor at Brazil university; Romulo Finamore, judge in the Court of Appeal of the State of Espirito Santo; Henrique Marques Lisboa, professor at Minas Gerais University; Alcides Antonio Maciel, landowner, Sao Paulo; Milton Marcondes, municipal councillor, member of the National Democratic Union, president of the Trade Union of Bank Employees of the State of Sao Paulo; Pedro de Camargo (Vinicius), advisory member of the Spiritualist Federation of the State of Sao Paulo; Graciliano Ramos, writer, president of the Association of Brazilians Writers; Radames Gnatali, composer; Milton Roberto, president of the Institute of Brazilian Architects; Moacir Fenelon, film producer and director, president of the Film Producers Union; Decio Toledo Leite, judge at the regional Working Tribunal, Sao Paulo; Adalmo Saldanha, Deputy from the State of Mato Grosso; Geraldo Simões, industrialist and cattle-breeder from Minas Gerais; Floriano Benevides Guimaraes, judge in the State of Geara; Edson Mouri Fernandes, Social-Democratic Deputy in the State of Pernambuco; Canon Antonio de G'oes Bittencourt, Catholic Priest in the State of Bahia; Oscar Niemeyer, architect; Osny Duarte Pereira, judge of the Federal District; Wilson Lins, Republican Party Deputy in the State of Bahia; Pericles Gomes Araujo, Deputy of the National Democratic Union from the State of Ceara; Benedito Vaz Figueiredo, Deputy from the State of Matto Grosso; Miguel Nicolau, Deputy from the State of Sao Paulo, member of the Brazilian Labour Party; José Carvalheira Ramos, Deputy of the National Democratic Union of Minas Gerais; José Geraldo Vieira, writer; Benedito Leite de Campos, judge in the Court of Appeal in the State of Matto Grosso; Mileto Rizzo, Deputy of the Brazilian Labour Party of the State of Ceara; Fernando de Oliveira Coutinho, judge in the Working Tribunal, Sao Paulo; Marinho Falcao, Deputy from the State of Matto Grosso; Fabricio Soares, Deputy of the National Democratic Union from the State of Minas Gerais; Evandro Lins e Silva, criminologist; Professor Maria Setla de Novais, poetess, from the State of Espirito Santo; José Morize de Andrade, Social Progressive Party, Deputy in the State of Ceara; Joao Salgadó Sobrinho, Republican Labour Party Deputy in the State of Sao Paulo; Colonel Olimpo Ferraz de Carvalho, lawyer, secretary of the Executive Committee of the Brazilian Labour Party, in the State of Minas Gerais; Vera Nunes, cinema and theatre artist.

Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem

STATEMENT

The representatives of the Bureau of the International Initiating Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem held a meeting in Berlin on October 19th, 1952, with representatives from the majority of participating countries.

Among those present at this meeting were: Jean-Marie DOMENACH, Michel BRUGUIER and Stephan HERMLIN, members of the Bureau of the International Initiating Committee; Mme HODINOVÁ-SPURNÁ (Czechoslovakia); Mme Isabelle BLUME (Belgium); Mrs José SOLLEY (Great Britain); M. Yves FARGE (France); Sig. Guiseppe NITTI, General GUIDOTTI, General ROVEDA, Arnoldo FRATEILI (Italy); Dr. Robert SEITSCHEK (Australia); Ostap DLUSKI (Poland); Johannes DIECKMANN, Président of the People's Chamber; Franz DAHLEM, Deputy, Professor Albert NORDEN and Alexander ABUSCH (German Democratic Republic); Pastor Martin NIEMÖLLER and other representatives from West Germany.

The following statement was published at the close of the meeting:

"The Parliaments which are being asked to ratify the Bonn and Paris Agreements will assume an overwhelming responsibility. These Agreements are endangering Peace and the national independence of the peoples.

"Men of all opinions, of all beliefs and representing all political trends in Europe and the majority of countries interested in the German problem, were to meet today in Stockholm the delegations from West Germany and East Germany, in order to seek a solution satisfactory both to the aspirations of Germany from the national point of view and the legitimate concern of other nations to guarantee their security.

"The obstacles which were designed to prevent this Conference from taking place in full strength, testify to the importance, the necessity and the urgent need of such a meeting.

"On November 8th, 9th and 10th, the 'Conference to Seek a Peaceful Solution to the German Problem' will be held in West and East Berlin.

"Conscious that we interpret the true interests of our countries, we call upon the peoples of Europe to condemn the Bonn and Paris Agreements so that the chances of a peaceful settlement are not jeopardised.

"We invite them to deliberate and to mandate national delegates who will participate in this Conference.

"We have together made a beginning to the drawing up of a peaceful solution of the German problem. In common and fraternal work we shall continue to defend Peace in Europe and to demonstrate that understanding is possible between all the countries on our Continent."

AN APPEAL
from the Synod of the Evangelical Church of Germany

The Synod of the Evangelical Church of Germany which was held in Elbingerode (German Democratic Republic) decided to address an appeal for understanding to the Four Great Powers and has decided to make known to the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Government of the Federal Republic of Bonn their anxiety at the division of Germany.

On the item on the agenda headed: "The public responsibility of Christians", the Synod unanimously adopted a resolution which said in part:

"The Synod feels very deeply the misery which befell and which can again befall the two parts of Germany as a result of the division of our country. It sees and understands the moral distress which will afflict countless men and women, and particularly the young people, when armed forces are again constituted on the two sides and when compulsory military service is re-established. It aspires to Peace for the German people and for the whole world, and for Peace Christianity must take its stand".

FRANCE
Radical Party Congress

The Radical Party Congress has just been held in Bordeaux. Here are two items from contributions to the discussion made by two of the party leaders, M. Herriot and M. Daladier:

M. HERRIOT:

"The plan for a European Army gives Germany new advantages while demanding sacrifices of France which she cannot accept. It is contrary to our constitution and means that we lose part of our national sovereignty."

M. DALADIER:

"Do you consider that it would be dishonourable to make an effort to resolve the differences between the East and the West?"

IT CAN'T GO ON!

"I am prepared to give up War"
Lord Boyd ORR

At a public meeting of the "World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government" which was held at the beginning of October in Kingsway Hall, London, Lord Boyd Orr, former President of the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organisation, talked about the armaments race:

"It has been said that if we are going to apply science to produce food to eliminate disease from the world, we will need to give up something in the highly industrialised wealthy countries. I am prepared to give up something. I am prepared to give up war.

"If the present effort of rearmament, the terrific force which is being spent on it by practically every country in the world, were directed towards constructive ends, within 10 years there would be an abundance of food for everybody. This would be easy to do if every nation were existing alone. The trouble is that the world is now so small that the nations must agree to co-operate to do these things or they will fight."

Distinguished People support the Congress of the Peoples

"I wish the Congress of the Peoples every success", says Rabbi BAUER of Paris.

"It goes without saying that we have not forgotten the suffering of the last war during which six million Jews perished.

"I consider that all Jews cannot but want peace in view of all that they have suffered in the past.

"At this time of the year, on the occasion of the Festivals of the New Year and the Great Pardon, we ask in our prayers that peace should reign on earth. It follows that we must do all in our power to avoid a repetition of the slaughter and the torture that we have formerly known.

"I wish the Congress of the Peoples full and complete success in the tasks which it has set itself".

AN APPEAL
for the Congress of the Peoples
by M. Gustave MONOD

Honorary Director of Higher Education in France.

I wish that all teachers of France were aware how deeply the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples for Peace, due to meet in Vienna on December 12th, concerns them. They have the young people of France under their charge, but many of them work in difficulty and with an uneasy conscience. How can one face up to the future of these children. And as for the present, a system which is out of all proportion to the problems, inadequate grants, children on the street and hosts of adolescents, virtually neglected, whose leisure hours are being exploited by businessmen.

All this, because instead of responding to the fervent hopes of the peoples who demand peace, some of the World's leaders are allowing the threat of war to increase and are sacrificing the future of our children to the building of tanks and bombs.

But, here is a unique occasion: the Congress of Vienna has been called to give voice to this desire for Peace which is in all peoples. Here, there will be no party, no political obligations, only the simple desire for Peace. This desire must be expressed and imposed with such vigour that it will go down in history.

We believe that it is the duty of teachers, whose work can only be practiced under peaceful conditions, to take part in this enterprise of those who are promoting and winning the Peace. Let them establish contacts between these hosts of men and women who do not know each other, yet who all feel the curse of war weighing down upon the life of their children. Let them promote delegations for Vienna, let them do all in their power to make the vibrant appeal of the French people in favour of Childhood and Peace be heard there.

This message comes to them from men who are strangers to political action, who have devoted their lives and their efforts to the young people and who cannot accept that for the third time in less than 50 years, these children could be victims of the crimes or the incompetence of governments.

PARIS October 11th 1952

THERE MUST BE AN END TO IT!

MESSAGE FROM INDIA

Mr KARANJIA, director of the English-language review, "Blitz", has sent the following message:

"Our people know that our hopes lie in the beautiful and shining Evangel of Peace. Peace is the last thread which keeps our land and its people from drowning. Through Peace, and Peace alone, shall we survive with the rest of the world on the principles of the new ideal of co-existence, co-operation, trade and co-prosperity between the Socialist and Capitalist worlds. The solution to all our problems lies in Peace.

"Understanding the supreme necessity of Peace for our freedom, our means of existence and our survival, we are doing all in our power in order to attain that golden age. The Peace Movement in India today enjoys the support of all patriotic parties in India. The Indian National Congress — the leading party — has itself adopted the principles of our resolutions demanding a cessation to the hostilities in Korea followed by a Conference of the Great Powers in order to draw up a formula for Peace in our time. At the same time, Mr Nehru, the Prime Minister, has made his contribution to the universal movement by sending Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishna, Vice-President of the Indian Union and distinguished peace-lover, on a mission to bring light to 'that darkling plain, where ignorant armies meet and clash in the night'.

"It is in the spirit of a people thirsting for Peace, in body, in mind and in soul that we in India join with honest people throughout the world in welcoming the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples for World Peace in Vienna. May every success and glory attend your efforts."

"YOUNG MUST BE GIVEN HOPE"

author of children's books

M. Charles Vildrac is a well-known French writer. This author has written many books for children and young people, including "L'Ile Rose" which is widely known among educationists.

"I would like to lay stress on the repercussions which the Congress of the Peoples can have on the young people.

"You know that everything young people hear on the radio, everything they see in the Press, in their magazines, is nothing but armaments, experiments, weapons of destruction, fighter planes, atomic bombs, etc. That is the ideal and future being proposed to them.

"It is up to the educationists to propose something else to them and we well know that they will do so. We know that they are doing it every day. But it is necessary that the young people be informed of the vast and impressive undertaking of Peace which is developing and the importance of an event like the Congress of Vienna.

"The prospects for youth are dull and they are being made to believe in the fatality of war, in the terrible, in the infernal and constant development of machines of war, in scientific and total war.

"On the occasion of the Congress of the Peoples, as on every occasion, it is necessary to guide the minds of young people towards enlightenment, towards hope and towards the ideal of Peace within the framework of the great humane ideal. And it is up to the educationists to devote themselves to this task. We are sure that they will not fail."

Paris, October 12th, 1952.

BRITISH TRADE UNIONIST AND PEACE

The concern felt by British workers in face of the increasing dangers of war was one of the most striking facts of the Trade Union Congress which was held in Margate at the beginning of September.

This feeling was interpreted at Margate by the passing of two resolutions — one condemning bacterial warfare and the other calling for large-scale extension of East-West trading relations.

The first resolution, presented by the Association of Scientific Workers, was adopted by the majority of delegates in spite of opposition by the leadership of the T. U. C. The resolution condemns any use of bacterial weapons and demands that the British Government intervene in the United Nations in order that an international agreement outlawing the use of this weapon be signed.

As far as the problem of economic exchanges is concerned, a resolution submitted by the National Union of Mineworkers was unanimously adopted by delegates. Recommending an extension of trade with China, the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies as a means of contributing to a way out of the growing economic difficulties of Great Britain, the resolution further declared that the extension of such relations would make an effective contribution to diminishing international tension which is causing anxiety among all the peoples.

Two other resolutions advocating negotiations between the Great Powers with a view to settling international differences and a reduction of armaments, received nearly two million votes.

EPISCOPAL ADDRESS OF THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST CHURCH TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF SAN FRANCISCO, 1952

"Nothing can be more disastrous than a fatalist acceptance of the inevitability of a third world war. It is the most threatening spectre haunting the life of our generation. To envisage it is like destroying all future hope of a more Christian world."

After the Peace Conference of Asia and the Pacific Regions

THE CONFERENCE AND THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES

(Resolution)

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions in which the representatives of the peoples of 37 countries are taking part hereby solemnly declares:

We warmly support the call, issued by the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace held in Berlin, for a Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna in December 1952.

This regional Peace Conference here in session is, in fact, an important step towards the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

We call on all sections of the people and all political, social and religious organisations of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, to use their utmost efforts after the Conference to lay the groundwork for the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

Only two months remain before the date of the Congress. Let all delegates on their return take immediate action, side by side with the other supporters of Peace in their respective countries, to rally people of all walks of life, on the widest possible basis, to intensify the preparatory work for the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. We must bring home the paramount importance of the convocation of this Congress of the men and women in every country, in every corner, in every city and village of the regions we represent and urge them to send the most representative delegations possible to this Congress of the Peoples which is of vital significance in the struggle to defend Peace. Peking, October 10th 1952

Statement by Saifuddin KITCHLEW

Indian Congress Party Member of Parliament

The Vienna Congress is quite indispensible. This Congress will carry forward the work which has been done in Peking. The Peking Conference is not an isolated affair. It is part of the general movement of the peoples for Peace.

We must go to Vienna. Our place is in Vienna. I hope that constructive proposals for economic and cultural exchanges and for friendship between all peoples will emerge from the Congress of the Peoples.

PEKING

The Peking Conference is significant not only because of the unanimous agreement reached between the delegates of all the countries represented, to defend the national independence of each, and also to defend Peace; it is also significant by reason of the remarkable spirit of co-operation and friendship which was aroused there.

This spirit was demonstrated in a very graphic manner. Suddenly, at the close of a speech, lively, harmonious music would begin to play and down the centre of the Conference hall would march a delegation loaded with flowers and gifts.

They were representatives of the national minorities of China in their colourful costumes not the least strange of which, to Western eyes, were those of the inhabitants of Tibet who wore their traditional glittering robes and felt hats. The Buddhist monks clothed in their yellow robes, the Mohammedans, leaders of the Catholic Church and nuns, went to the tribune and presented a banner to the President of the Conference and turning to the hall joined in the applause, testifying to the peoples will for Peace. There were so many delegations that it is difficult to remember all. But unforgettable was the delegation of women workers from Peking whose liveliness and enthusiasm, testified to the fundamental transformation in the great Chinese people where women are emancipated and have an important role to play.

There was a dramatic moment when the whole American delegation, to the sound of the same, lively, harmonious music, mounted the tribune to embrace the Korean delegates.

The representatives of India and Pakistan solemnly marched together to the tribune and in front of President Kuo Mo-jo, they exchanged gifts and garlands of flowers and signed an agreement in which the two delegations undertook to make a common effort to bring about a peaceful solution in accordance with the desire of their two peoples, to the conflict over Kashmir which has for such a long time separated and caused bloodshed between them.

This was not only a symbolic ceremony but the beginning of action. When Dr Saifuddin Kitchlew, Congress Party Member of Parliament and leader of the Indian delegation at the Conference came down from the tribune, he said:

"This agreement must now be strengthened by a great publicity campaign. India will do this."

And now delegates from Pakistan have left for India while Dr Kitchlew himself has gone to Pakistan. And so something concrete has already evolved from the expression of good intentions. A demonstration of the will for Peace can become the beginning of constructive undertaking. On a world scale, if we desire it strongly enough, international tension can and must be lessened.

Letter from the General Secretary of the "Movement of French Universities under the Threat of a New World War"

The "Movement of French Universities under the Threat of a New World War" was set up two years ago by 150 university professors in Paris and in the provinces who were alarmed by the menace of a new conflagration. Since then, it has considerably increased its influence and set up international contacts with University professors in Great Britain, the USSR and Switzerland.

To M. Yves Farge

President of the Peace Movement

(letter dated October 7th 1952)

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your invitation to participate in the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna. So far, we have declined to participate actively in the various Congresses or Conferences of your organisation in order to preserve — in conformity with the opinions of our supporters — the "non-political" and independent character of our Movement. We have, therefore, only been able to send observers to such meetings.

From the reports and documents presented by M. Dumont who was our observer at the Berlin Session of the World Council on July 1st to 6th, it seems that the Vienna Congress will present a new character.

Desirous of seizing every opportunity of contributing to the building of Peace, we would like to be enlightened as to this new character, in order that we may decide whether it is possible for us to contemplate taking part in this Congress and to ask the same of other organisations in France and abroad with whom we are in contact and to whom we shall communicate your correspondence.

In such conditions, would you be so kind as to reply to the following questions:

1) Will this Congress be of a truly different character from preceeding Congresses or will it be a Congress of the "Peace Movement"?

2) Is it a meeting place for all men and all organisations working for Peace? Will the delegates be able to put forward their opinions and take part in the discussion, in the drawing up of the agenda and the resolutions in *strict equality* and in *complete freedom,* within the confines of courtesy and mutual understanding?

3) In view of the fact that you are organising local assemblies with a view to setting up a national delegation, what will be the position of the delegates elected by independent associations with regard to this delegation?

4) Will the meeting take place in the international zone or in the Soviet zone of Vienna? We attribute considerable symbolic value to the first hypothesis.

5) Should the answers to these questions be such as to allow us to attend this Congress, we would like to have the assurance that we shall be the sole judges of the form of our participation (preparation of our motions, choice and independence of our delegates) and that we shall be able on the platform to expound the feelings of our Movement and present resolutions which will conform to it.

Very sincerely yours,

Reply from M. Yves FARGE

(dated October 10th 1952)

Dear Sir,

Your letter of October 7th was given the most careful attention by our Bureau. We understand your concern to preserve the independence of your Movement and in replying to your questions, we are happy to be able to specify the character given to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace.

The Congress of the Peoples for Peace will not be a third Congress of our Movement. Our Appeal for this Congress is an offer for an international meeting to which the Peace Movement will bring its own solutions while accepting and welcoming the broadest exchange of viewpoints.

The Congress of the Peoples is quite open — as you desire — to all people and to all organisations

working for Peace who will freely uphold their own points of view at this Congress. In these conditions, it goes without saying that your organisation will remain the sole judge of the form to be given to its participation, to the expression of its ideas and to its contribution in general.

From this it will appear clear that your delegates to the Congress of the Peoples should be direct representatives of your Movement; we can also, with regard to the point raised in your third question, examine with you how best the most effective representation can be assured to your satisfaction.

In answer to your fourth point, on which we also felt some concern, we would add that the date of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace has been postponed until December 12th. in order that the Congress could take place in the Concert Hall in Vienna, which is situated in the British sector.

We firmly believe that in the mutual respect of opinions, as in the mutual concern not to interfere in the internal affairs of States, we can aim at that objective which is common to us both — to make negotiated rather than dictated solutions prevail, to seek grounds which can assure the peaceful co-existence of systems and peoples, that is to say, the surest means of putting an end to the perilous international tension.

In this good will endeavour which should show us the way to arrive at solutions, we can contribute to dispelling distrust, that is to putting an end to the cold war which is contrary to and hinders negotiations.

Very sincerely yours.

PROFESSOR INFELD
(Polish Physicist)
speaks to American scientists

"We scientists have, like all other people, a great stake in preserving the Peace of the world. We scientists have, like all other people, a great stake in ending the cold war; but in working for the preservation of the Peace and for ending the cold war, we scientists have our additional, very important reasons.

"Working with a view to ending the cold war means returning to science its international character, its dignity, based on the collaboration of all scientists of all countries. We do know that by preserving Peace we avoid destruction, we avoid the use of terrible weapons that were created by using the discoveries of the scientists of the world.

"Therefore, it is specially important that the scientists who strive for Peace should come to the Congress of the Peoples and tell us how they envisage the fulfilment of our common aims. You know that our Peace movement is headed by one of the greatest living scientists — Professor Joliot-Curie. There are others, both in the World Council of Peace and in our Bureau. If you agree with us, do come to the Congress of the Peoples and join us in our work. If you don't agree with us, but agree with our ultimate aims, come to the Congress and tell us your views.

"The establishment of personal contact in an atmosphere of free discussion will serve the cause of Peace and it will serve science."

At the I. L. C. O. P. International Conference

A resolution unanimously adopted by an international conference held at Elfinsward, Haywards Heath, England, from August 26th-31st, 1952, under the auspices of the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace, begins as follows:

"That this Conference of I. L. C. O. P. desires to assert its strong belief in the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of peoples living under different ideological, political or economic systems. It asserts that war is not inevitable, nor does war resolve the underlying causes of international conflict. As the choice is between living together or dying together, the Conference urges all Governments to substitute conciliation for cold war, to make and use every opportunity for negotiations, and to display the spirit necessary for their success."

The resolution went on to urge an immediate armistice in Korea, a peaceful solution of the German problem, a general agreement on disarmament, the cessation of all antagonistic propaganda, the recognition of the right of all peoples to that form of government which they believe to be best suited to their own circumstances, and co-operation by all nations in a war on want.

A message from Paul Robeson

"The American people are weary of wasteful wars. We can and must build — you and we together — a lasting Peace, East and West, with hands and hearts joined, working and building and singing together as we fashion man's unlimited future."

STUDENTS AND PEACE

"PAX ROMANA" writes to International Union of Students

Some time ago, letters were exchanged between the Secretariat of the International Union of Students and the Secretariat of "PAX ROMANA" (International Movement of Catholic Students) on the possibility of co-operation between the two world associations of students in the interests of easing the international tension. Because of the discussion which has arisen in broad circles by the forthcoming Congress of the Peoples, we are reproducing extracts from these letters.

In the letter from "PAX ROMANA" to the International Union of Students, signed by the General Secretary, M. Bernard Ducret, speaking of the peaceful co-existence of various economic and social systems, says:

"We are glad to see that you affirm the possibility of co-existence especially since a number of your statements, accepted as classics by you, appear to us to give the opposite impression.

"We insist, however, in making clear that such a proposition in no way signifies in our eyes, approval af all economic and social systems. But we wish to say that the present difference between these systems should not lead to war. This does not prevent us from expressing our desire that all systems safeguard the essential rights and the dignity of the human personality. Work towards this appears to us as one of the indispensible conditions of a real peace."

The letter then deals with the solution of the differences between nations by peaceful negotiation.

"It is also our dearest wish that henceforth peaceful negotiations should be used to settle the differences which might set the nations against each other. War is never a fitting way of resolving such conflicts..."

The letter from "PAX ROMANA" then goes on to compare the future ideal of an "organic community of the peoples" and the present situation.

"It seems to us that the present situation of the world is precisely such that a war setting the two existing political blocs fighting would have terrifying consequences, surpassing in horrors all the evil it might pretend to cure. This is why we affirm that a declaration of war, from whichever bloc it may come, would be today a crime against humanity. This is why we stigmatise all political action (aggression, fomentation of trouble and civil wars, refusal of negotiations, etc.) which tends by itself to aggravate the international situation. This is, finally, why we hail with joy all efforts, from whatever side they may come, which can be a step towards a real and honest understanding, towards a better comprehension among the peoples.

"Where there is a war already raging we deem it the implicit duty of the belligerents to seek to confine the conflict and to do their utmost to reach an amicable settlement as soon as possible...

"In other words, what we want is a just peace, that is to say a peace which safeguards the essential rights of the human being and ethnic minorities. That we are still far from it does not however, justify in our eyes, the resort to war..."

Thirdly, the letter deals with collaboration for Peace in which the resasons are give why "PAX ROMANA" did not sign the Stockholm Appeal.

"...Our activities are not on a political basis. This is why we cannot associate ourselves with your appeal for a pact between the Great Powers. We are speaking here, in fact, as a Movement, leaving each of our members free to decide for himself those political engagements which his conscience dictates..."

Extracts from the reply of the International Union of Students

M. Paolo Pescetti, assistant Secretary of the I. U. S. in his reply to "PAX ROMANA", wrote:

"As we already wrote to you in our previous letter, we are deeply convinced that Catholic students cherish peace and we are aware of the many actions in support of peace in which Catholic students are participating together with their colleagues of other beliefs. You undoubtedly realise that the very co-operation between students from different countries holding different religious and political beliefs is by itself an important contribution to the fostering of mutual understanding among peoples and thereby to the cause of peace. To renounce this co-operation would not only mean to confine oneself to dangerous self righteousness but in fact to work against the very principles of the necessity of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between different social systems..."

Dealing point by point with the letter from "PAX ROMANA", the assistant General Secretary of the I. U. S. writes:

"...On the basis of the principles raised in your letter on the co-existence of different economic and social systems, and of the settlement of international differences by negotiation, we believe it is possible for our organisations to co-operate on certain specific principles and actions..."

"It was not suggested that "PAX ROMANA" sign a particular document but simply that the Association of Catholic Students support the idea of such a meeting and the conclusion of a pact of peace..."

"The condemnation of bacterial and atomic warfare, in accordance with the resolution of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in Toronto, in July, 1950.

"Because of its support for negotiations, 'PAX ROMANA' could give its support to the efforts to stop the wars in Korea and Viet Nam by negotiation.

"...This exchange of views", the letter concludes, "has strengthened our conviction that a meeting between the representatives of our two organisations would be useful...

"...We consider that, particulary in the field of activities for peace, differences of programme, nature and structure which exist between different international organisations should not be a reason for ruling out co-operation among them..."

Bacterial Warfare

BAN GERM WEAPONS!
Federation of American scientists

It may be remembered that the June issue of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists published a statement by the Federation of American Scientists which said:

"A new and clearer statement as to the extent and the aims of the American programme of bacterial warfare is absolutely essential to combat the effects of the recent Soviet accusation that the United Nations forces in Korea have employed bacterial warfare. In our opinion, the scanty available evidence offered to support these accusations certainly do not succeed in proving it. Nevertheless we desire to state that the effects of the Soviet accusations do not entirely depend on their exactitude, and that a denial in this particular case does not entirely answer the accusation. The question raised in the minds of the whole world is not so much whether we have used bacterial warfare in Korea, but whether we are ready and disposed to use it in the future..."

The resolution continued:

"... Unfortunately, the memory of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has half prepared them to believe that we are ready for it. Therefore it is not enough to answer the Soviet accusation with a denial and by claiming that the evidence offered in Korea is not conclusive. We must answer the accusations in substance as well as in fact. A statement coming from the highest level — including the President, the Minister of National Defence and the Secretary of State, as well as the Committee of Chiefs of Staff — is obviously necessary. This statement must explicitly specify the intentions of the USA with regard to bacterial warfare. The policy expounded must be based on a complete evaluation by the civil authorities of the political and military consequences. We insist that this statement clearly specify that the Government of the United States is ready and desirous to conclude with other Governments an agreement officially repudiating any use of bacterial warfare."

(re-translatend from the French)

*

The publication of the Report of the International Scientific Investigating Commission has helped to throw light on the facts of bacterial warfare.

The scientists who comprised this Commission have made known, in their respective countries the conclusions to which they arrived. In our last number we published a report of the Press Conference given by Professor Needham in London. Today we give news from Italy.

University of Bologna for Science and Peace

An outstanding proof of the devotion to duty of men of science in matters concerning truth and Peace has been shown recently by the Italian University of Bologna, which is the oldest university in the world.

It is the courageous witness of the eminent Italian scientist Professor OLIVO that has given rise to this demonstration.

Professor Oliviero Mario OLIVO, anatomy professor in the Faculty of Medicine at Bologna University, recently awarded the Italian Science Prize by the Lincei Academy, took part in the International Commission of Scientists in Korea for the investigation into bacterial warfare. On his return he held a public conference in a hall in Bologna before a qualified audience to whom he recounted the results of his investigation.

As a result of his exposure of the facts which was made in a scientific and humane manner, he was made the target of violent attacks in a Bologna daily newspaper.

A broad delegation of professors and students representing a variety of political views, recognising the scientific worthiness, the integrity and the moral standing of the eminent scientist, went to the President of the Faculty of Medicine to protest against the wanton attacks to which Professor Olivo had been subjected. Jealous of the honour of science and of the University of Bologna, the President of the Faculty and his colleagues of the Atheneum decided to issue an official invitation to Professor Olivo to make a report to the University itself for the doctors and the scientists of Bologna.

The members of the Academic Board and the most distinguished figures in Italian science took part. Among those present were Professor Chastoni, president of the Faculty of Pharmacy; Professor Bronsi of the Faculty of Medicine; Professor Tinozzi, director of the anti-tuberculosis dispensary; Professor Rosa, professor of Bacteriology; Professor Businco, lecturer in Pathological Anatomy; Professor Dina, professor of Anatomy; Professor Vecchi, professor of Zoology; Professor Arnaud; Professor Favilli, lecturer in General Pathology; Professor Scrocco, professor of Chemistry and Physics; Professor Poppi, professor of Medical Pathology; Professor Supino, of the Faculty of the Polytechnic; Professor Brunello of the Faculty of Philosophy; Professor Toni, lecturer in Histology; the school of Professor Valli, represented by assistant professors Galli, Brini, De Sabata, Rimondi, Vernonesi; Professor Manarini, president of the Faculty of Science in Bari; Professor Fortunati, lecturer in Statistics; Montaldo of the Faculty of Medicine; Doctor Balboni; Professor Rondinini of the Institute of Histology; Professor Aloisi of Modena University; Professor Bottiglioni of the Institute of Physiotherapy; Professor Longhena of the Institute of Clinical Ophthalmology, and many other eminent people in the cultural circles of Emilia.

This distinguished audience warmly applauded Professor Olivo at the close of the conference and on behalf of Italian Science condemned the abuse of freedom, human dignity and Science.

CONGRESS NEWS BRIEFS

UNITED STATES
American Peace Crusade

In one hour in Manhattan: 411 out of 414 persons say "YES" to immediate ceasefire in Korea

Thousands of workers in the clothing and furrier district in the centre of Manhattan heard the appeal asking them to vote for an immediate cease-fire in Korea.

From midday until 1. p. m., out of 414 persons questioned, 411 answered "yes" and three "no". 5,000 leaflets were distributed. Loud-speakers on lorries talked about peace to the workers going for lunch.

During the lunch hour, 702 voting bulletins with the word "yes" were collected.

INDIA
An Indian Physicist Protests Against Atomic Weapons

An eminent Indian Physicist, Professor M. M. SAHA, Director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics in Calcutta, has stated that scientists of repute should refuse to obey the "diabolical orders" of leading authorities. The Professor believes that a new method of exploding the atom bomb has just been used. If such a weapon has been developed, he said, it is terrible.

He also expressed the opinion that with a weapon of this sort atomic warfare could be carried from distant bases by pressing a button and in this case nothing could save large towns from complete destruction.

SPAIN
462,343 signatures for a Peace Pact

Spanish Peace workers living abroad, particulary those in the American Continent and Western Europe, have collected 462,343 signatures for the Appeal of the World Council of Peace for the conclusion of a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

IRAN
"Peace Fortnight"

In Iran a "Peace Fortnight" is being organised between October 20th and December 5th.

During these two weeks it is proposed to intensify by every possible means the great campaign in support of the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna.

ITALY
A message to journalists throughout the world

"At the Fourth National Congress of the Italian Press in Merano, the representatives of 8,072 journalists who constitute the great united family of Italian journalism, send a warm and fraternal message to journalists in every country in the world, convinced that today as in the future, they will be the guides of public opinion showing humanity the way to closer understanding among the peoples, for agreement, peaceful co-existence and peace among the men who people the earth."

The Peace Ribbon of the Women of Genoa

The delegates from Genoa will arrive in Vienna with thousands of coloured flags.

The Italian delegates will be very proud to present these symbols to the men and women who have come from all parts of the world to help in the task of building a lasting Peace. These brightly coloured flags will represent the support of thousands of Genoese families, for the women folk are collecting ribbons from house to house.

The housewife, the woman factory worker, the teacher or shop-assistant, while helping to make these flags by giving pieces of ribbon and sewing them together, know that they are also giving their support to the Congress of the Peoples.

At the Levant Fair in Bari

At the Levant Fair in Bari the local Peace Committee held discussions with the various trade representatives present on the possibilities of developing international commercial exchanges.

Dr. Hassam Sciffedin wished the Fair every success and expressed his hope that international tension be reduced by a meeting of the Four Great Powers. This would also be in the interests of the small states.

The Lebanase delegation stated that it was in full agreement with the proposal that an annual meeting of the exhibitors at the Levant Fair be held for a "frank and peaceful discussion" of the best ways of safeguarding peace and developing international trade relations.

NICARAGUA
A Peace Workers' Committee is set up in Nicaragua

In Guatemala, Central America, a Nicaraguan Peace Workers Committee has been set up. It has its headquarters in Guatemala and affiliated groups all over America wherever Nicaraguans are living.

This Committee condemns the intervention by one nation in the internal affairs of another. It will be a free association of individuals of all beliefs and opinions, the sole condition of membership being that they wish to work for the maintenance of Peace.

CEYLON
Statement of Buddhist Monk

"All men of religion must serve the cause of Peace,' says the Reverend U. SARANANKARA, Buddhist monk from Ceylon.

In a letter to the World Council of Peace a Buddhist monk from Ceylon, the Reverend U. Saranankara expressed his profound wish to make his contribution to

the maintenance of Peace.

"I consider that as a Buddhist monk it is my duty to work for World Peace. I believe that the danger of war is so serious for the whole world that all men of religion must serve the cause of Peace", he wrote.

In conclusion he said: "We can save the world from another world war. We who work for Peace must have a single determination. In the name of my country and in my own name I assure you that we shall do our very best to contribute to the success of the Vienna Congress."

COLOMBIA
The Colombian delegation to the Peking Conference

Dr. Diego Montana-Cuellar, ex-member of Paliament of Colombia, former Mayor of Bogota, former member of the national leadership of the Liberal Party, lawyer, Professor of Constitutional Law at the Free University of Bogota.

Jorge Zalamea Borda, former member of the national leadership of the Liberal Party, former Colombian Ambassador to Italy and Mexico, writer and well known scholar, greatly respected in American literary circles.

Jorge Bayona, trade union leader.

Alipio Jaramillo, artist, winner of various national exhibitions and one of the most eminent national painters.

Ventura Puentes Vanegas, trade union leader, former member of the Executive Committee of the Federation of Colombian Workers.

Victor M. Bautista, peasant leader.

José Domingo Velez, lawyer.

Nicolàs Buenaventura, engineer, businessman.

Rosalia Cruz de Buenaventura, former Director of the Conservatoire of Music of Cali, pianist.

Elias Botera Isaza, industrialist from Bucaramanga.

Mathilde Espinosa de Perez, writer.

Luis Vidales, writer and poet.

Manuel Zapata Olivera, doctor, coloured writer, exponent of folklore.

Humberto Grandos, biologist, scientist.

Jorge Gaitan Duran, young poet, art critic, contributor to several important American publications.

Guillermo Hurtado, law student.

ARGENTINA
Musicians for Peace

In the Argentine a group of Musicians for Peace has just been set up. Composers who are members of this organisation are studying ways of arranging an album of Peace songs and compositions with a view to sending them to the Congress of the peoples as a tribute from peace-loving musicians of the Argentine.

CANADA
Poster Competition

In Toronto, Canada, a competition of posters on the subject of Peace has been launched.

Many artists are preparing their entries. The poster which wins first prize will be shown at the Congress of the Peoples in Vienna.

An exhibition of all the posters entered in the competition will be opened in the middle of November. The Canadian artists hope to receive from all parts of the world posters which have been produced for the Congress of the Peoples.

GREECE

In the three villages of Vassilopoulo, Machaira, and Karaiskaki in the district of Xeromeros (Aitoloacarnanie), 150 inhabitants signed the following message which was published in the Athens newspaper "Avigi" on October 12th:

"We, the inhabitants of the villages of Vassilopoulo, Machaira and Karaiskaki in the district of Xeromeros, who have seen with our own eyes the horrors and devastation of war in our own country, raising our eyes above the blood which has been shed and the wooden crosses, above the ruins of our devastated houses see a star arise and the sound of the beating of the wings of a dove, bright and joyful, reaches our ears. It is Peace...

"...We send heartfelt greetings to the World Council of Peace which has convoked the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna and we issue a strong appeal to all and particularly to the Five Great Powers so that they may find peaceful means of solving their differences by negotiation, so that the use of atomic weapons may be prohibited, so that an end may be put to the dangerous progress down the slippery slope of re-armament..."

Things can't go on like this!

Things can't go on like this!

Leaning on his stick, he is thinking of the difficulties besetting him, of the fact that he is unable to sell his produce. Feeding stuffs are too dear. Taxes are too heavy.

These are the hard consequences of the preparations for a new conflict. This French peasant understands; he also knows the price of the blood spilt in the last two world wars and now in Korea, in Viet Nam...

And yet, men are cold - bloodedly thinking of starting a new slaughter. No! Things can't go on like this!

*

An elderly woman with her elbow resting on her knee, looks far away at the horizon.

Near her, the open face of a child, probably her grand-child, also in a pensive mood.

Yesterday, bombs killed the mother of this child; his father did not return from the camp where he had been deported.

No, it is not possible that it be his turn tomorrow.

We must stop the killing, we must prevent the arms drive.

We must ease the anguish of mothers. We must put an end to it!

*

These themes are illustrated in two posters published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace which will soon be attracting the attention of the man in the street who wants an end to this situation.

M. JOLIOT - CURIE'S

LETTER TO

Mr. WARREN AUSTIN

Mr. Warren R. Austin

2, Park Avenue

New York (N.Y.), USA

Paris, May 3rd, 1952

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of April 3rd, 1952, after having been made acquainted with its contents through the Press and in the daily bulletin of the American Information Services. I waited until I had the original complete text before replying to you.

I did not launch the Appeal, to which you replied, without having given the matter the most careful thought. Those who are not aware of the intensive efforts which have been made in your country for more than ten years to develop bacteriological weapons; those who do not know of the close co-operation between your specialists and Japanese experts in bacteriological warfare; those who may have forgotten Hiroshima and Nagasaki; those who do not know of the means of extermina-

tion such as the napalm bomb used by the American Armed Forces in Korea; such people may consider it unthinkable that men could have recourse to this new perversion of science—bacteriological warfare.

But you yourself, Mr. Austin, are perfectly well aware of all these facts and you are not unacquainted with statements made by responsible politicians and by your Press in which repeated threats have been made to use the most terrible and fantastic weapons which are even capable of obliterating all life on our planet. The use of the bacteriological weapon in Korea and in China is a first step to the implementation of these threats.

The President of the Academy of Sciences of Peking, my colleague Mr. Kuo Mo-Jo, and Chinese scientists (many of whom have completed their higher studies in the United States, Great Britain and France), who communicated to me the reports of statements and analyses effected in Korea and in China, are scientists for whom I hold the greatest esteem and whose professional capacity and moral integrity cannot be doubted.

The facts which they were in a position to ascertain and which they reported to me, show that bacteriological warfare is now being carried out.

After categorically denying the employment of the bacteriological weapon, your Government proposed that the Inter-

national Red Cross Committee be entrusted with the task of making an investigation.(1)

You are well aware, and your Government is certainly not ignorant of the fact, that this Committee is not especially empowered by its statutes to undertake such investigations. It was presumably for this reason that the Committee did not consider it to be its duty during the last war to denounce the Nazi concentration camps and the systematic extermination which obtained therein, of which the International Red Cross was fully cognizant.

(1) *Resolution 5 adopted at the 12th International Conference of the Red Cross at Geneva,* the text of which is reproduced below, does not entitle this organisation to carry out investigations into acts of a criminal character:

"In the event of the Geneva Protocol of the 17th June, 1925, being violated, it must become the duty of the Red Cross, even in peace-time, to seek together with the civil and military authorities, the means of protecting and taking care of its personnel, the belligerent armies and, above all, the civil population, from the effects of chemical warfare.

"It is the duty of the International Committee to keep itself informed as to the fulfilment of this programme and to keep in communication with the National Societies on this matter.

"As a general rule, the moral and propaganda fight against the use of poisons as a form of weapon, and against bacteriological warfare as well as the scientific and technical preparation of the best preventatives and therapeutics against such methods of warfare, should be one of the first obligations of the International Red Cross and of the National Societies of the Red Cross."

Even before there was any question of bacteriological warfare, the Koreans and the Chinese for their own reasons—of which they are the sole judges—refused to allow the International Red Cross Committee to enter their territory.

It would, therefore, appear that the Government of the United States proposed the International Red Cross Committee knowing that this offer would not be accepted by the Koreans and the Chinese.

On the other hand, the Government of the People's Republic of China has proposed the setting up of an international commission, whose competence and impartiality should be beyond question and who would be able to gather facts and evidence. This commission, composed of eminent scientific, legal and religious personalities will soon be constituted. It will go to the spot and proceed with its investigations. Without knowing who these persons are, you have thought fit to disparage them. Such arguments are no doubt meant to discourage the fainthearted. They can never prevent honest and courageous people from making the truth prevail.

I had already read the article in the "New York Times", a copy of which you sent me.

The experts consulted by the "New York Times", criticised certain photographs published in a Peking newspaper. For basing their arguments on documents reproduced in news-

papers, these critics could themselves, be the object of criticism by experts no less competent.

Furthermore, before drawing conclusions from their criticisms, the experts should not forget that for ten years under a *"mantle of secrecy surpassing that surrounding the atomic bomb"* (2), many eminent scientists, provided with considerable funds, have certainly achieved new scientific results.

You are, yourself, perfectly well aware of the considerable efforts being undertaken in your country on behalf of bacteriological warfare—to which the reports by G. W. Merck, the article by Theodor Rosebury and A. Kabat, the book *"Peace or Pestilence"* by Theodor Rosebury and many statements by responsible persons in the United States all bear witness.

Besides, you must surely remember the report of the American Alsos mission, in which the physicist, S. Goudsmit, mentioned that the famous German expert on nuclear physics, Heisenberg, refused to believe in the atomic bomb the very day after Hiroshima.

In the same article of the "New York Times" which you sent me, a "Pentagon spokesman" purports to expose the falsity of the Chinese accusations by asserting that the bacteriological bombs were only containers for spreading leaflets and that *"the*

(2) New York Herald Tribune, 1/12/47.

leaflet bombs even theoretically were not adaptable to germ warfare" ([3]).

But, according to the "New York Herald Tribune" of April 6th ([4]):

> *"After hearing secret testimony in this military field, Rep. Robert L. F. Sykes, D. Fla., chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-committee ... said: retaliatory bacteria warfare 'does not involve some complicated super-weapon'. The means of delivering germs to enemy territory, he said, are simple and involve equipment of the type with which the services are now 'already well stocked ... such as the containers used currently for dropping propaganda leaflets'."*

It would be easy for me to speak ironically about the declaration of this same spokesman to the effect that a glass tube containing germs and transported by aircraft would break as a result of the pressure!

All this, Mr. Austin, is not enough to assuage the horror of those who are wondering if they have not been made the accomplices in some enormous crime, nor the anxiety of the American citizens and the citizens of the countries allied to the United States, who are beginning to question this "crusading" war into which your country would like to drag them: this crusade

([3]) New York Times 3/4/52.

([4]) New York Herald Tribune, New York, April 6, Washington, April 5 (A.P.).

against which your British colleague, Sir Gladwyn Jebb, protested some days ago.

Before I conclude, I would like to say that I was struck by the deliberately insulting tone of your letter. You accuse me of prostituting science because I protest against the criminal use of the discoveries of the great Pasteur and because I make an appeal to the public to prevent the waging of bacteriological warfare.

To my mind, those who prostitute science are those who inaugurated the atomic era by annihilating 200,000 civilians in Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

You are well aware that American scientists, on completion of their scientific and technical work, pleaded in vain that those responsible for American policy should not use the only two atomic bombs available. Yet these bombs were dropped before Japan had replied to the Potsdam ultimatum, and the objectives were chosen (as the United States Strategical Bombing Survey indicates), by reason of their being centres of activity with concentrated populations.

Hiroshima wrecked, 100,000 civilians killed—this was not enough: a few days later the same thing was inflicted on Nagasaki!

Re-read, Mr. Austin, the report of the James Franck Committee addressed to the Secretary of State for War, on June 11, 1945, that is, before Hiroshima ([5]):

([5]) "Minutes to Midnight", page 15 (published by the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists—Chicago).

"If the United States is the first to use this new means of blind destruction against mankind, we will lose the support of world public opinion, precipitate the arms' race and compromise the possibility of reaching international agreement on the future control of such weapons."

And since then, you have refused to agree to the outlawing of atomic weapons.

Concerning bacteriological weapons, there exists an international agreement—the Geneva Protocol of June 17, 1925. But of all the Great Powers, only two have not ratified it—Japan and the United States.

As far as your country is concerned, on April 8, 1946, President Truman, with the results of secret research in the United States in his possession, withdrew the ratification of this treaty from the Congress Agenda.

When the question of bacteriological warfare was raised at the United Nations, were you not embarrassed, Mr. Austin, to be the representative of the only country which has reserved the legal right to utilise such weapons?

Just because the Koreans and the Chinese have chosen a different system from that which prevails in your country and because their skin is not white, this does not make it lawful to attempt to exterminate them en masse by napalm or bacteria.

In 1903, at Stockholm, Pierre Curie spoke of "the terrible

means of destruction in the hands of great criminals who would drag the peoples into war".

I have often thought of this warning given by one who, along with Becquerel and Marie Curie, gave radioactivity to the world. It is because I know all that science can bring to the world, that I shall continue in my efforts to make it serve the well-being of men, be they white, black or yellow, and not their annihilation in the name of I-know-not-what divine mission.

Yours faithfully,

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE

Nobel Prize Winner

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE ON THE PREPARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES FOR PEACE

TO BE HELD IN VIENNA,

DECEMBER 12th, 1952

The Appeal for a Congress of the Peoples, issued by the World Council of Peace, is arousing great interest in all countries, and is already evoking a considerable response.

The resort to a policy of force in international relations has resulted in tension, the effects and dangers of which are daily more obvious. Faced with this situation, social groups of the most varied kinds, in particular political, trade union, religious and pacifist, agree that a way must be found to break the deadlock.

> How can the wars now going on be stopped?
>
> How can the cold war be brought to an end?
>
> How can the independence of nations be safeguarded and the security of every country be guaranteed?

The answers to these questions can only be found through genuine discussion among

forces truly representative of the peoples' desire for Peace.

The Congress of the Peoples called by the World Council of Peace will be an international assembly bringing together men and women of different countries and devoted to different ways of life.

The participation of delegates, guests and observers will not imply their adherence to the Peace Movement.

The Congress of the Peoples will try to find, in free and effective discussion, reasonable solutions to the questions today dividing the world.

Agreement reached, even on a single point, will make easier understanding on further points and contribute to a lessening of international tension.

The peoples will find the road to Peace together.

Adopted unanimously.
Vienna, October 16th, 1952.

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

DOCUM

of t

PREPARATORY C
A PEACE CONFE
ASIAN AND PA

1952

MENTS

the

CONFERENCE FOR
ERENCE OF THE
ACIFIC REGIONS

DOCUMENTS

of the

PREPARATORY CONFERENCE FOR A PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

Compiled by

THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE FOR A PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

Peking, China, 1952

CONTENTS

A Call for the Convocation of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions 1

Opening Speech Delivered by Kuo Mo-jo at the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions 5

Report by Chen Shu-tung on the Initial Sponsorship of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and Subsequent Developments 9

Declaration of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions 13

Proposals for the Preparation of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions 29

Bulletin of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions 31

APPENDICES

List of Members of the Presidium of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions 35

List of Members of the Drafting Committee for the Declaration ... 36

List of Members of the Organisational Committee 37

List of Delegates to the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions 38

A Call for the Convocation of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

In the present international situation, the safeguarding of the peace of the Asian and Pacific regions has become an important factor in safeguarding the peace of the world.

The resurgence of Japanese militarism has been accelerated by the signing of both the San Francisco unilateral peace treaty with Japan and the recent US-Japanese "Administrative Agreement". The armistice negotiations in Korea have been protracted and stalled and recently, even inhuman bacteriological warfare has been resorted to. The expansionists who attempt to dominate the world have established military bases at many places in Asia in preparation for unleashing another aggressive war on a larger scale. On account of all this, the security and peace of the nations in the Asian and Pacific regions have been seriously threatened and the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions are confronted with the danger of another armed aggression.

But, on the other hand, the broad masses of the Asian and Pacific regions are eagerly demanding and longing for peace. Just like the peoples of other nations of the world, they feel the greatest anxiety about the worsened international situation and the menace of war. The peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions have not quite recovered from the wounds inflicted by the distress which Japanese imperialism brought them during World War II and the painful experiences are still fresh in their memory. Except for a handful of aggressors, there are no peace-loving people who wish for war, and there are no good, honest people who do not long for peace. This constitutes an important factor which makes it possible for the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions to eliminate the threat of war and to safeguard peace. This also makes us believe that another world war is avoidable.

It must be pointed out that peace cannot be awaited, and that peace has to be won by the peace-loving peoples in unity. The peace in the Asian and Pacific regions can be ensured if the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions are mobilized to strive for peace. The solemn task that lies before us is that we must in close unity oppose the rearming of Japan by the United States in order to safeguard the security of the

Asian and Pacific regions; that we must oppose the intervention of any nation in the internal affairs of another nation in order to safeguard the independence and integrity of sovereignty of nations as well as to ensure the peaceful co-existence of nations with different systems; and that we must insist upon the peaceful settlement of the existing conflicts in order to restore and develop the normal trade relations and the interflow of culture among nations.

In view of the situation as stated above, we, the undersigned, consider it a matter of urgency and great significance to convoke a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions at a suitable time in the immediate future, in order to have a comprehensive exchange of opinions on the problems of safeguarding the interests of peace and to seek for appropriate measures for their solution.

Already in 1951, this proposal was put forward by persons in Asian countries and in other countries of the world, who strive for the cause of peace. In the course of its discussion and examination, this proposal has been enthusiastically endorsed by the broad peace-loving masses of the Asian and Pacific regions, and they have been unanimously in favor of immediately taking steps to carry it out. The leaders for the cause of peace in India have suggested that this conference should be held in Peking. The Chinese people enthusiastically welcome the idea of convoking in Peking this conference to safeguard peace, and consider it their bounden duty to issue immediately a call for this conference, jointly with the peoples of all nations who love peace and stand for justice.

On the preparation for and the convocation of this conference, we take the liberty of putting forward the following proposals for consideration.

1. The delegates to the conference should come mainly from the nations in the Asian and Pacific regions, representing circles as wide as possible and irrespective of race, social stratum, religious belief and different political views; all the people who are in favor of peace and oppose war should be welcomed (including scientists, educators, men of letters, scholars, professors, art workers, journalists, trade-union leaders, leaders of peasant movements, youths, students, women leaders, workers of the peace movement and other peace-loving persons).

2. The nations in the Asian and Pacific regions should appoint persons of their respective nations, who have made contributions to the cause of peace, and who are distinguished and are really peace-loving, to participate in the joint sponsoring of this conference. The following eleven persons have been nominated as sponsors on behalf of the

People's Republic of China: Soong Ching-ling, Kuo Mo-jo, Peng Chen, Chen Shu-tung, Li Szu-kuang, Ma Yin-chu, Chang Hsi-jo, Liu Ning-I, Tsai Chang, Mao Tun and Liao Cheng-chih. It is hoped that your country will take part in the joint sponsoring of this conference, and that the list of the sponsors from your country will be sent to us by wire before the tenth of April.

3. The nations in the Asian and Pacific regions should at once set up preparation committees in their respective nations in order to proceed with the preparations for participation in the conference and to propagandize extensively the momentous significance of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions so as to promote a better understanding of it among the broad masses. The preparation committee for the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions has already been formed, with Liu Ning-I, Liao Cheng-chih and Liu Kuan-I in charge. It is requested that constant contacts be maintained with them.

4. A preparatory conference should be convoked in Peking at a suitable time. It is hoped that your country will appoint delegates to this conference, and that the list of your delegates will be sent to Liu Ning-I before the tenth of April.

We are eagerly waiting for you to give us your views on and response to our call and proposals at your earliest convenience.

SOONG CHING-LING, *Chairman of the Chinese People's Relief Administration.*

KUO MO-JO, *Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee in Defense of World Peace.*

PENG CHEN, *Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee in Defense of World Peace.*

CHEN SHU-TUNG, *Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee in Defense of World Peace.*

LI SZU-KUANG, *Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences.*

MA YIN-CHU, *President of the University of Peking.*

CHANG HSI-JO, *Chairman of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs.*

LIU NING-I, *Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Labor.*

TSAI CHANG, *President of the All-China Democratic Women's Federation.*

MAO TUN, *Vice-Chairman of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles.*

LIAO CHENG-CHIH, *Chairman of the All-China Federation of Democratic Youth.*

Opening Speech Delivered by Kuo Mo-jo At the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian And Pacific Regions

June 3, 1952

Honourable Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Today, the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions convenes in Peking. As one of the sponsors of the Peace Conference and on behalf of the Chinese people, I rejoice over this occasion and extend to you greetings and a hearty welcome, as well as express our profound respect for the peace-loving peoples that the delegates here represent.

It is not only the common demand of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions but also the common desire of all the peace-loving peoples of the world, that a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions be convoked. Last October, the All-India Peace Council suggested that China be entrusted with the task of organizing such a Conference in Peking. We accepted the suggestion and, therefore, sponsored this Preparatory Conference in order to proceed with the preparatory work. The enthusiastic support of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions has made it possible for this Preparatory Conference to be solemnly convened today. For this, we are deeply grateful.

The purpose and guiding principles of the coming Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions have been stated very clearly in the call issued by the eleven Chinese sponsors, and have been concurred with by the peoples of all the countries concerned. I am confident that valuable suggestions will be made in accordance with the basic spirit of the call.

This Preparatory Conference is a working conference. There are delegates from 19 countries in Asia, Australasia, and North and South America. We have gathered together in this hall to discuss the preparatory steps to be taken for the holding of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. I believe, all of you must have felt as profoundly as

I do, that the work we are now beginning will surely lay a sound foundation for the coming Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

I have noticed that all the delegates have full confidence in the work they are doing. This is fully understandable, because our work is in accordance with the desires of the people of every country.

Peoples of all countries have reached a common conclusion through their own experience: They want peace. It is this desire of their countrymen that the delegates have brought to this Conference.

Although the delegates have come from different countries and are of different political views and religious beliefs, our Conference will prove that we have a common language for mutual understanding, because the people we represent all fervently love peace.

The peoples we represent are against interference in the internal affairs of other countries, and will not allow the internal affairs of their own countries be interfered with. We are against aggression and will never commit acts of aggression against others. We ask for mutual respect of independence and freedom, and firmly believe that countries with different political systems can co-exist peacefully. We ask that peoples of all countries be not made to suffer again from the threat of war, but be free to proceed with cultural exchange and to develop normal economic relations under peaceful conditions.

Friends! We firmly believe that there is no force that can obstruct the mutual understanding among the nations of the Asian and Pacific regions, and that there is no force that can ignore the common will of more than one thousand and six hundred million people. Since our work is built on such a common will, there is no doubt that with the efforts of all the delegates here this Conference will pave the way for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. Our Conference will certainly be able to fulfil this task satisfactorily.

Friends! We, the Chinese people, consider it a great honour that friends whole-heartedly devoted to the cause of peace have come from so many countries to Peking and have gathered here in this hall to discuss such an important subject as the enhancement of the cause of peace.

I would like to assure you that the Chinese people whole-heartedly support the Conference. We shall do our utmost to assist in anything that is in the interests of the cause of peace.

It is our earnest desire to strive determinedly and incessantly for the cause of peace in the Asian and Pacific regions hand-in-hand with the peoples of the countries of these areas.

We earnestly hope for the mutual exchange of cultural achievements, and the development of economic relations through friendship based on mutual respect and mutual assistance, in order to contribute strongly towards the defence of world peace and the progress of civilization.

War can be prevented as long as people of good-will strengthen their solidarity and make unceasing efforts.

Let us show the dignity of reason and the greatness of the strength of the people!

Let us see to it that justice and truth lead to peace and triumph over War!

I wish the Conference success, and good health to you all.

Report by Chen Shu-tung on the Initial Sponsorship of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and Subsequent Developments

June 3, 1952

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Delegates and Honourable Guests:

I feel greatly honoured to be entrusted by the Presidium with the task of reporting to you on the initial sponsorship of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions and on subsequent developments.

The broad masses in the countries of the Asian and Pacific regions have long shared a common desire to see delegates from every country in the Pacific area, in Asia, Australasia and North and South America meet together and consult on the all-important question of preparing for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions. This is also a question about which people all over the world are very much concerned.

This eager desire and demand are fully understandable, because the defence of peace by the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions in solidarity is an urgent and important problem which involves the interests of every individual who has suffered from war.

To this end, many peace-loving people of the various countries in the Asian and Pacific regions have, on different occasions, voiced lofty hopes entertained by the broad masses in their respective countries. They have unanimously proposed the convening of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions in order to have a comprehensive exchange of opinion on the problems connected with the safeguarding of peace and to seek effective measures for cooperation. On the basis of the demand for peace by peoples all over the world, the World Council of Peace also suggested to the peace-loving peoples in the Asian and the Pacific regions that a regional peace conference be convened at the earliest opportunity, in order to eliminate the threat of war. Leaders of the peace movement in India further suggested that the conference be convened in Peking. Thus it came about that in March this year, in compliance with the earnest

proposals from various quarters, eleven leading Chinese, devoted to the cause of peace, headed by Soong Ching-ling and Kuo Mo-jo, and representing the will of the Chinese people, jointly invited all lovers of peace and justice in the countries of the Asian and Pacific regions to jointly sponsor the regional peace conference.

The call to such a peace conference immediately elicited enthusiastic answers from the broad peace-loving masses of many countries. People who have made contributions to the cause of peace, well-known celebrities, and lovers of peace and justice in various countries have been named by their countrymen as joint sponsors. National preparatory committees have been organised and preparatory work for actual participation in the Conference has begun. To speed up the convocation of the Conference, the various countries have agreed first to convene this Preparatory Conference in Peking.

Honourable delegates and friends, I wish particularly to mention something which should hearten us. Among the illustrious sponsors and delegates of the various countries to this Preparatory Conference, there are people from all social strata and various professions, including representatives and leaders of various social organisations, experts, scholars, professors, authors, journalists, lawyers, members of parliaments, religious leaders and devout believers. While it is true that friends of peace hail from different parts of the Pacific area, the will and demand to safeguard peace, to which we give expression, remain one and the same. As Mr. Kuo Mo-jo said this morning in his message of greetings: "Although the delegates have come from different countries, and are of different political views and religious beliefs, our Conference will prove that we have a common language for mutual understanding, because the people we represent all fervently love peace."

So far, according to telegrams received, 12 countries have already nominated sponsors and the number of joint sponsors totals 96. Forty-five delegates from 19 countries have already arrived in Peking to take part in this Preparatory Conference. Delegates from other countries are on the way here. We are also very much honoured by the presence of two secretaries of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace and two members of the Asian and Australasian Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions. A separate bulletin on the details of these facts will be issued for your reference.

Honourable delegates and friends, this by no means exhausts the things that hearten us. Upon receiving the call to the Conference, besides immediately nominating sponsors, organising preparatory committees and sending delegates to participate in the Preparatory Conference, various countries in the Asian and Pacific regions have demonstrated their

enthusiastic support for a regional peace conference in various forms and on different occasions. The momentous significance of the Conference has been made the subject of timely and extensive publicity among people of all strata. Peace organisations and social groups in many countries have held meetings specifically to discuss problems connected with the regional peace conference and have adopted many important resolutions. Some of these organizations have issued declarations expressing the exultation with which they greet the convocation of such a peace conference; some have issued calls and decided on specific slogans to mobilise the people throughout their country to actively participate in this movement; still others have tremendous expectations with regard to the coming regional peace conference and have submitted a number of sincere, well-meant suggestions. Friends, this is the actual situation which has followed the sponsorship of the Peace Conference.

We congratulate ourselves upon the fact that this Conference is so well-attended. What makes it all the more memorable is the signal success with which some of our friends have overcome man-made obstacles to attend. The fact that you, my friends, have shouldered the arduous mission for the cause of peace reflects the unwavering will of more than one thousand and six hundred million people of the Asian and Pacific regions to strive for peace. The contacts and the conversations we have already had with each other have revealed the sincerity and candour prevailing among us, and given full evidence of the spirit of friendship and solidarity that exists among the peoples of the various countries in the Asian and Pacific regions. We are deeply convinced that with the support of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions and the rest of the world, and with the unceasing efforts of all the delegates, this Preparatory Conference will successfully fulfil its task and the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions will be triumphantly convened.

Victory to Peace!

Good health to you all!

亞洲及太平洋區域
和平會議籌備會議宣言

ВОЗЗВАНИЕ

Подготовительного совещания по созыву Конференции сторонников мира стран Азии и Тихого океана

DECLARATION

of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

亞洲及太平洋區域
和平會議籌備會議宣言

我們，出席這次一九五二年六月三日至六日在北京舉行的亞洲及太平洋區域和平會議籌備會議的，來自亞洲、澳洲、南美洲、北美洲二十個國家的四十七位代表，向亞洲及太平洋區域的人民提出一個迫切的呼籲，那就是，亞洲及太平洋區域各國人民團結起來，加強和擴大保衛和平的運動。

我們來自不同的國家，說着不同的語言。我們雖然抱着各種不同的政治見解和宗教信仰，然而我們却代表亞洲及太平洋區域各國人民爭取和平的共同意志。我們深切知道人民要求和平而厭恨戰爭；人民反對侵略亦決不侵略別人；人民要求貿易來往而反對禁運和封鎖；人民願意互相瞭解、互相友好而不願意遭受阻礙和隔絕；人民需要豐衣足食的生活而痛恨原子彈、細菌彈和化學武器。

然而在今天，我們亞洲及太平洋區域各國十六億人民的善良願望，却正在遭受着戰爭和備戰的魔影的威脅。

一切愛好和平的人民長久以來就迫切地要求在公平合理的基礎上在朝鮮停戰，以便結束朝鮮人民所遭受到的慘重災難，並為和平解決遠東問題開闢道路。現在這個停戰正在被延遲中。與此同時，極殘酷的濫施屠殺的武器之被使用，使戰爭反而有擴大的危險。此外，在亞洲其他地方，譬如在越南和馬來亞，現有的軍事衝突也正在使人民的生命財產受到重大損失，並危害及其他地域的和平。

在日本強施單獨對日和約及軍事協定，違反了現有國際協定，違反了日本人民想通過真正對日和約來獲得完全獨立及和平生活的願望。這樣就給日本人民帶來新的苦難。在第二次世界大戰中，侵略性的日本軍國主義，曾使亞洲及太平洋區域的各國人民遭受重大災害。現在這些人民又感受到日本軍國主義復活的威脅。由於有外國軍隊駐在日本領土，日本人民也有被捲入新戰爭中的危險。

在整個亞洲及太平洋區域，許多國家的主權與領土完整受到侵略性的協定的危害。這些協定使人民背負了軍備的重擔，使他們的國境內駐紮着外國軍隊，並剝奪了人民所需要用於自己福利及經濟發展的資源。廣泛的備戰和越南、馬來亞等地現有的軍事衝突使民族解放運動和保衛民族獨立運動受到日甚一日的鎮壓，而這種運動，由於其旨在結束民族壓迫和民族奴役，對於為各國和平

共存創造基礎，是有極大貢獻的。在戰略的藉口下，國家相互間自由的經濟和文化交流，日益受到阻撓，而這種交流對於人民的興旺與人民間的相互瞭解是非常必要的。

亞洲及太平洋區域各國人民為了和平而採取一致行動，就能夠改變這種情勢，就能夠結束亞洲一切現存的和潛伏的衝突，並打退戰爭的威脅。如果他們能夠把要求和平的共同意志，變成保衛和平的團結一致的力量，就能夠贏得和平的條件，以保證完全的民族獨立，終止他們現在所正遭受着的由擴軍備戰所帶來的災難；就能夠在各民族平等及各民族有權處理自己的事務而不受外來干涉的基礎上，保證不同政治經濟制度的國家和平共存；就能夠使要求和平解決國際分歧和達成大國協議的聯合國憲章的原則與精神得以實現；就能夠通過國際裁軍和禁止原子武器、細菌武器、化學武器及其他大規模屠殺的武器等方法，來停止浪費財富的擴軍競賽；就能夠摧毀一切阻撓世界貿易及人民間文化交流的障礙。

和平不能坐待，和平需要愛好和平的人民團結起來爭取。

與世界其他地區抱有同樣願望的愛好和平的人民結合在一起，亞洲及太平洋區域的人民是能夠使和平戰勝戰爭的。

為了達到這個偉大的目的，我們號召亞洲及太平洋區域各國的所有愛好和平的人士和社團，不分政治見解、宗教信仰、民族差別和職業種類，都在各國業已組成和行將組成的籌備委員會的推動之下，更廣泛地團結起來，展開關於上述這些問題的討論，並選出代表來，以便在短期內在北京舉行亞洲及太平洋區域和平會議，來協商並求得鞏固本區域的和平與安全的有效方案。

我們要求亞洲及太平洋區域以外的各國愛好和平的人民和社團，給予我們以熱烈的支持和寶貴的意見。

亞洲及太平洋區域各國的人民業已在熱烈響應亞洲及太平洋區域和平會議的發起和籌備上，表現出了偉大的團結力量。這力量顯然還在繼續增長和擴大中。亞洲及太平洋區域各國人民已經認識到了自己的這個力量，因而對保衛和平運動的勝利懷有堅定的信心。

亞洲及太平洋區域的和平如能確保，那對於世界和平就會有莫大的貢獻。

讓我們更廣泛地緊密團結，更堅決地一致行動，更堅強地把保衛和平的崇高事業擔當起來。

人類理性和國際正義必定會戰勝侵略的暴力和戰爭。

一九五二年六月六日——北京

ВОЗЗВАНИЕ ПОДГОТОВИТЕЛЬНОГО СОВЕЩАНИЯ ПО СОЗЫВУ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ СТОРОННИКОВ МИРА СТРАН АЗИИ И ТИХОГО ОКЕАНА

6 июня 1952 года, Пекин

Мы, участники состоявшегося в Пекине с 3 по 6 июня 1952 года подготовительного совещания по созыву конференции сторонников мира стран Азии и Тихого океана, в лице 47 делегатов, прибывших из 20 стран Азии, Австралии, Южной и Северной Америки, обращаемся к народам стран Азии и Тихого океана с настоятельным призывом сплотиться, усилить и расширить движение в защиту мира.

Мы прибыли из различных стран и говорим на разных языках. Хотя у нас различные политические взгляды и религиозные верования, мы все представляем единую волю к миру народов стран Азии и Тихого океана. Народы требуют мира и ненавидят войну; они против агрессии и не желают совершать ее по отношению к другим; народы требуют развития торговых сношений друг с другом и выступают против эмбарго и блокады; народы хотят взаимопонимания и дружбы и не желают, чтобы этому чинились препятствия и преграды; народы хотят обеспеченной жизни и ненавидят атомное, бактериологическое и химическое оружие. Но сегодня над 1600 млн. людей доброй воли стран Азии и Тихого океана нависла чудовищная угроза войны и подготовки к войне.

В Корее все еще продолжаются военные действия, прекращения которых так долго и настоятельно требуют все миролюбивые народы, стоящие за то, чтобы положить конец тяжелым страданиям корейского народа и проложить путь к мирному разрешению дальневосточных вопросов. Одновременно с этим, применение самых жестоких видов оружия массового истребления создает угрозу расширения войны. Помимо этого, в других частях Азии, как, например, во Вьетнаме и Малайе, продолжающиеся военные столкновения наносят народам огромные потери людьми и материальный ущерб и угрожают миру других стран.

В Японии заключение сепаратного мира и военного соглашения в нарушение существующих международных соглашений и воли японского народа к полной независимости и мирной жизни на основе подлинного мирного договора принесло новые трудности японскому народу. Во время второй мировой войны агрессивный японский милитаризм принес народам Азии и Тихого океана огромные бедствия, а сегодня в результате сепаратного мира с Японией эти народы снова оказались перед

угрозой восстановления японского милитаризма. В результате пребывания иностранных войск на территории Японии японский народ вновь подвергается опасности быть ввергнутым в войну.

Агрессивные соглашения угрожают суверенитету и территориальной целостности многих стран Азии и бассейна Тихого океана. В результате этих соглашений на плечи народов возлагается тяжелое бремя подготовки к войне, на их земле расквартировываются иностранные войска, у народов беспощадно отнимаются материальные средства, необходимые для увеличения благосостояния и экономического развития. Гонка вооружений, военные приготовления и продолжающиеся военные столкновения, как, например, во Вьетнаме и Малайе, направлены на подавление национально-освободительного движения и борьбы народов в защиту национальной независимости, имеющих целью путем искоренения угнетения и порабощения наций создать основу для мирного сосуществования всех стран. Под предлогом стратегической необходимости с каждым днем создаются все новые препятствия свободному экономическому и культурному обмену между странами, а между тем такой обмен настоятельно необходим для процветания и взаимопонимания народов.

Единодушно сплотив свои действия в борьбе за мир, народы стран Азии и Тихого океана смогут изменить эту обстановку, положить конец всем имеющимся и грозящим столкновениям, предотвратить угрозу войны. Если народы смогут претворить свою общую волю к миру в объединенную силу на защиту мира, они выиграют мир, который обеспечит полную национальную независимость и уничтожит те трагические результаты гонки вооружений и военных приготовлений, от которых они теперь страдают; они смогут обеспечить мирное сосуществование стран с различными политическими системами и экономическим строем на основе равноправия всех наций и права каждого народа устраивать свои дела без вмешательства извне; они смогут осуществить принципы и дух Устава Объединенных Наций, которые требуют мирного урегулирования международных разногласий и достижения согласия между великими державами; они смогут путем международного разоружения и запрещения атомного, бактериологического, химического оружия и других средств массового истребления прекратить гонку вооружений, расточающую материальные ценности; они смогут смести все искусственные препятствия к международной торговле и культурному обмену между народами.

Мира нельзя ждать, его нужно завоевать совместными усилиями всех миролюбивых народов.

Народы стран Азии и Тихого океана, сплотившись с миролюбивыми народами других стран мира, несомненно, добьются победы мира над войной.

Для достижения этой великой цели мы призываем всех миролюбивых людей и общественные организации стран Азии и Тихого океана, независимо от политических убеждений, религиозных верований, национальности и профессии, под руководством уже организованных или вновь организуемых местных подготовительных комитетов объединиться еще теснее, обсудить вышеизложенные вопросы и избрать делегатов с тем, чтобы иметь возможность в ближайшем будущем созвать конференцию сторонников мира стран Азии и Тихого океана, которая будет проходить в Пекине и на которой будут разработаны эффективные мероприятия для укрепления мира и безопасности в Азии и на Тихом океане.

Мы призываем миролюбивых людей и общественные организации стран вне пределов Азии и Тихого океана оказать нам горячую поддержку и помочь нам ценными советами.

Народы стран Азии и Тихого океана своим горячим откликом на предложение обсудить вопросы созыва конференции сторонников мира стран Азии и Тихого океана и своим участием в подготовке к этой конференции уже показали великую силу своей сплоченности. Эта сила с очевидностью растет и ширится. Народы стран Азии и Тихого океана уже осознали свою силу, и поэтому они твердо уверены в победоносном завершении движения в защиту мира.

Обеспечение мира в странах Азии и Тихого океана будет огромным вкладом в дело мира во всем мире.

Еще теснее сплотим свои ряды, еще решительнее объединим свои действия, еще энергичнее развернем благородное дело борьбы за мир.

Человеческий разум и международная справедливость, несомненно, одержат победу над грубой силой агрессии и войны!

DECLARATION OF THE PREPARATORY CONFERENCE FOR A PEACE CONFERENCE OF THE ASIAN AND PACIFIC REGIONS

June 6, 1952

Peking

We, the 47 delegates from 20 countries of Asia, Australasia, South America and North America, meeting in Peking from June 3 to 6, 1952. in the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, hereby issue an urgent call to the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions: we call on the peoples of the various countries in these areas to unite, strengthen and extend the movement for safeguarding peace.

We come from different countries and speak different languages. Although we are of different political views and religious beliefs, nevertheless we represent the common will to strive for peace of the people of the countries in the Asian and Pacific regions. We understand profoundly that the people demand peace and abhor war. They are against aggression and will never commit acts of aggression against others. They ask for commercial intercourse and oppose embargoes and blockades. They desire mutual understanding and friendly relations and do not want to be obstructed and barred from meeting each other. They need a prosperous life and abhor atom bombs, germ-bombs and chemical weapons.

Today, however, the ardent aspirations of the 1,600 million people in the Asian and Pacific regions are menaced by the spectre of war and military preparations.

In Korea, the cease-fire on a just and reasonable basis so long and urgently demanded by all peace-loving peoples in order to end the terrible suffering of the Korean people and to open the road to a peaceful settlement of problems in the Far East, is being delayed while the use of ever more horrible weapons of indiscriminate slaughter threatens to spread the hostilities. Elsewhere too, as in Viet-Nam and Malaya, existing military conflicts in Asia are taking heavy toll in the lives and treasure of the people and jeopardize the peace of other lands.

In Japan, the imposition of the separate treaty and military pact in violation of existing International Agreements and of the will of the Japanese people for full independence and a peaceful life secured by a genuine Peace Treaty, is bringing new hardships to the Japanese people and threatens the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions with the resurgence of the aggressive Japanese militarism which wrought such great devastation on these peoples in World War II, while the presence of foreign troops on Japanese soil threatens to involve the Japanese people in new wars.

Throughout the Asian and Pacific regions, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations are being jeopardized by aggressive pacts which burden the people with armaments and the stationing of foreign troops on their soil. These pacts deprive the people of material resources needed for their own welfare and economic development. Wide-spread military preparations and existing military conflicts as in Viet-Nam and Malaya are bringing ever greater oppression of the movements for national liberation and for the defense of national independence. These movements, by seeking to end national oppression and national enslavement, make a great contribution to creating the basis for the peaceful co-existence of nations. In the name of military strategy, barriers are increasingly being raised to prevent the free economic and cultural exchange between nations which is so necessary for the prosperity and mutual understanding of peoples.

We believe that by acting together for peace, the peoples of the Asian and Pacific countries can change this situation. They can bring to an end all present and potential conflicts in Asia and can push back the menace of war. By turning their common will for peace into a united force for the defense of peace, they can win the conditions of peace which will assure full national independence and will bring to an end the disastrous consequences of military preparations which they now suffer. They can assure the peaceful co-existence of nations with differing political and economic systems, based on equality between nations and on the right of peoples to settle their own affairs without outside interference. They can win the application of the principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter which demands the peaceful settlement of differences between nations and the reaching of agreement between the Great Powers. They can put an end to the wasteful armaments race through international disarmament and through the banning of atomic, bacteriological, chemical and all other weapons of mass destruction. They can tear down the barriers to world trade and to free cultural exchange between all peoples.

Peace cannot be awaited. It has to be won by the peace-loving peoples in unity.

Joined with the peace-loving peoples in all other regions of the earth who share the same aspirations, the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions can win the victory of peace over war.

To help achieve this great goal, we call on all peace-loving individuals and social organisations in the various countries in the Asian and Pacific regions, irrespective of political views, religious beliefs, nationalities or professions, to unite on an ever wider basis under the guidance of the preparatory committees which have already been formed or are going to be formed in their respective countries, to hold discussion on the aforementioned problems and to elect their representatives to the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific regions which will be held in Peking within a short time, in order to work out an effective programme for consolidating peace and security in these regions.

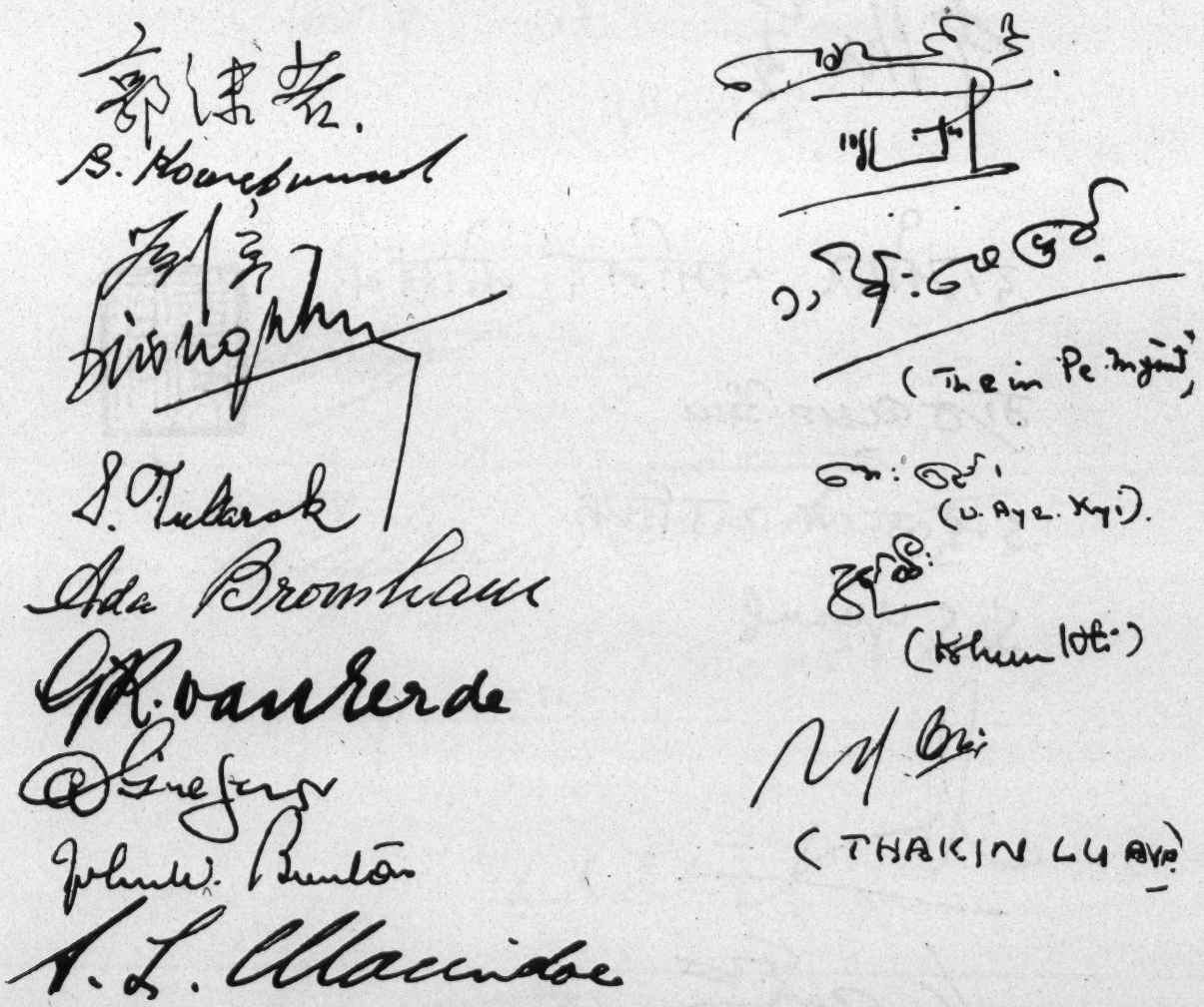
We further call upon all peace-loving peoples and organisations in other parts of the world to give us their enthusiastic support and valuable opinions.

The peoples of the various countries in the Asian and Pacific regions have already demonstrated the great strength of their unity in enthusiastically responding to the call to sponsor and prepare for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific regions. They are already conscious of their strength which is still growing and expanding. They are therefore fully confident of the victory of the movement to safeguard peace.

If peace can be ensured in the Asian and Pacific regions, it will contribute immensely to world peace.

Let us unite still more closely and on an ever broader basis! Let us act determinedly in unison and still more firmly shoulder the lofty task of safeguarding the peace!

Human reason and international justice will undoubtedly triumph over the brute force of aggression and war!



Mary Tennison, Canada
C. ๒๖๕๖ ๑๖
U. Saranankara

Venturelli

陈炜通

[illegible]

吴耀宗

李[illegible]

दामोदर धर्मानंद कोसंबी

[illegible]

इन्दुलाल याज्ञिक

S. S. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

高良富

札足三十

宮腰喜助

박정희

정일권

S. S. Yoseph.

曾雪虹

Цэрэндэв. (монгол)

Lem allen.

H. Courtney Archer.

M. Shakour

Manuel Cruz — [illegible] از پاکستان

Prasert Supsoonthorn (Thailand)

John Adams Humphrey, United States of America

Кодзиев Дмитрий — председатель Узбекского республиканского совета мира СССР.

Профессор Иван Глушенко — ученый секретарь Президиума Академии наук СССР.

Le Chas Ulmiry Chanfrau

The Reverend John W. Darr. USA
Secretary of the World Council of Peace

П. Гуссе (Секретарь Всемирного Совета мира.)

Ernest Thornton (Asian-Australasian Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions).

The following are the signatures of the delegates who signed the Declaration on June 6, 1952:

Kuo Mo-jo, V. Kojevnikov, Liu Ning-I, Duong Bach Lien, S. Tularak, Ada Bromham, G. R. Van Eerde, A. T. Gietzelt, John W. Burton, S. L. Macindoe, U Hla, U Myo Myint, U Thein Pe Myint, U Aye Kyi, U Hkun Hti, Thakin Lu Aye, Mary Jennison, U. Saranankara, Jose Venturelli, Chen Shu-tung, Nan Han-chen, Wu Yao-tsung, Li Teh-chuan, D. D. Kosambi, Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh, Indulal Kanaiyalal Yagnik, Suroso, Suwarti, Surjonegoro, Tomi Kora, Kei Hoashi, Kisuke Miyagoshi, Bak Cheng Ai, Jon Dong Hiok, Chan Suat Hong, Eli de Gortari de Gortari, Rafael Mendez Aguirre, Bazar Shirindib, Rewi Alley, H. Courtney Archer, M. A. Shakoor, Ghulam Mohammed Khan, Manuel Cruz, Prasert Supsoonthorn, John Adams Kingsbury, B. K. Hodjaev, Ivan Glushenko, Le Chan Phuong, John W. Darr, P. V. Gulyayev, Ernest Thornton, S. S. Yusuf (observer, signed on behalf of the All-India Trade Union Congress).

Proposals for the Preparation of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

June 6, 1952

(1) Place for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions: Peking, China.

(2) Conference Date: The last week in September, 1952.

(3) Number of Delegates: The total number of delegates shall not exceed 500. The number of delegates from each country shall be decided upon through consultation between the Preparatory Committee and the country concerned.

(4) Finances: The total expenditures shall be shared by all the countries. Possible donations shall be solicited if necessary.

(5) The delegations of all the countries shall appoint one committee member each to form the Preparatory Committee for the Conference. The Preparatory Committee shall have its office in Peking. The Committee members shall not be required to station themselves in Peking all the time, so that they may hasten forward the preparatory work in their respective countries. Persons to be appointed as Committee members shall not be limited to the delegates attending this Preparatory Conference.

A Secretariat shall be set up under the Preparatory Committee, to take care of the preparatory work. Persons to be the Secretary-General and Deputy Secretaries-General of the Secretariat shall be decided upon by the Presidium of the Preparatory Conference.

(6) Topics for Discussion in the Conference:

1. To safeguard the independence, freedom and peace of the peoples of the Asian and Pacific regions; to oppose the expansion of armaments and war preparations; to prohibit war clamouring and propaganda inciting racial hatred; to abolish any suppression of peace propaganda; to demand freedom for the peace movement; to prohibit the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons; to oppose the bombing and mass-

acre of non-combatants and civilians, to emphasize the observance of international law.

2. To develop equal, mutually beneficial and normal international economic relations and cultural exchange; to oppose blockade and embargo; to improve the people's livelihood; to promote the welfare of women and children.

3. To oppose the re-militarization of Japan and to oppose the use of Japan as a base for aggression, in order to eliminate the serious threat to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions.

4. To settle peacefully the Korean question on a fair and reasonable basis and to solve reasonably all the questions relating to peace in the Asian and Pacific regions including Viet-Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Malaya and other places.

(Adopted by the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions on June 6, 1952.)

Bulletin of the Preparatory Conference for A Peace Conference of the Asian And Pacific Regions

June 8, 1952
Peking

The Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, which began its session on June 3 in Peking, was successfully concluded on June 6.

Eleven Chinese, well known for their devotion to the peace movement, representing the will of the Chinese people and accepting the proposal of the Indian and other peace-loving people, sponsored this Conference. Participating in this Conference were 47 delegates from 20 different countries, namely: China, India, Pakistan, the Soviet Union, Japan, Korea, the United States, Australia, Mexico, Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Canada, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Chile, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaya. Two secretaries of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace and one delegate from the Asian-Australasian Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions also took part in the Conference. While the Conference was in session, delegates from five countries—Colombia, Guatemala, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica—were on their way to Peking. Countries who have agreed to the convocation of this Conference but were unable to send delegates to this Conference on account of various difficulties are Peru, Ecuador, the Laos and Nepal. Two persons from Australia, two from Burma, five from China, one from India and one from Indonesia attended the Conference as observers. In this Conference delegates of all the countries reported on the urgent desire of their people for peace and the situation of the peace movement in their respective countries and expressed their opinions concerning the convocation of the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions for extending and strengthening the peace movement. The chief task of this Conference was to discuss and adopt the declaration of the Preparatory Conference and the proposals for the preparation of a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

For the drafting of these two documents, a Drafting Committee for the Declaration and an Organisational Committee were formed by the

Conference. These two committees, having exerted great efforts, successfully completed their task.

After extensive and searching discussions, the declaration of the Conference and the proposals for the preparation of a Peace Conference cf the Asian and Pacific Regions were unanimously adopted without a single abstention.

Besides Mr. Kuo Mo-jo who signed the declaration in the capacity of a sponsor of the Conference, other signatories are the following delegates from the various countries:

China	Chen Shu-tung, Liu Ning-yi, Li Teh-chuan, Nan Han-chen, Wu Yao-tsung.
India	D. D. Kosambi, Indulal Kanaiyalal Yagnik, Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh.
Pakistan	Ghulam Mohammed Khan, M. A. Shakoor.
Soviet Union	Vadim Kojevnikov, B. K. Hodjaev, Ivan Glushenko.
Japan	Tomi Kora, Kei Hoashi, Kisuke Miyagoshi.
Korea	Bak Cheng Ai, Jon Dong Hiok.
The U.S.A.	John Adams Kingsbury.
Australia	John Wear Burton, G. R. Van Eerde, Stephen L. Macindoe, Ada Bromham, A. T. Gietzelt.
Mexico	Eli de Gortari de Gortari, Rafael Mendez Aguirre.
Viet-Nam	Duong Bach Lien, Le Chan Phuong.
Indonesia	Suwarti, Suroso, Surjonegoro.
Canada	Mary Irick Jennison.
Burma	U Hla, U Myo Myint, Thakin Lu Aye, U Thien Pe Myint, U Hkun Hti, U Aye Kyi.
Ceylon	Udekendawala Saranankara.
Mongolia	Bazar Shirindib.
Chile	Jose Venturelli.
New Zealand	Rewi Alley, H. Courtney Archer.
The Philippines	Manuel Cruz.
Thailand	S. Tularak, Prasert Supsoonthorn.
Malaya	Chan Suat Hong.

Secretaries of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace: P. V. Gulyayev, John W. Darr.

Delegate of the Asian-Australasian Liaison Bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions, E. Thornton.

S. S. Yusuf also signed with the authorisation of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

According to the resolution of this Conference, the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions will be held in Peking during the last week of September 1952. In order to help the preparatory work for the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions, the Conference decided to appoint a Secretary-General and two Deputy Secretaries-General under the Preparatory Committee, the Secretary-General to a Chinese and the two deputy Secretaries-General to be an Indian and a Japanese. When necessary, the Secretary-General is entitled to invite delegates appointed by other countries concerned to act as his assistants. Liu Ning-I has already been designated by China to be the Secretary-General to immediately proceed with the various aspects of the preparatory work.

APPENDICES

List of Members of the Presidium of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

AUSTRALIA:	John Wear Burton
BURMA:	U Hla
CANADA:	Mary Irick Jennison
CEYLON:	U. Saranankara
CHILE:	Jose Venturelli
CHINA:	Chen Shu-tung
INDIA:	D. D. Kosambi
INDONESIA:	Suwarti
JAPAN:	Tomi Kora
KOREA:	Bak Cheng Ai
MALAYA:	Chan Suat Hong
MEXICO:	Eli de Gortari de Gortari
MONGOLIA:	Bazar Shirindib
NEW ZEALAND:	Rewi Alley
PAKISTAN:	Ghulam Mohammed Khan
THE PHILIPPINES:	Manuel Cruz
THAILAND:	S. Tularak
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:	John Adams Kingsbury
UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:	Vadim Kojevnikov
VIET-NAM:	Duong Bach Lien

List of Members of the Drafting Committee for the Declaration of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

AUSTRALIA:	John Wear Burton or Stephen L. Macindoe
BURMA:	U Thein Pe Myint
CANADA:	Mary Irick Jennison
CEYLON:	Udakendawala Saranankara
CHILE:	Jose Venturelli
CHINA:	Liu Ning-I, Li Teh-chuan
INDIA:	Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh
INDONESIA:	Suwarti
JAPAN:	Tomi Kora
KOREA:	Bak Cheng Ai
MEXICO:	Eli de Gortari de Gortari
MONGOLIA:	Bazar Shirindib
NEW ZEALAND:	Rewi Alley
PAKISTAN:	M. A. Shakoor
THE PHILIPPINES:	Manuel Cruz
THAILAND:	Prasert Supsoonthorn
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:	John Adams Kingsbury
UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:	Vadim Kojevnikov
VIET-NAM:	Le Chan Phuong
THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE:	P. V. Gulyayev
THE ASIAN AND AUSTRAL-ASIAN LIAISON BUREAU OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS:	E. Thornton

List of Members of the Organisational Committee of the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

AUSTRALIA:	G. R. Van Eerde
BURMA:	Thakin Lu Aye
CHINA:	Nan Han-chen, Wu Yao-tsung
INDIA:	Indulal Kanaiyalal Yagnik
INDONESIA:	Suroso
JAPAN:	Kei Hoashi, Kisuke Miyagoshi
KOREA:	Jon Dong Hiok
MALAYA:	Chan Suat Hong
MEXICO:	Rafael Mendez Aguirre
MONGOLIA:	Bazar Shirindib
NEW ZEALAND:	H. Courtney Archer
PAKISTAN:	Ghulam Mohammed Khan
THAILAND:	S. Tularak
UNION OF THE SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:	Ivan Glushenko
VIET-NAM	Duong Bach Lien
THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE:	John W. Darr

List of Delegates to the Preparatory Conference for a Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

AUSTRALIA:

John Wear Burton
G. R. Van Eerde
Stephen L. Macindoe
Ada Bromham
A. T. Gietzelt

BURMA:

U Hla
U Myo Myint
Thakin Lu Aye
U Thein Pe Myint
U Hkun Hti
U Aye Kyi

CANADA:

Mary Irick Jennison

CEYLON:

Udakendawala Saranankara

CHILE:

Jose Venturelli

CHINA:

Chen Shu-tung
Liu Ning-I
Li Teh-chuan
Nan Han-chen
Wu Yao-tsung

INDIA:

D. D. Kosambi
Indulal Kanaiyalal Yagnik
Sardar Gur Bakhsh Singh

INDONESIA:

Suwarti
Suroso
Surjonegoro

JAPAN:

Tomi Kora
Kei Hoashi
Kisuke Miyagoshi

KOREA:

Bak Cheng Ai — Jon Dong Hiok

MALAYA:

Chan Suat Hong

MEXICO:

Eli de Gortari de Gortari — Rafael Mendez Aguirre

MONGOLIA:

Bazar Shirindib

NEW ZEALAND:

Rewi Alley — H. Courtney Archer

PAKISTAN:

Ghulam Mohammed Khan — M. A. Shakoor

THE PHILIPPINES:

Manuel Cruz

THAILAND:

S. Tularak — Prasert Supsoonthorn

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

John Adams Kingsbury

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS:

Vadim Kojevnikov — Ivan Glushenko
B. K. Hodjaev

VIET-NAM:

Duong Bach Lien — Le Chan Phuong

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE:

P. V. Gulyayev — John W. Darr

THE ASIAN AND AUSTRALASIAN LIAISON BUREAU OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS:

A. Kolibanov — E. Thornton

STATEMENTS

by

Two Captured U. S. Air Force Officers on Their Participation in Germ Warfare in Korea

With Supplementary Material

1952

CONTENTS

Foreword 1

The Truth about How American Imperialism Launched Germ Warfare (a deposition made by war prisoner Kenneth L. Enoch) 5

Letter to His Family, written by Kenneth L. Enoch on April 10, 1952 21

How I was Forced to Take Part in the Inhuman Bacteriological Warfare Launched by the U.S. Wall Street (a deposition made by war prisoner John Quinn on April 13, 1952 25

How I Was Forced to Take Part in Bacteriological Warfare by the U.S. Wall Street (a broadcast statement by John Quinn) 76

Confirmation of John Quinn's Deposition by his Wife 87

FOREWORD

At a Press Conference which was held at the end of the Oslo session of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace (March 29th—April 1st, 1952), M. Kuo Mo-Jo, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace and President of the Chinese Committee for the Defence of Peace gave to the journalists present important details concerning the conditions in which bacterial warfare was launched by the Armed Forces of the United States in Korea and over parts of Chinese territory.

Several of the journalists present at this Press Conference asked whether there were further proofs to back up these charges. M. Kuo Mo-Jo replied in the affirmative.

Events which followed were to confirm this statement. Some time later, Peking Radio announced, along with other disclosures, that two U.S. airmen captured by the Korean People's Army and by Chinese Volunteers had given irrefutable proof of the premeditated crime perpetrated by the Government of the United States—the use of bacterial weapons on a vast scale in order to decimate the peaceful Korean civilian population and the Korean and Chinese Armed Forces.

The two captured airmen had formed part of a crew of an American aircraft (a B-26, the last three figures of which were 600) which was shot down on January 13th at 11 p.m. Two of them, Campbell, the mechanic and Downes, a bombardier, were killed instantaneously. The other two baled out and were taken prisoner by the Chinese Volunteers near Sunan. They were Kenneth Lloyd Enoch, First Lieutenant, navigator, serial

number AO 2069988 and John Quinn, First Lieutenant, pilot, serial number 17993A. They both belonged to the U.S. Fifth Air Force, 3rd Bomber Wing, 3rd Group, 8th Squadron.

In this book we publish the facsimiles of the written depositions and the photographs of these two prisoners without further comment.

At the end there are statements made by Mrs Quinn, the airman's wife, to the International News Agency published May 7th and to the New York Herald Tribune May 9th. These statements corroborate some of the details given by her husband.

War prisoner Kenneth L. Enoch

THE TRUTH ABOUT HOW AMERICAN IMPERIALISM LAUNCHED GERM WARFARE

(A deposition made by war prisoner Kenneth L. Enoch on April 7, 1952)

I was at Iwakuni, Japan, during the last two weeks of August, 1951. During the month of August the 3rd Bomb Wing was in the process of moving to Kunsan, Korea, and the last thing to make the move was the ground school, which moved on to Kunsan in early September, 1951. During my stay at Iwakuni there were about 15 crews which had just come from the United States and were attending the ground school. This ground school gave the same kind of classroom subjects as the school at 4400 CCTG. We navigators received lectures and problems in navigation and the B-26 and Korea, so we would understand our jobs better and thus be better equipped to fly in combat.

On 25 August, 1951, at 1300 hours, we attended a secret lecture in the ground school navigation classroom. There were as I recall, 10 pilots and 15 navigators present at the lecture. Of the pilots I recall Lt. Broughton, Lt. Schmidt, and Capt. Lemak. Among the navigators I remember Lt. Brown, Lt. Hardy, Lt. De Gaugh, Lt. Zielinski, Lt. Garwin, Lt. Larson and myself. I did not know all the pilots and navigators, only those I had been with at Langley Field. Our instructor's name was Mr. Wilson, a civilian. There were no other instructors in attendance at this lecture.

Mr. Wilson told us that his lecture was concerning bacteriological warfare. He told us that our side had no plans at that time of using bacteriological warfare, but nevertheless we might at some time, and thus the lecture was secret information and we were not to divulge its contents to anyone, or even talk about it among ourselves.

The main part of Wilson's lecture was devoted to the weapons of bacteriological warfare. He did not have any examples with him, but he discussed the various methods of scattering germs, either by scattering the germs by themselves or by dropping insects and animals

to spread the germs. The contents of Mr. Wilson's lecture is as follows:

The ways of dropping the germs by themselves are:

(1) by dropping a bomb full of dust and germs mixed together, which will open in the air and spread the germ-laden dust with the wind;

(2) by dropping dust directly from the airplane itself, by means of a spraying device, so that there will be germs in the air wherever the dust is sprayed;

(3) or by dropping a container full of germ dust, either a bomb which will open in the water or a paperboard box which will be opened by the water, into reservoirs and lakes where the people and animals use the water, and where insects will pick up the germs and spread them.

The ways of dropping insects are:

(1) by dropping a germ bomb which looks just like an ordinary bomb, but is filled with germ-laden insects, and which will open on contact with the ground to release these insects;

(2) by dropping insects in paperboard containers which will break open on contact with the ground, releasing the insects with their germs;

(3) or by spreading insects with animals.

The ways of releasing germs by animals are:

(1) to release the rats or rabbits or small game by a parachute container which will release the animals upon contact with the ground, and these animals are covered with germ-bearing lice and fleas:

(2) or by releasing such animals from a boat behind the enemy shore line.

There are other ways of spreading germs also:

(1) by dropping leaflets, toilet paper, envelopes, and paper materials which have been covered with germs,

(2) by dropping germ-filled soap or clothing;

(3) by dropping fountain pens filled with germ-laden ink;

(4) or by dropping infected food to the enemy troops.

You can also spread germs by howitzer or mortar shells, but since it is so close to the front it is not safe to do so.

There are many types of germs that can be spread. In addition to many weird and unusual germs, the germs of more well-known

diseases, such as *typhus, typhoid, cholera, dysentery, bubonic plague, *smallpox, *malaria, and *yellow fever, may be employed. There are many types of insects to carry these germs, the most popular being the louse, flea, fly, and mosquito. The louse can carry typhus, cholera, smallpox, plague, and dysentery, as can the flea and the fly. The mosquito can carry malaria, and yellow fever.

The best way to defend against germ warfare is to be prepared. All possible people should be inoculated against all diseases possible. If insects are dropped, it is advisable to pour kerosene or oil on the containers they are dropped in and set fire to them. If they have already escaped from the containers, it is best to spray DDT over the area, preferably from an airplane. In case germ-laden dust is employed, DDT spray must be used. All exposed food must be disposed of. All exposed clothing and articles must be washed with hot water and strong soap. All water must be boiled. All food eaten must be thoroughly cooked. You must use some protection over your nose and mouth to breathe, and you must, when everything else is done, change clothes and take a good bath. All trash and waste exposed to germs must be burned. Screens should be placed on all windows in the summer for insect protection. In all cases, small animals such as rats should be destroyed so the danger of plague, which they spread with their fleas, will be lessened. If paper objects or other such items are dropped, they should be burned at once.

All weapons of bacteriological warfare are of such a nature that they should, when employed, be dropped from as low an altitude and at as low an airspeed as possible, to avoid harm to the insects. If

---

* The following footnote commenting on these points was made by a leading authority in China on tropical and infectious diseases, Dr. Huei-Lan Chung M.D. (University of New York) D.T.M. (certificate), University of London; Ex-Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, London; Ex-Research Fellow in the Tropical Insitute, Hamburg, Germany; Ex-Member of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, U.S.A.; Clinical Professor of Internal Medicine at the Chinese Union Medical College (formerly PUMC), and Peking University Medical College.—Interrogator.

"The causative agents of typhus fever and malaria are rickettsiae and plasmodiae respectively, whereas smallpox and yellow fever are due to two different kinds of filtrable virus. It is only natural that the prisoner in question, not being a medical man, mixed up these infectious agents with pathogenic bacteria. He also misinterpreted the proper use of DDT."

parachute-type weapons are used any altitude will suffice, but it should be sufficiently low, say 1,000 feet, so that the parachute will not drift from the target area.

When Mr. Wilson had finished his lecture it was 3 o'clock (1500 hours) and he reminded us not to discuss the weapons subject to anyone and took his leave. This was the only such lecture we ever received. On September 1st, 1951, I went to Kunsan.

In October, 1951, and again in December, 1951, a one-hour lecture was given at Kunsan by a Major Browning on protection against germ warfare. This lecture he gave many times on each occasion, and every person was required to attend one hour's lecture. He gave the same lecture in December as in October. The idea, of course, is that due to the rotation plan there are always new troops, and it is also good to keep in mind the contents of his lecture. He told us that it was not unreasonable to expect bacteriological warfare to be used against us by the enemy. If they did, germ dust or germ-laden insects would be used, and he stressed that we should keep our 'shot' records, or inoculations, current and up-to-date and also discoursed on the other pertinent data as I have discussed in the second paragraph on page 3 of this paper.

On the 1st of January, 1952, we were told by the operation's section group briefing officer at our regular briefing to be sure and report all our duds and where they fell. This was a usual procedure and just seemed to be a casual reminder at that time. The 'reminder' was given to all the crews at the briefing by Capt. Carey, the group briefing officer. Due to a head cold I did not fly on this night, but was replaced by another navigator.

My next scheduled flight was on the night of 6 January, 1952. We were scheduled to fly on Green 8 route (between Pyongyang and Sariwon) and our take-off was scheduled for 0300. The crew was Capt. Amos, pilot, myself, navigator, and Sgt. Tracy, gunner. As usual Capt. Amos and I reported to the group briefing room and group operations office at 0200, an hour before take-off. There we always checked for the latest weather and information on the mission to be flown. On this night we were informed by the officer on duty, a captain I am not familiar with, that we were to fly to the town of Hwangju and drop our outboard wing bombs (of which there are two) and then to drop the rest of our load as quickly as possible and come directly back to Kunsan. He told us to drop at Hwangju at 500 feet

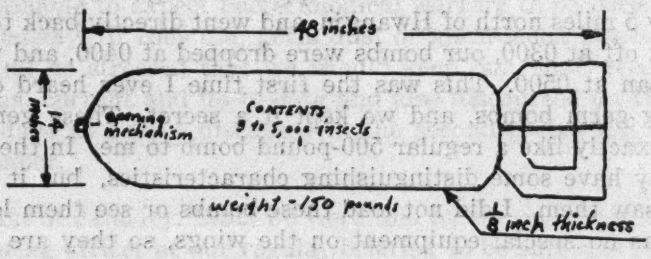
of altitude and 200 miles per hour maximum airspeed. We called his attention to the low altitude, as we were to carry ten 500 pound bombs according to briefing, but he told us that this was top secret and that these were germ bombs, and to tell no one whatsoever about our mission. He told us that the wing bombs were already loaded and checked for us, and not to bother them, and when we returned to report them as "duds". We went over to squadron operations and met our gunner, who did not report to group, and, as far as I know, did not know of our special mission. When we got out to the plane a guard was standing there from armament section. He told us the wing bombs were already checked, which we already knew. I checked the bombs in the bomb bay, 6 of them, and they were 6 regular 500-pound bombs. We took off at 0300 and flew to Hwangju, dropping our two germ bombs just outside the west edge of town. There were no explosions or any unusual things to be seen. Then we continued for two minutes to the north and dropped our eight live bombs on the highway 5 miles north of Hwangju, and went directly back to Kunsan. We took off at 0300, our bombs were dropped at 0400, and we landed at Kunsan at 0500. This was the first time I ever heard of anyone dropping germ bombs, and we kept it a secret. These germ bombs looked exactly like a regular 500-pound bomb to me. In the day time they may have some distinguishing characteristics, but it was dark when I saw them. I did not load these bombs or see them loaded but there was no special equipment on the wings, so they are loaded in the same way as ordinary bombs.

When we reported to group intelligence for debriefing after this mission we reported two bombs [500 pounds] (as a matter of fact 150 pounds) dropped at Hwangju and reported them as "duds", and reported where we dropped our eight good bombs. The bombs are evidently reported as "duds" to keep too many people from knowing the purpose of the mission, but higher headquarters can check the reports and know where the germs were dropped.

On the 10th of January, whether by accident or design I do not know, I was again scheduled for the same mission with Amos and Tracy. This time Amos and I reported to group operations, and we were told that all 4 of our wing bombs were to be germ bombs. This time our target was to be the town of Chunghwa, on Green 8, and we were then to get rid of the rest of our bombs as quickly as possible and return to base. We were still to keep our operation a secret and report our germ bombs as "duds". Our maximum airspeed was to be

200 miles per hour and our altitude 500 feet for the germ bombs. Once again armament was to have the wing bombs checked for us. We picked up Tracy at squadron operations and went out to the plane. Once again the wing bombs looked like regular bombs. An armament man told me that we were not to bother the wing bombs, as they were all set to go. I checked the regular bombs in the bomb bay. At 0300 we took off and flew directly to Chunghwa, dropping our 4 germ bombs at 0410 hours, at an altitude of 500 feet and an airspeed of 190 miles per hour, on the western edge of Chunghwa. We proceeded south and dropped our regular bombs on the highway north of Hwangju and returned to Kunsan base, landing at 0515.

When we reported for debriefing we reported where we had dropped our 6 good bombs, and reported 4 "duds" at Chunghwa, for the same reason as before, for secrecy.



Drawing of the Germ Bomb

Above is a drawing of the type of germ bombs which we used.

As I see it, the germ bombs come from a medical supply source, such as the same type which manufactures the vaccine used to combat disease, and I believe this source is in Japan, either on Honshu, or Kyushu Island.

If the type of germ bomb which we dropped is used, it will open on contact with the ground, exposing the germs and insects to the open air. If it is cold outside, the insects will be dormant and sluggish, but the sun will cause them, by its heat, to become active.

The leaflets are dropped in North Korea by B-29's. These leaflets are dropped in boxes which open in the air scattering the leaflets over a wide area. These leaflets can be used in bacteriological warfare.

When the germ bombs are dropped, they are released by the pilot The navigator takes notes on when and where they are dropped, and

how many germ bombs. The bombs are released by pushing a button, which releases the bombs by electricity.

After the mission when the crew reports to group intelligence for debriefing, the whole crew attends the debriefing, and the report is given by the pilot and navigator. It is an informal report, and the whole crew sits around a table and give their report to an enlisted man from the intelligence section, who takes the report and puts it on paper, which he turns in to his superior. This is why the germ bombs are reported as "duds", to keep unauthorized personnel in intelligence and on the crew from knowing the secret of the mission.

To the best of my knowledge, B-26 aircraft are the only ones dropping the regular germ bomb, which looks like a regular bomb. However, the B-26 is unsuitable for dropping the other types of weapons. The leaflets are dropped by B-29's and cargo type C-47 and C-46 aircraft, but mainly by B-29's. The cargo type aircraft are the best suited for dropping all other types of germ weapons, such as cardboard boxes, parachute containers, and articles of clothing, food, soap, and paper and fountain pens, but the B-29 can be used for these weapons also.

As to when we first started to use germ bombs, it was about the first of the year, about 1 January, 1952, I should say, since that is when we were all reminded to look for "dud" bombs. It is probable that other outfits, such as the 452nd Wing, started to use germ warfare at the same time.

The decision to use germ bombs, of course, is top secret, but due to the serious nature of this decision it undoubtedly rests with a very high command, probably the Far East headquarters in Tokyo.

KENNETH L. ENOCH
7 April 1952.

(This statement was released to the Press by Hsinhua Agency on May 6th 1952.)

how many germ bombs. The bombs are released by pushing a button, which releases the bombs by electricity.

After the mission when the crew reports to group intelligence for debriefing, the whole crew attends the debriefing, and the report is given by the pilot and navigator. It is an informal report, and the whole crew sits around a table and give their report to an enlisted man from the intelligence section, who takes the report and puts it on paper, which he turns in to his superior. This is why the germ bombs are reported as "duds" to keep unauthorized personnel in intelligence and airplane crew from knowing the secret of the mission.

To the best of my knowledge, B-29 aircraft are the only ones dropping the regular germ bomb, which looks like a regular bomb. However, the B-29 is unsuitable for dropping the other types of weapons. The leaflets are dropped by B-29's and cargo type C-47 and C-46 aircraft, but mainly by B-29's. The cargo type aircraft are the best suited for dropping all other types of germ weapons, such as cardboard boxes, parachute containers, and articles of clothing, food, soap, and paper and fountain pens, but the B-29 can be used for these weapons also.

As to when we first started to use germ bombs, it was about the first of the year, about 1 January, 1952. I should say, since that is when we were all reminded to look for "dud" bombs. It is probable that other outfits, such as the 452nd Wing, started to use germ warfare at the same time.

The decision to use germ bombs, of course, is top secret, but due to the serious nature of this decision it undoubtedly rests with a very high command, probably the Far East headquarters in Tokyo.

KENNETH L. ENOCH

7 April 1952.

The Truth About How American Imperialism Launched Germ Warfare

I was at Iwakuni, Japan, during the last two weeks of August, 1951. During the month of August the 3rd Bomb Wing was in the process of moving to Kunsan, Korea, and the last thing to make the move was the ground school which moved on to Kunsan in early September, 1951. During my stay at ~~Kunsan~~ Iwakuni there were about 15 crews which had just come from the United States and were attending the ground school. This ground school gave the same kind of classroom subjects as the school at 4400 CCTG. We navigators recieved lectures and problems in navigation and the B-26 and Korea, so we would understand our jobs better and thus be better equipped to fly in combat.

On 25 August, 1951 at 1300 hours, we attended a secret lecture in the ground school navigation classroom. There were as I recall, 10 pilots and 15 navigators present at the lecture. Of the pilots I recall Lt Broughton, Lt. Schmidt, and Capt. Lemak. Among the navigators I remember Lt. Brown, Lt. Hardy, Lt DeGaugh. Lt. Zielinski, Lt Garvin, Lt. Larson, and myself. I did not know all the pilots and navigators, only those I had been with at Langley Field. Our instructors name was Mr. Wilson, a civilian. There were no other instructors in attendance at this lecture.

Mr. Wilson told us that his lecture was concerning bacteriological warfare. He told us that our side had no plans at that time of using bacteriological warfare, but nevertheless we might at some time, and thus the lecture was secret information and we were not to divulge its contents to any one, ~~one~~ or even talk about it among ourselves.

The main part of Mr Wilsons lecture was devoted to the weapons of bacteriological ~~weapons~~ warfare. He did not have any examples with him, but he discussed the various methods of scattering germs; either by scattering the germs by themselves or by dropping insects and animals to spread the germs. The contents of Mr Wilsons lecture is as follows:

The ways of dropping the germs by themselves are: ① by dropping a bomb full of dust and germs mixed together, which will open in the air and spread the germ-laden dust with the wind; ② by dropping dust directly from the airplane itself, by means of a spraying device, so that there will be germs in the air wherever the dust is sprayed; ③ or by dropping a container full of germ dust, either a bomb which will open in the water or a paperboard box which will be opened by the water, into reservoirs and lakes where the people and animals use the water, and where insects will pick up the germs and spread them.

The ways of dropping insects are: ① by dropping a germ bomb which looks just like an ordinary bomb, but is filled with germ-laden insects, and which will open on contact with the ground to release these insects; ② by dropping insects in paperboard containers which will break open on contact with the ground, releasing the insects with their germs; ③ or by spreading insects with animals.

The ways of releasing germs by animals are: ① To release the rats or ~~rabbits~~ rabbits or small game by a parachute container which will release the animals upon contact with the ground, and these animals are covered with germ-bearing lice and fleas; ② or by releasing such animals from a boat behind the enemy shore line.

There are other ways of spreading germs also: ① By dropping leaflets toilet paper, envelopes, and paper materials which have been covered with germs; ② by dropping germ-filled soap or clothing; ③ by dropping fountain pens filled with germ-laden ink; ④ or by dropping infected food to the enemy troops.

You can also spread germs by howitzer or mortar shells, but since it is so close to the front it is not safe to do so

There are many types of germs that can be spread. In addition to many weird and unusual germs, the germs of more well-known diseases such as typhus, typhoid, cholera, dysentery, bubonic plague, smallpox, malaria, and yellow fever, may be employed. There are many types of insects to carry these germs, the most popular being the louse, flea, fly, and mosquito. The louse can carry typhus, cholera, smallpox, plague, and dysentery, as can the flea and the fly. The mosquito can carry malaria, and yellow fever.

The best way to defend against germ warfare is to be prepared. All possible people should be inoculated against all diseases possible. If insects are dropped, it is advisable to pour kerosene or oil on the containers they are dropped in and set fire to them. If they have already escaped from the containers, it is best to spray DDT over the area, preferably from an airplane. In case germ-laden dust is employed, DDT spray must be used. All exposed food must be disposed of. All exposed clothing and articles must be washed with hot water and strong soap. All water must be boiled. All food eaten must be thoroughly cooked. You must use some protection over your nose and mouth to breathe, and you must, when every thing else is done, change clothes and take a good bath. All trash and waste exposed to germs must be burned. Screens should be placed on all windows in the summer for insect protection. In all cases, small animals such as rats should be destroyed so the danger of plague, which they spread with their fleas, will be less used. If paper objects or other such items are dropped, they should be burned at once.

All weapons of bacteriological warfare are of such a nature that they should, when employed, be dropped from as low an altitude and as low an airspeed as possible, to avoid harm to the insects. If parachute-type weapons are used any altitude will suffice, but it should be sufficiently low, say 1000 feet, so that the parachute will not drift from the target area.

When Mr. Wilson had finished his lecture it was 3 o'clock (1500 hours) and he reminded us not to discuss the weapons subject to anyone and took his leave. This was the only such lecture we ever received. On September 1st, 1951, I went to Kunsan.

In October, 1951, and again in December, 1951, a one-hour lecture was given at Kunsan by a Major Browning on protection against germ warfare. This lecture he gave many times on each occasion, and every person was required to attend one hours lecture. He gave the same lecture in December as in October. The idea, of course, is that due to the rotation plan there are always new troops, and it is also good to keep in mind the contents of his lecture. He told us that it was not unreasonable to expect bacteriological warfare to be used against us by the enemy. If they did, germ dust or germ-~~then~~ laden insects would be used, and he stressed that we should keep our shot records, or inoculations, current and up-to-date, and also discussed on the other pertinent data as I have discussed in the second paragraph on page 3 of this paper.

On the 1st of January, 1952, we were told by the operations section group briefing officer at our regular briefing to be sure and report all our duds and where they fell. This was a usual procedure and just seemed to be a casual reminder at this time. The reminder was given to all the crews at the briefing by Capt. Gray, the group briefing officer, "Dad" to a head cold I did not sig in this night, but was replaced by another navigator.

My next scheduled flight was on the night of 6 January, 1952. We were scheduled to fly on Green 8 route (between Pyongyang and Sariwon), and our take-off was scheduled for 0300. The crew was Capt. Amos, pilot, myself, navigator, and Sgt. Tracy, gunner. As usual Capt. Amos and I reported to the group briefing room and group operations office at 0200 an hour before take-off. There we always checked for the latest weather and information on the mission to be flown. On this night we were informed by the officer on duty, a captain I am not familiar with, that we were to fly to the town of Hwangju and drop our outboard wing bombs (of which there are two) and then to drop the rest of our load as quickly as possible and come directly back to Kunsan. He told us to drop at Hwangju at 500 feet of altitude and 200 miles per hour maximum airspeed. We called his attention to the low altitude, as we were to carry 10-500 pound bombs according to briefing, but he told us that this was top secret and that these were germ bombs, and to tell no one whatsoever about our mission. He told us that the wing bombs were already loaded and checked for us, and not to bother them, and when we returned to report them as "duds". We went over to squadron operations and met our gunner, who did not report to group, and, as far as I know, did not know of our special mission. When we got out to the plane a guard was standing there from armament section. He told us the wing bombs were already checked, which we already knew. I checked the bombs in the bomb bay, 6 of them, and they were 6 regular 500-pound bombs. We took off at 0300 and flew to Hwangju, dropping our two germ bombs just outside the west edge of town. There were no explosions or any unusual things to be seen. Then we continued for two minutes to the north and dropped our eight live bombs

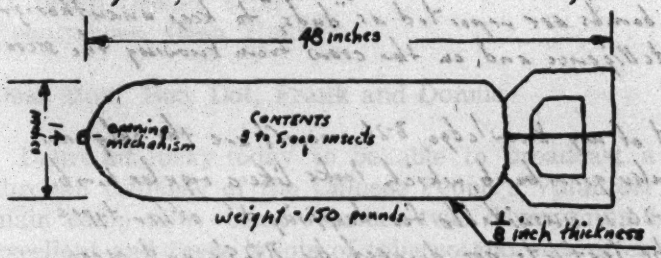
on the highway 5 miles north of Hwangju, and went directly back to Kunsan. We took off at 0300, our bombs were dropped at 0400, and we landed at Kunsan at 0500. This was the first time I ever heard of anyone dropping germ bombs, and we kept it a secret. Those germ bombs looked exactly like a regular 500-pound bomb to me. In the daytime they may have some distinguishing characteristics, but it was dark when I saw them. I did not load these bombs or see them loaded but there was no special equipment on the wings, so they are loaded in the same way as ordinary bombs.

When we reported to group intelligence for debriefing after this mission we reported two bombs (as a matter of fact, 50 pounds) (500 pounds) dropped at Hwangju and reported them as "duds," and reported where we dropped our eight good bombs. The bombs are evidently reported as "duds" to keep too many people from knowing the purpose of the mission, but higher headquarters can check the reports and know where the germs were dropped.

On the 10th of January, whether by accident or design I do not know, I was again scheduled for the same mission with Amos and Tracy. This time Amos and I reported to group operations, and we were told that all 4 of our wing bombs were to be germ bombs. This time our target was to be the town of Changhwa, on Green 8, and we were then to get rid of the rest of our bombs as quickly as possible and return to base. We were still to keep our operation a secret and report our germ bombs as "duds". Our maximum airspeed was to be 200 miles per hour and our altitude 500 feet for the germ bombs. Once again armament was to have the wing bombs checked for us. We picked up Tracy at squadron operations and went out to the plane. Once again the wing bombs looked like regular bombs. An armament man told me that we were not to bother the wing bombs, as they were all set to go.

I checked the regular bombs in the bomb bay. At 0300 we took off and flew directly to Chunghwa, dropping our 4 germ bombs at 0410 hours, at an altitude of 500 feet and an airspeed of 190 miles per hour, on the western edge of Chunghwa. We proceeded south and dropped our regular bombs on the highway north of Hwangju and returned to Kunsan base, landing at 0515.

When we reported for debriefing we reported where we had dropped our 6 good bombs, and reported 4 "duds" at Chunghwa, for the same reason as before, for secrecy.



DRAWING OF GERM BOMB

Above is a drawing of the type of germ bombs which we used.

As I see it, the germ bombs come from a medical supply source, such as the same type which manufactures the vaccine used to combat disease, and I believe this source is in Japan, either on Honsha or Kyushu Island.

If the type of germ bomb which we dropped is used, it will open on contact with the ground, exposing the germs and insects to the open air. If it is cold outside, the insects will be dormant and sluggish, but the sun will cause them by its heat to become active.

The leaflets are dropped in North Korea by B-29's. These leaflets are dropped in boxes which open in the air scattering the leaflets over a wide area. These leaflets can be used in bacteriological warfare.

When the germ bombs are dropped, they are released by the pilot. The navigator takes notes on when and where they are dropped, and how many germ bombs. The bombs are released by pushing a button, which releases the bombs by electricity.

After the mission when the crew reports to group intelligence for debriefing, the whole crew attends the debriefing, and the report is given by the pilot and navigator. It is an informal report, and the whole crew sits around a table and give their report to an enlisted man from the intelligence section, who takes the report and puts it on paper, which he turns in to his superior. This is why the germ bombs are reported as "duds," to keep unauthorized personnel in intelligence and on the crew from knowing the secret of the mission.

To the best of my knowledge, B-26 aircraft are the only ones dropping the regular germ bomb, which looks like a regular bomb. However, the B-26 is unsuitable for dropping the other types of weapons. The leaflets are dropped by B-29's and cargo type, C-47 and C-46 aircraft, but mainly by B-29's. The cargo type aircraft are the best suited for dropping all other types of germ weapons, such as cardboard boxes, parachute containers, and articles of clothing, food, soap, and paper and fountain pens, but the B-29 can be used for these weapons also.

As to when we first started to use germ bombs, it was about the first of the year, about 1 January, 1952, I should say, since that is when we were all reminded to look for dud bombs. It is probable that other outfits, such as the 452nd Wing, started to use germ warfare at the same time.

The decision to use germ bombs, of course, is top secret but due to the serious nature of this decision it undoubtedly rests with a very high command, probably the Far East headquarters in Tokyo.

Kenneth L. Enoch

Kenneth L. Enoch
7 April 1952.

LETTER TO HIS FAMILY

Written by Kenneth L. Enoch on April 10th 1952

To Mrs. Helen D. Enoch
18 South Osborn Street
Youngstown, Ohio, U.S.A.

Dear Mom, Bob, Dot, Frank and Donnie,

I sure am lucky today to be able to broadcast a message to you through courtesy of the Chinese People's Volunteer Army. I am in main camp now, camp Number two. Everything is fine. Chow is excellent and there is lots of tobacco and cigarettes and I have been given a pipe to smoke. I am in good health and looking forward to the day the peace talks are settled and I can return home to see you all. There is a lot of reading material to help pass the time, and sometimes I go for walks with the Chinese comrades and enjoy the beautiful scenery of these mountains. Spring is here and everything is full of life and cheer, and I know that good old Youngstown is also very beautiful now. I hope you all are well, hope everything is okay at the hospital, Mom, and Bob is busy working on those trucks, and Dot and Frank are busy raising my favorite nephew. I've got his picture here, and everyone agrees he is very cute.

Tell all my friends I am okay, and hope to see them soon. Keep the home fires burning, and drop me a line or two.

Love to all
Ken
10 April 1952

To: Mrs. Helen D Enoch
18 South Osborn Street
Youngstown, Ohio, USA.

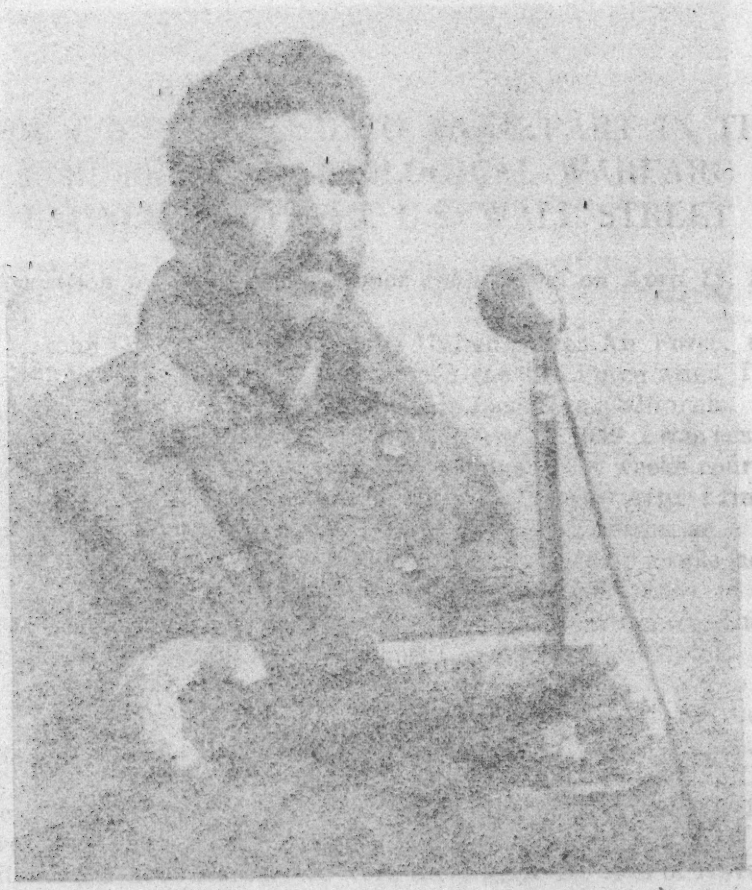
Dear Mom, Bob, Dot, Frank and Donnie,

I sure am lucky today to be able to broadcast a message to you through courtesy of the Chinese People's Volunteers. Anyway I am in train for camp now, camp Number Two. Everything is fine. Chow is excellent, and there is lots of tobacco and cigarettes and I have been given a pipe to smoke. I am in good health and looking forward to the day the peace talks are settled and I can return home to see you all. There is a lot of reading material to help pass the time, and sometimes I go for walks with the Chinese comrades and enjoy the beautiful scenery of these mountains. Spring is here, and everything is full of life and cheer, and I know that good old Youngstown is also very beautiful now too. I hope you all are well, hope everything is okay at the hospital, mom, and Bob is busy working on those tools, and Dot and Frank are busy raising my favorite nephew. He's got his pictures here, and everyone agrees he is very cute.

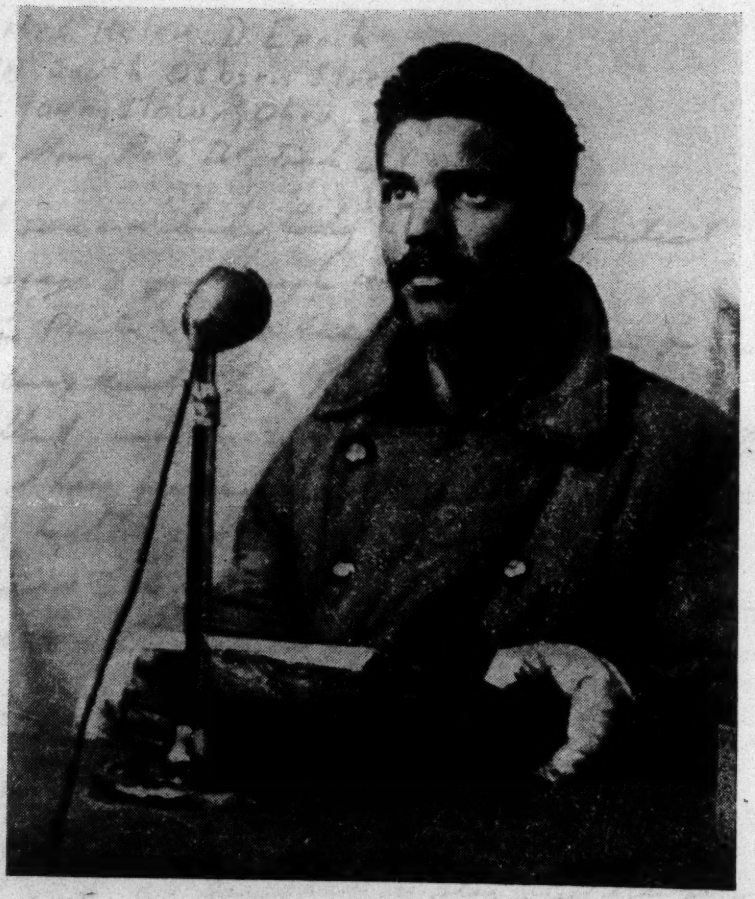
Tell all my friends I am okay, and hope to see them soon. Keep the home fires burning, and drop me a line or two. Love to all,

Ken.

10 April 1952



War prisoner John Quinn



War prisoner John Quinn

HOW I WAS FORCED TO TAKE PART IN THE INHUME* BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE LAUNCHED BY THE U.S. WALL STREET

(A deposition made by war prisoner John Quinn on April 13, 1952)

I am John Quinn, a 1st/Lt in the United States Air Force, serial no. 17993A. I am 29 years old. I joined the Air Force when I was 26 in February 16, of 1948. My home is in Pasadena, California. After I graduated from Aviation Cadets in February 25, 1949, I was assigned to the Air University. They sent me through a six weeks course on how to teach called the Academic Instructor's Course. After I finished they assigned me to the Academic Instructor's Division as a Staff member. My job was training aide officer, to teach people how to make good use of pictures, charts, movies, and slides in their instruction. I was teaching there when I got my orders to the Far East Air Forces for further assignment to fly B-26s in Korea. I was told to report first on August 25 to Langley Air Force Base to learn to fly B-26s. I was there for 8 weeks. We were sent from there to Camp Stoneman for processing. At Camp Stoneman I was innocculated for Typhoid fever, Typhus, Cholera, and Smallpox. We left the United States by airplane and arrived in Japan on 27 November 1951. We arrived at Haeneda Air Terminal and taken to Foochu, Area B, to await being sent to Korea. We were there until the 29th of November and then sent by train to Ashia Air Base in Southern Japan. It was an overnight trip by train and we arrived on the 30th. The same day we were sent by C-47 to Kunsan Air Base in Korea. I was assigned to the 8th Squadron, 3rd Group, of the 3rd Bomb Wing. The 3rd Group is composed of 3 squadrons, 8th, 90th, and 13th and is the only group at Kunsan.

On December 17, 1951 I reported to the 8th squadron orderly room and saw my name on the bulletin board to attend a lecture the next day at 9 o'clock. The next day Larson, a navigator who was also on

* A spelling mistake by Quinn in place of "inhuman". Similar mistakes will be noticed throughout the deposition which is exactly as it was originally written (Cp. facsimiles pp. 37—74).

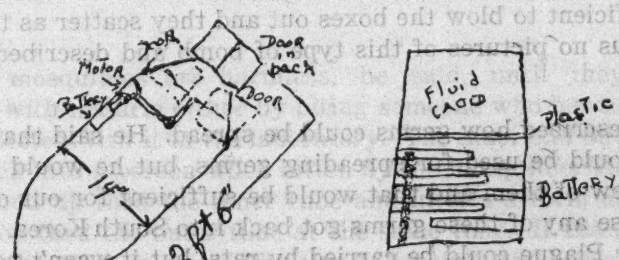
the list, and I went to the lecture. The lecture was given in the Ground School building in a large room. Filled the room would seat 30 people. There were 20 people in the room, all pilots and navigators. In addition to Larson and myself were Roberts 2nd Lt, Schwartz 1st Lt, Rogers 1st Lt, Watson 1st Lt, Long-Capt., Duffy-Capt, all navigators, Howarth-Capt, Schmidt 1st Lt, Beeson Capt, Robertson-Capt, McAllister 1st Lt, all pilots. Larson and I had been drinking coffee and arrived a few minutes late, the others were already there. The Capt. that was talking seemed very displeased that we were late and repeated for us that the lecture that we were to receive was considered very important and highly secret. That we were to pay close attention to everything that was told us but not to discuss the lecture later—even among ourselves. He said the lecturer had come from Japan and was an expert in his field. Then he introduced the lecturer, a civilian, as Mr Ashfork. Mr Ashfork was a middle aged man, 40 years old, slender, 5ft 10", and losing most of his hair.

He started his lecture by telling us that his lecture was on Biological Warfare. He said that it was a terrible thing to contemplate but in this day of the atom bomb when science was making such rapid strides, that we must be prepared for any turn of events. He said that we never know what turn events might take in the future and that we must be ready to defend ourselves, we must also know how to carry out Bacteriological Warfare ourselves in case it proved necessary. He said that he had spent many years studying germ warfare and that he would give us as much information as he thought we needed.

He first told us that there were many ways of spreading germ warfare. Germs could be spread anywhere at any time, that the means were ready. He told us that germs by themselves could not be dropped because they would die in 60 seconds in direct sunlight. That germs could, however, be carried by many different types of insects and rodents. These insects and rodents have been bred for many of their generations under laboratory conditions and selected for their ability to survive anywhere at anytime, even under the most adverse conditions. To name a few of the ways that they can be spread, he said, was by dust, just like a smoke screen is laid down. That they could be spread in this way by ships moving in close to shore when the wind was blowing onto shore. That they could also be spread in this way by low flying jet aircraft. He meant any type of jet aircraft. He said that they could be spread by bugs in clothes, fleas, flies, lice, and mosquitoes. These same bugs could also be dropped in many other ways, in boxes that would become very fragile in the sun and allow

the bugs to crawl out, and also in bombs. He said since we were flying B-26s he would discuss mostly this last way, by bombs. He then showed us pictures of a jet, a drawing of an F-84, spraying dust with germs, out of its tip tanks. He showed us a picture of some old clothes with bugs that looked like flies and lice crawling in them. These bugs can keep very warm in the clothes, altho he said that they can be selectively bred so that the cold wouldn't harm them. Also they can go a very long time without food.

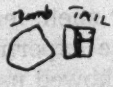
He then showed us pictures of bombs which could be used for dropping germs. These bombs looked very much like 500 pound Gps that we had been carrying except that they had no fuzes. He said that the size and shape of the bomb was not important, only what it contained. He said it was a very safe way to carry these germs since the bombs were sealed and would not open except when dropped from the airplane. The pictures he showed us was a picture of a 500 pound bomb with a very much thinner shell, less than ¼ inch thick. These bombs, he said, were still in the experimental stage and there were various types. One picture he showed us was of a bomb that split in half when it struck the ground. Another had doors in the back (near the tail where the bomb curves) that open when the bomb hits. These doors are opened by a very small electric motor hooked to a battery which doesn't work until the bomb strikes the ground. The fluid is kept away from the plates of the battery until the bomb strikes the ground by a thin plastic shield. The force of the bomb hitting the ground is sufficient for the fluid to break the plastic shield and then the fluid covers the battery plates and the motor opens the doors.



Also he showed us a picture of a bomb which the tail breaks off when it hits the ground. All of these bombs that he showed us were made to look like ordinary 500 pound bombs but none of them were

pictured with fuzes. He told us they also had bombs which came apart in the air and the insects were scattered in boxes to get them over a large territory before they struck the ground. He told us that these boxes would become very weak in the sunlight and the insects (flies, fleas, and mosquitoes) could crawl out. The structure of all three of the bombs he showed us was the same and they all looked like 500 pound bombs with thin casings. The first was shown split open.

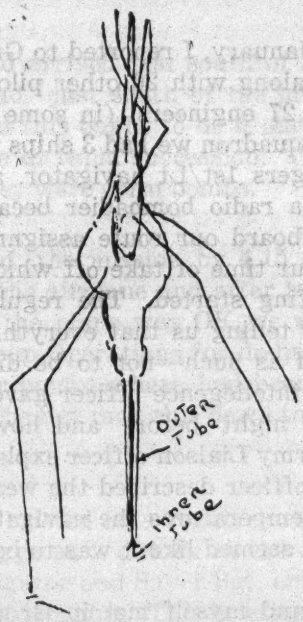
The second with the doors in the back near the tail, and the third with the tail broken off.



The bombs that open in the air are hooked up by a regular arming wire to the wing bomb racks. They have a little propeller in the nose which cannot turn before the bomb is dropped because of the arming wire. When the bomb is dropped the arming wire stays with the airplane and the propeller is free to turn. The propeller turns a generator which supplies electricity to a small electric motor, just as the one I described. This motor first opens 3 doors in the back, just as in the other bomb, and then opens one door in the front. The wind thru the bomb is sufficient to blow the boxes out and they scatter as they fall. He showed us no pictures of this type of bomb and described it very little.

Next he described how germs could be spread. He said that almost any insect could be used for spreading germs, but he would just tell us about a few of them and that would be sufficient for our own protection in case any of these germs got back into South Korea. He said that Bubonic Plague could be carried by rats, but it wasn't necessary for the rats themselves to be dropped, altho they could be. The germs could be dropped in anything that rats could and would get into and they would pick up the germs and carry them. The insects can most easily be dropped and these carry many germs. Flies can carry Typhus* and Cholera and fleas can carry plague. Mosquitoes can carry fever of different types, yellow fever, typhoid fever*, malaria,

and encyphilitis* for which no positive cure is known. Encyphylitis is also known as Japanese B and was brought to Korea first by Japanese as a disease in their own ranks. Very little is known about combating it and prevention is the same as that for malaria. He said he would describe how malaria was carried and that the rest of the fevers were carried by mosquitoes in a similar way. He showed us a large picture of a mosquitoe.



These mosquitoes are harmless, he said, until they have been infected with malaria either by biting someone who has malaria or by being infected with it in the laboratory. The inner and outer tubes are both stuck into a person when bitten by the mosquitoe. The mosquitoe sucks blood up thru the inner tube and injects a form of saliva into the person thru the outer tube at the same time. If the mosquitoe is infected the germ is carried by this saliva into the person bitten and he will get the fever. He said that the posters on the walls of the mess hall (on protecting yourself against encyphylitis) were not up there just to cover the walls.

He said that we must all follow rules of cleanliness, especially in the months to come. When we were given atabrin to take not to throw

it away but to take it. He said we should all keep our innoculations up to date. If we did these things we had nothing to fear. The lecture started at 9 o'clock and was over just before 11. We all noted that germ bombs would not explode, that they would be duds.

In our regular briefing on the 31st of December the operations officer, told us to be sure and report all duds to the intellegence section at de-briefing when we returned.

On the 3rd of January, I reported to Group Operations at 2 o'clock in the afternoon along with 26 other pilots, 27 navigators, 27 radio bombadiers, and 27 engineers (in some cases these engineers were gunners. In our squadron we had 3 ships which could carry gunners). My crew was Rogers 1st/Lt navigator, and Sayer Sgt. as engineer. We didn't carry a radio bombadier because the weather was good. I copied off the board our route assignment which was Sariwon to Pyongyang and our time of take off which was 2:30 in the morning. The regular briefing started. The regular briefing consists of the operations officer telling us that everything we are to hear is secret and to be treated as such—not to be discussed except among ourselves. Then the intellegence officer gave a picture of what traffic was sighted the night before and how many were damaged and destroyed. The Army Liaison officer explained the front line situation and the weather officer described the weather to us. Other information, winds, and temperatures the navigator copied off the board. In every respect this seemed like it was to be a regular mission.

Rogers, Sayer and myself met in Group operations at 5 minutes after 1 and I went into the little room where the alert operations officer stayed at night, Capt Reynolds was on duty. I gave him our names and he told me that I had a special mission. He said that before I did anything else I was to drop my wing bombs as close to Pyongyang as I dared get. He indicated a place on the wall map that he stuck a red pin into which was 5 miles south of Pyongyang and 3 miles east of the main highway. He said that we should then continue with our regular mission and finish it as soon as possible and report back to the intellegence section. He said that I should drop the bombs from 200 feet or lower if possible and for me not to worry about them exploding that they would be duds. I asked him what it was all about, remembering the lecture we'd been given on germ bombs, but he said he didn't know and it would be best just to do as instructed and not worry about why or what. I thought it was germ bombs.

When we went out to the airplane we were met by a guard and then I was sure they were germ bombs. He said not to worry about the wing bombs, they'd already been taken care of. But I looked up at them when I was inspecting the airplane and noted that what the navigators said "the wing bombs don't have any fuzes" was correct. We both looked at each other and I said orders are orders and we left it at that. I told him where we were to drop them and he marked it on his map.

We took off at 2:25 and arrived just south of Pyongyang at 3:30. I turned east from the road, just south of the bridge, and when we reached 200 ft Rogers said this ought to be it and I dropped the four wing bombs, one at a time in rapid succession. They were duds. We both knew then for sure they were germ bombs.

We finished the rest of the mission by 4.15 and landed back at Kunsan at 5:10. We left the airplane and after turning in our equipment and reporting that the plane was OK we went directly to the intellegence section in Group Operations for de-briefing. We reported that we had dropped four bombs where had been told at 200 ft and that they were all duds. The Sgt took this down to give to intellegence that morning.

On January 10th I was briefed on a regular mission as usual to fly between Kunuri and Kangye at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. My crew was Schwartz 1st/Lt navigator and Sayer Sgt, engineer. Our take off time was 2 o'clock the next morning. This briefing was routine. When we reported at 12:30 to operations I went in as usual to check off our names and was told again that I had a special mission. Capt. Reynolds was again on duty. He remembered that I had already had one special mission with duds so he referred to that and told me this would be the same type of mission. That this time I only had two duds and that I should drop them Northeast of Kunuri and he showed me the place on the wall map which was 3 miles North of Kunuri and 5 miles east of the railroad track. Again we were met by a Guard at the airplane and told that the wing bombs had been taken care of. I noticed that again the two outboard bombs had no fuzes. I told Schwartz where we were to make the special drop and we knew we had germ bombs. We took off at 2 o'clock and arrived over Kunuri at 3:25. I turned when Schwartz told me to and let down to 200 ft. and dropped the bombs. They were duds. We finished up the rest of the mission as

quickly as possible and started back to Kunsan, at 4:10. We landed back at Kunsan at 5:25 and after turning in our equipment and telling them the airplane was OK we went to the intellegence section in operations and reported having dropped two duds and where we dropped them. The Sgt made a note of this to give to the intellegence.

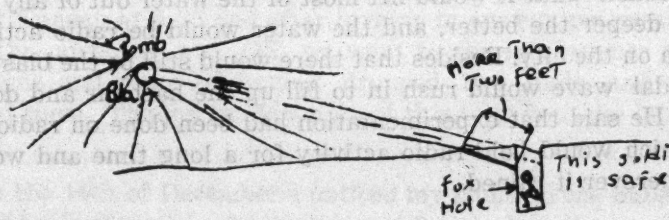
—On the 14th of December I noticed my name on the bulletin board to attend a lecture the next morning at 9 o'clock in the ground school building. I was there at 9 o'clock in the large room with 25 other officers, pilots and navigators. Beeson, Capt., Schmidt 1st/Lt, Long Capt, Land Capt., Howard Capt., Larson 1st/Lt, Schwartz 1st/Lt, Roberts 2nd/Lt, Watson 1st/Lt were there. Maj Allen, base operations officer was the senior officer present and introduced the lecturer. He said that this lecture was important and secret. He said that the lecturer, Mr Clark was an eminent physicist in the field of nuclear research and that he was there to explain some about atomic warfare to us. He said Mr Clark had come from Japan.

The lecturer started by saying that the science of atomic warfare had advanced a long ways since the bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The days when these bombs could only be carried by B-29s was over. Bombs of that size were now many times (he didn't say how many) as powerful as they were then. That bombs could now be made almost any size they wished to make them. He said that they had conducted experiments in the United States on what he called the "Baby" atom bomb and that they were doing further work so that they could be used as artillery as well as bombs. He said that work on a mortar shell with an atomic warhead was nearly perfected for use. He said that much progress was being made on the hydrogen bomb which would be a thousand times more powerful than the types of atom bombs we now had. He said that these bombs, a single one, could completely level a city like New York. Then he told us that there were various ways of using atom bombs. They could be dropped to explode under-ground and spread radio active dust over a large area. This dust is deadly to any living thing it comes in contact with and the radio activity lingers many weeks. He said that the bombs could be dropped by parachute to explode in the air as they were at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and in this way the heat and the blast effect is more deadly, that the radio activity is not so persistent and most of it blows away and disperses in the air. He said that the bombs could be exploded deep under water and this could be used on cities

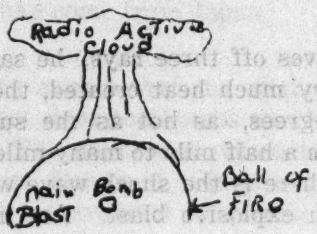
near the coast. That it would lift most of the water out of any known port, the deeper the better, and the water would be radio active and rain down on the city. Besides that there would still be the blast effect and a tidal wave would rush in to fill up the harbour and do much damage. He said that experimentation had been done on radio active clouds which would hold radio activity for a long time and would be deadly wherever it rained.

He said that experiments on the smaller atom weapons (bombs) had been carried out in Nevada, United States, with troops in the fields near the blast—about 2 miles away, and that no one had been hurt. This was because the explosions had been small and proper precautions had been taken. He said that they had all been clothed well and were in deep fox holes so that their heads were 2 to 3 ft below the top of the fox hole. This was a very necessary precaution, he said, and we should understand why.

The atom bomb gives off three rays, he said. When a bomb goes off there is first very much heat created, the center of the blast is many millions of degrees, as hot as the sun, and this heat wave extends outward from a half mile to many miles depending on the size of the blast. Next, there is the shock wave which is much longer in duration than a high explosive blast. And next there is the radio activity. If you are far enough away from the blast not to be killed outright the fox hole will protect you against both the heat wave and the blast effect, and also against radio activity unless it comes in as dust or rain. The three rays given off by the atom bomb are alpha, beta, and gama. The alpha and beta only last during the explosion and if you are safe from the searing heat of the blast, then even a shirt, especially a light colored shirt, is sufficient to keep the alpha and beta rays from burning you. Wherever you don't have clothes like hands, neck, face, that part will be burned that is facing the blast when the bomb goes off. The gama rays last for a longer time depending on the type of blast, but a foxhole is good protection against this altho clothes are not of any use. Only lead or a thick layer of dirt will stop these gama rays which go thru everything just like X-rays and destroy the life of bones and cause blood to break down. Then he showed us pictures of how the fox holes must be dug. He said that a half inch of lead would stop the gama rays, but it took at least two feet of dirt to stop them. They could penetrate almost two feet of

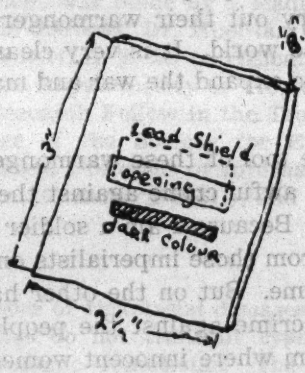


dirt. The area around the blast continues to give off gamma rays because those objects which are strongly effected by the gamma rays also become radioactive and give off these rays. It would be very dangerous to touch especially metal objects which were in the near vicinity of the blast. He said that most of the radio active gamma rays are carried off in a large cloud in an air burst and dispersed by the winds. He showed us a picture of this.



He said that altho after being dispersed they would not be harmful to people, that a report had come from a photographic laboratory in New York, several days after the experiments in Nevada, that much of their photographic paper showed signs of having been exposed to gamma rays. These rays had traveled in clouds all the way across the United States and exposed this paper. He said that because of most of these rays being carried off in the radio active cloud, it was quite possible to safely enter an area after an air burst provided you didn't stay too long. However, except when absolutely necessary to enter for some reason it was best to wait until trained people could go in first with giegar counters. If you must go in, he said, don't touch metal objects. He said that they had a pocket radiation detector that could be carried by every one that would indicate when you had been in the area as long as was safe. He showed us this object which was the same size as a pack of cigarettes but only 1/8″ thick. It had an opening in the middle ¼″ high and 2″ long covered with a thin piece of lead.

This lead could be slid out of the way and expose the opening. Behind the lead was a piece of photographic paper which would turn dark when exposed to radio-activity. It also had on the outside a colour with which to match the colour of the paper so that when they matched you could leave the area, otherwise you would get too much radio-activity and it would be dangerous. After you go in once you can't go back again.



When you enter the area you raise the lead shield and then watch the colour of the opening and compare it to the dark colour and leave when they're the same. Next he told us that these pocket indicators were only necessary substitutes for Giegar Counter which were much more accurate. The Giegar Counter works like a radio and when it is near radio-activity you can hear it in earphones connected to the Giegar Counter. Also it has a little meter which looks like an ampmeter in a car to tell how much radioactivity is present. He said it was measured in radiotrons, or some term like that. Then he let each of us file up and put the earphones on and listen as he brought a piece of radioactive material near the Giegar Counter. At first the ticking was very slow but as the piece came close the ticking got very fast until it sounded like a purr, one tick mixed with the next. The lecture lasted from 9 o'clock to 10:30.

It is very clear from these facts that the capitalistic Wall Street warmongers in their greed, their ruthless greed, have caused this horrible crime of Bacteriological Warfare to be launched in order to get more money for themselves and in the hope of spreading this war.

Even their desire to start a third world war by adding atomic warfare to their list of inhumane crimes is indicated. These imperialists will stop at nothing to get more money in their pockets and the more war the more they make. They do not care about the innocent people of the world. Surely the people of America, the workers, if they know about these crimes must condemn them. The American workers seldom get the truth from their newspapers, magazines, and radios which are controlled by the money mad Wall Street imperialists. These warmongers do not want the people to learn the truth or they would not permit them to carry out their warmongering inhumane crimes against the people of the world. It is very clear that they are doing these inhumane crimes to expand the war and make more profits.

I was forced to be the tool of these warmongers and made to drop germ bombs and do this awful crime against the people of Korea and the Chinese Volunteers. Because I am a soldier I must follow orders and these orders came from those imperialists on Wall Street. I could not refuse to do this crime. But on the other hand I was the person who did this inhumane crime against the people, by carrying germ bombs and dropping them where innocent women and children would be the most likely victims. This is a horrible crime against the people, even the German Nazis would not use it, those people like Ilsa Koch who would make lamp shades out of human skin would not use it, but I used it for the U.S. imperialist warmongers of Wall Street. Since I have been captured by the Chinese Volunteers and I laid down my arms I have been treated far better than a person who had committed even much lesser crimes deserves to expect. But they always said after I laid down my arms that I was no longer an enemy. They explained the lenient policy toward POWs which I, brought up as I was on the propaganda lies of the Wall Street imperialists, found very difficult to understand. But the Chinese Volunteers were very patient. They issued me warm clothing against the cold, gave me excellent food, bedding and a warm place to sleep. I am eternally grateful for their kind treatment. At last, after much patience on the part of the Volunteers, I realized my crime. My own conscience bothered me a great deal, and it is very good to be rid of this burden to confess and repent.

I have realized my terrible crime against the people, I have done an inhumane thing against innocent peace loving people. I know now

how wrong this crime is, and I ask that the people can see it in their hearts to forgive me for this crime. It was a crime against all the peace loving people of the world and one which should surely be condemed by all peace loving people. I ask forgiveness from all people who want peace because my crime has been against them.

JOHN QUINN.

13 April 1952

"The following comment was made by a leading authority in China on tropical and infectious diseases, Dr. Huei-lan Chung, M. D. (University of the State of New York), D. T. M. (certificate), University of London; Formerly Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, London; Formerly, Research Fellow in the Tropical Institute, Hamburg, Germany; Ex-Member of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, U.S.A.; Clinical Professor of Internal Medicine at the Chinese Union Medical College (formerly PUMC), and Peking University Medical College.

—The Interrogator

"The accepted vectors of ricketssial diseases are lice, ticks and mites. So far as known, flies do not transmit typhus fever as they do not normally carry pathogenic rickettsiae. The transmission of typhoid fever requires no insect vector except flies which may serve as mechanical carriers of various virulent micro-organisms on account of their habitual contact with fecal matter. Certainly mosquitoes are not vectors of typhoid fever. Some of the statements given by this prisoner concerning the transmission of infectious diseases are not consistent with current medical knowledge. However, the prisoner in question, not being a medical man, cannot be expected to know or remember everything about diesase transmission. Thus it is also natural that he spelled and wrote **encyphilitis** for encephalitis."

(This statement was released to the Press by Hsinhua Agency on May 5th 1952.)

How I Was Forced To Take Part in the Inhume Bacteriological Warfare Launched By the U.S. Wall Street

I am John Quinn, a 1st/Lt in the United States Air Force, serial no. 17993A. I am 29 years old I joined the Air Force when I was 26 in February 16, of 1948. My home is in Pasadena, California. After I graduated from Aviation Cadets in February 25, 1949, I was assigned to the Air University They sent me through a six weeks course on how to teach called the Academic Instructors Course after I finished they assigned me to the Academic Instructors Division as a staff member. My job was training aide officer, to teach people how to make good use of pictures, charts, movies and slides in their instruction I was teaching there when I got my orders to the Far East Air Forces for further assignment to fly B-26s in Korea I was told to report first on ~~October~~ August 25 to Langley Air Force Base to learn to fly B-26s. I was there for 8 weeks. We were sent from there to

Camp Stoneman for processing. At Camp Stoneman I was innoculated for Typhoid fever, Typhus, Cholera, and Smallpox. We left the United States by airplane and arrived in Japan on 27 November 1952. We arrived at Haeneda Air Terminal and taken to Fosshu, Area B, to await being sent to Korea. We were there until the 29th of November and then sent by train to Ashia Air Base in Southern Japan. It was an overnight trip by train and we arrived on the 30th. The same day we were sent by C-47 to Kunsan Air Base in Korea. I was assigned to the 8th Squadron, 3rd Group, of the 3rd Bomb wing. The 3rd Group is composed of 3 squadrons, 8th, 90th, and 13th and is the only group at Kunsan

On December 17, 1951 I reported to the 8th Squadron orderly room and saw my name on the bulletin board to attend a lecture the next day at 9 o'clock The next day Larson, a navigator who was also on the list, and I went to the lecture The lecture was given in the ground School building in a large room. Filled the room would seat 30 people. There were 20 people in the room, all pilots and navigators In addition to Larson and myself were Roberts 2nd Lt Schwartz 1st Lt, Rogers 1st Lt, Watson 1st Lt Duffy-Capt Long-Capt, all navigators Howarth-Capt, Sand-Capt, Schmidt 1st Lt, Beegan Capt. Robertson-Capt, McAllister 1st Lt all pilots Larson and I had been drinking coffee and arrived a few minutes late the others were already there. The Capt that was talking seemed very displeased that we were late and repeated for us that the lecture that

we were to receive was considered very important and highly secret. That we were to pay close attention to everything that was told us but not to discuss the lecture later - even among ourselves. He said the lecturer had come from Japan and was an expert in his field. Then he introduced the lecturer, a civilian, as Mr Ashfork. Mr Ashfork was a middle aged man, 40 years old, slender, 5 ft 10", and losing most of his hair.

He started his lecture by telling us that his lecture was on Biological warfare. He said that it was a terrible thing to contemplate but in this day of the atom bomb when science was making such rapid strides, that we must be prepared for any turn of events He said that we never know what turn events might take in the

future. and that we must be ready to defend ourselves, we must also know how to carry out Bacteriological warfare ourselves in case it proved necessary He said that he had spent many years studying germ warfare and that he would give us as much information as he thought we needed

He first told us that there were many many ways of spreading germ warfare. Germs ~~had been~~ could be spread anywhere at any time that the means were ready. He told us that germs by themselves could not be dropped because they would die in 60 seconds in direct sunlight That germs could, however, be carried by many different types of insects and rodents These insects and rodents have been bred for many of their generations under laboratory conditions

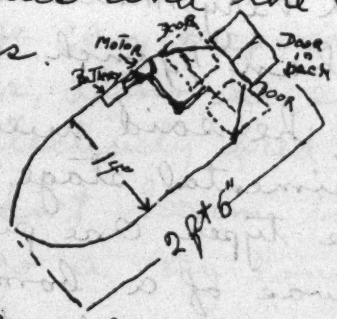
and selected for their ability to survive anywhere at anytime, even under the most adverse conditions. To name a few of the ways that they can be spread, he said, was by dust, just like a smoke screen is laid down. That they could be spread in this way by ships moving in close to shore when the wind was blowin onto shore That they could also be spread in this way by low flying jet aircraft. He meant any type of jet aircraft. He said that they could be spread by bugs in clothes, fleas, flies, lice, and mosquitoes. These same bugs could also be dropped in many other ways, in boxes that would become very fragile in the sun and allow the bugs to crawl out, and also in bombs. He said since we were flying B-26s he would discuss

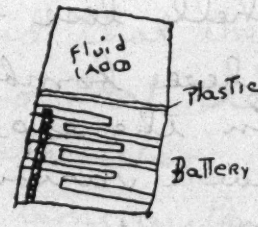
mostly this last way, by bombs. He then showed us pictures of a jet, a drawing of an F-84, spraying dust with germs, out of its tip tanks. He showed us a picture of some old clothes with bugs that looked like flies and lice crawling in them. These bugs can keep very warm in the clothes, altho he said that they can be selectively bred so that the cold wouldn't harm them. Also they can go a very long time without food.

He then showed us pictures of bombs which could be used for dropping germs. These bombs looked very much like 500 pound Ops that we had been carrying except that they had no fuzes. He said that the size and shape of the bomb was not important, only what it

contained. He said it was a very safe way to carry these germs since the bombs were sealed and would not open except when dropped from the airplane. The pictures he showed us was a picture of a 500 pound bomb with a very much thinner shell, less than 1/4 inch thick. These bombs, he said, were still in the experimental stage and there were various types. One picture he showed us was of a bomb that split in half when it struck the ground. Another had doors in the back (near the tail where the bomb curves) that open when the bomb hits. These doors are opened by a very small electric motor hooked to a battery which doesn't work until the bomb strikes the ground. The fluid is kept away from the

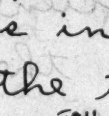
Plates of the battery until the bomb strikes the ground by a thin plastic shield The force of the bomb hitting the ground is sufficient for the fluid to break the plastic shield and then the fluid covers the battery plates and the motor opens the doors.





also he showed us a picture of a bomb which the tail breaks off ~~of~~ when it hits the ground. All of these bombs that he showed us were made to look like ordinary 500 pound bombs but none of them were pictured with fuzes. He told us they also had bombs which came apart in the air and the insects were scattered

In boxes to get them over a large territory before they struck the ground He told us that these boxes would become very weak in the sunlight and the insects (flies, fleas, and mosquitoes) could crawl out. The structure of all three of the bombs he showed us was the same and they all looked like 500 pound bombs with thin casings. The first was shown split open

the second with the doors in the back near the tail, and the third with the tail broken off 

. ~~He said if it were ever necessary~~ The bombs that open in the air are hooked up by a regular arming wire to the wing bomb racks. They have a little propeller in the nose which cannot turn before the bomb is dropped because of the arming wire when

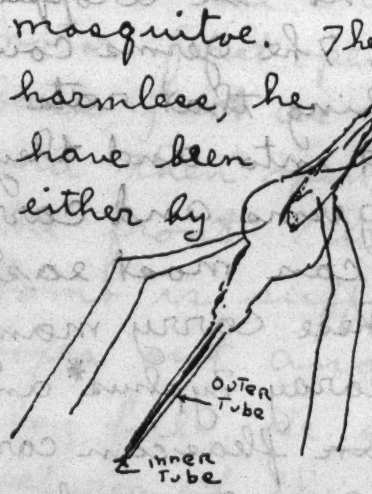
the bomb is dropped the arming wire stays with the airplane and the propeller is free to turn. The propeller turns a generator which supplies electricity to a small electric motor, just as the one I described. This motor first opens 3 doors in the back, just as in the other bomb, and then opens one door in the front. The wind thru the bomb is sufficient to blow the boxes out and they scatter as they fall. He showed us no pictures of this type of bomb and described it very little.

Next he described how germs could be spread. He said that almost any insect could be used for spreading germs, but he would just tell us about a few of them

in case any of these germs got back into South Korea

and that would be sufficient for our own protection. He said that Boubonic Plague could be carried by rats, but it wasn't necessary for the rats themselves to be dropped, altho they could be. The germs could be dropped in anything that rats could and would get into and they would pick up the germs and carry them. The insects can most easily be dropped and these carry many germs. ~~They~~ Flies can caray Typhus* and cholera and ~~so can~~ fleas can carry plague. Mosquitoes can carry fever of different types, yellow fever, typhoid fever*, malaria, and encyphilitis* for which no positive cure is known Encyphylitis is also known as Japanese B and was brought to Korea first by Japanese as a decease in their own ranks. Very little is know about combating it and prevention

is the same as that for malaria. He said he would describe how malaria was carried and that the rest of the fevers were carried by mosquitoes in a similar way. He showed us a large picture of a mosquitoe. They mosquitoes are harmless, he said, until they have been infected with malaria either by biting someone who has malaria or by being infected with it in the laboratory. The inner and outer tubes are both stuck into a person when bitten by the mosquitoe. The mosquitoe sucks blood up thru the inner tube and injects a form of saliva into the person thru the outer tube at the same time If the mosquitoe is infected the germ is



carried by this saliva into the person bitten and he will get the fever. He said that the posters on the walls of the mess hall [on protecting yourself against encyphylitis] were not up there just to cover the walls

He said that we must all follow rules of cleanliness, especially in the months to come when we were given atabrin to take not to throw it away but to take it He said we should all keep our innoculations up to date. If we did these things we had nothing to fear. The lecture started at 9 o'clock and was over just before 11 We all noted that germ bombs would not explode, that they would be duds.

In our regular briefing on the 31st of December the operations officer, told us to be sure and report all duds to the intellegence section at de-briefing when we returned.

On the 3rd of January I reported to Group Operations at 2 o'clock in the afternoon along with 26 other pilots, 27 navigators, 27 radio bombadiers, and 27 engineers (in some cases these engineers were gunners. In our squadron we had 3 ships which could carry gunners). My crew was Rogers 1st Lt navigator, and Sayer Sgt. as engineer. We didn't carry a radio bombadier because the weather was good. I copied off the board our route assignment. which was Sariwon. to Pyongyang and our time of take off which was 2:30 in the morning. The regular briefing started.

The regular briefing consists of the operations officer telling us that everything we are to hear is secret and to be treated as such - not to be discussed except among ourselves. Then the intellegence officer, ~~gave~~ gave a picture of what traffic was sighted the night before and how many were damaged and destroyed. The Army liason officer explained the front line situation and the weather officer described the weather to us. Other information, winds and temperatures the navigator ~~taken~~ copied off the board In every respect this seemed like it was to be a regular mission

Rogers, Sayer, and myself met in group operations at 5 minutes after 1 and I went into the little room where the alert operations officer slayed at night, Capt Reynolds was on duty

I gave him our names and he told me that I had a special mission. He said that before I did anything else I was to drop my wing bombs as close to Pyongyang as I dared get. He indicated a place on the wall map that he stuck a red pin into which was 5 miles south of Pyongyang and 3 miles east of the main highway. He said that we should then continue with our regular mission and finish it as soon as possible and report back to the intelligence section. He said that I should drop the bombs from 200 ft or lower if possible and for me not to worry about them exploding that they would be duds. I asked him what it was all about.

remembering the lectures we'd been given on germ bombs, but he said he didn't know and it would be best just to do as instructed and not worry about why or what. I thought it was germ bombs.

When we went out to the airplane we were met by a guard and then I was sure they were germ bombs. He said not to worry about the wing bombs, they'd already been taken care of. But I looked up at them when I was inspecting the airplane and noted that what the navigator said "the wing bombs don't have any fuzes" was correct. We both looked at each other and I said orders are orders and

we left it at that, & told him where we were to drop them and he marked it on his map.

We took off at 2:25 and arrived just south of Pyongyand at 3:30. I turned east from the road, just south of the bridge, and when we reached 200 ft Rogers said this ought to be it and I dropped the four wing bombs, one at a time, in rapid succession. They were duds. We both knew then for sure they were germ bombs.

We finished the rest of the mission by 4:15 and landed back at Kunsan at 5:10. We left the airplane and after turning in our equipment and reporting that the plane was OK we went directly to the intellegence section in group operations for de-briefing. We reported that we had dropped

four bombs where we had been told at 200 ft and that they were all duds. The sgt took this down to give to intellegence that next morning.

On January 10th I was briefed on a regular mission as usual to fly between Kunuri and Kangye at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. My crew was Schwartz 1st navigator and Sayer Sgt. engineer. Our take off time was 2 o'clock the next morning. This briefing was routine. When we reported at 12:30 to operations I went in as usual to check off our names and was told again that I had a special mission Capt. Reynolds was again on duty. He remembered that I had already had one special mission with duds so he referred to that and told me this would be the same type of

of mission. That this time I only had two duds and that I should drop them North-east of Kunuri and he showed me the place on the wall map which was 3 miles North of Kunuri and 5 miles east of the railroad track. Again we were met by a guard at the airplane and told that the wing bombs had been taken care of. I noticed that again the two outboard bombs had no fuzes. I told Schwartz where we were to make the special drop and we knew we had germ bombs. We took off at 2 o'clock and arrived over Kuriuri at 3:25 I turned when Schwartz told me to and let down to 200 ft. and dropped the bombs. They were duds.

We finished up the rest of the mission as quickly as possible and started back to Kunsan, at 4:10. We landed back at Kunsan at 5:25 and after turning in our equipment and telling them the airplane was OK we went to the intellegence section in operations and reported having dropped two duds and where we dropped them. The Sgt made a note of this to give to the intellegence.

— On the 14th of December I noticed my name on the bulletin board to attend a lecture the next morning at 9 o'clock in the ground school building. I was there at 9 o'clock in the large room with 25 other Officers, pilots and navigators. Beeson, Capt. Schmidt 1st/Lt, Song Capt, Sand Capt., Howarth Larson 1st/Lt Capt. Schwartz 1st/Lt, Roberts 2nd/Lt, Watson 1st/Lt

were there. Maj Allen, base operations officer was the senior officer present and introduced the lecturer. He said that this lecture was important and secret. He said that the lecturer, Mr Clark was an emminent physicist in the field of nuclear research and that he was there to explain some about atomic warfare to us. He said Mr Clark had come from Japan.

The lecturer started by saying that the science of atomic warfare had advanced a long ways since the bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The days when these bombs could only be carried by B-29s was over. Bombs of that size were now many times (he didn't say how many) as powerful as they were then. That bombs could now

be made almost any size they wished to make them. He said that they had conducted experiments in the United States on what he called the "baby" atom bomb and that they were doing further work so that they could be used as artillery as well as bombs. He said that work on a mortar shell with an atomic warhead was nearly perfected for use. He said that much progress was being made on the hydrogen bomb which would be a thousand times more powerful than the types of atom bombs we now had. He said that these bombs, a single one, could completely level a city like New York. Then he told us that there were various ways of using atom bombs. They could be dropped to explode under ground and

spread radio active dust over a large area. This dust is deadly to any living thing it comes in contact with and the radio activity lingers many weeks. He said that the bombs could be dropped by parachute to explode in the air as they were at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and in this way the heat and blast effect is more deadly, that the radio activity is not so persistent and most of it blows away and disperses in the air He said that the bombs could be exploded deep under water and this could be used an cities near the coast That it would lift most of the water out of any known port, the deeper the better, and the water would be radio active and rain down on the city. Besides that there would still be the

blast effect and a tidal wave would rush in to fill up the harbour and do much damage. He said that experimentation had been done on radio active clouds which would hold radio activity for a long time and would be deadly wherever it rained.

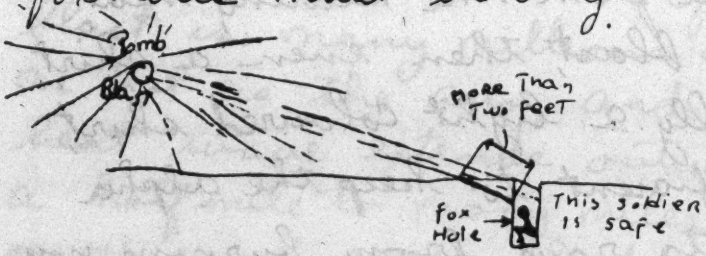
He said that experiments on the smaller atom weapons (bombs) had been carried out in ~~in the~~ Nevada, United States, with troops in the fields near the blast - about 2 miles away, and that no one had been hurt This was because the explosions had been small and proper precautions had been taken He said that they had all been clothed well and were in deep fox holes so that their head were 2 to 3 ft below the top of

the fox hole. This was a very necessary precaution, he said, and we should understand why.

The atom bomb gives off three rays, he said. When a bomb goes off there is first very much heat created, the center of the blast is many millions of degrees as hot as the sun, and this heat wave extends outward from a half mile to many miles depending on the size of the blast. Next there is the shock wave which is much longer in duration than a high explosive blast. And next there is the radio activity. If you are far enough away from the blast not to be killed outright the fox hole will protect you against both the heat wave and the blast effect, and also

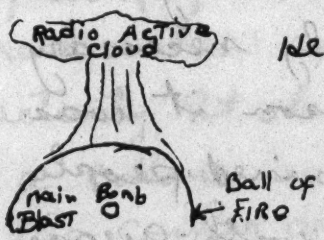
against radio activity unlss it comes in as dust or rain. The three rays given off by the atom bomb are alpha, beta, and gama. The alpha and beta only last during the eplasion and if you are safe from the searing heat of the blast, then ever a shirt, especially a light coloured shirt, is sufficient to keep the alpha and beta rays from burning you wherever you don't have clothes like hands, neck, face, that part will be burned that is facing the blast when the bomb goes off The gama rays last for a longer time depending on the type of blast, but a fox hole is good protection against this altho clothes are not of any use. Only

lead or a thick layer of dirt will stop these gama rays which go thru everything just like x-rays and destroy the life of bones and cause blood to break down. Then he showed us pictures of how the fox holes must be dug.



He said that a half inch of lead would stop the gama rays, but it took at least two feet of dirt to stop them. They could penetrate almost two feet of dirt. The area around the blast continues to give off gamma rays because those objects which are strongly effected by the gama rays also become radio-active and give off these rays. It would be very dangerous to touch

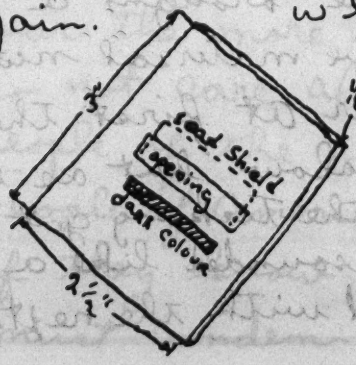
especially metal objects which were in the near vicinity of the blast. He said that most of the radio active gamma rays are carried off in a large cloud in an air burst and dispersed by the winds. He showed us a picture of this.



He said that although after being dispersed they would not be harmful to people, that a report had come from a photographic laboratory in New York, several days after the experiments in Nevada, that much of their photographic paper showed signs of having been exposed to gamma rays. These rays had traveled in clouds all the way across the United States and exposed this

paper. He said that because of most of these rays being carried off in the radio active cloud it was quite possible to safely enter an area after an air burst provided you didn't stay too long. However, except when absolutely necessary to enter for some reason it was best to wait until trained people could go in first with geiger counters. If you must go in, he said don't touch metal objects. He said that they had a pocket radiation detector that could be carried by everyone that would indicate when you had been in the area as long as was safe. He showed us this object which was the same size as a pack of cigarettes but only ¼" thick. It had an opening

in the middle 1/4" high and 2" long covered with a thin piece of lead This lead could be slid out of the way and expose the opening Behind the lead was a piece of photographic paper which would turn drark when exposed to radio-activity. It also had on the outside a colour with which to match the coular of the paper so that when they matched you could leave the area, otherwise you would get too much radio-activity and it would be dangerous. After you go in once you can't go back again.



when you enter the area you raise the lead shield and then watch the colour of the opening and compare it to the dark colour and leave when theyre the same

Next he told us that these pocket indicators were only necessary substitutes for Giegar Counter which were much more accurate. The Giegar Counter works like a radio and when it is near radio-activity you can hear it in ear phones connected to the Giegar counter. Also it has a little meter which looks like an amp meter in a car to tell how much radio activity is present. He said it was measured in radiotrons, or some term like that. Then he let each of us file up and put the earphones on and listen as he brought a piece of radioactive material near the Giegar Counter at first the ticking was very slow but as the piece came close the ticking got very fast until it sounded like a purr, one tick mixed with the next.

The lecture lasted from 9 o'clock to 10:30.

It is very clear from these facts that the capitalistic wall street war monger in their greed, their ruthless greed, have caused this horrible crime of Bacteriological warfare to be launched in order to get more money for themselves and in the hope of spreading this war. Even their desire to start a third world war by adding atomic warfare to their list of inhumane crimes is indicated. These imperialists will stop at nothing to get more money in their pockets and the more war the more they make. They do not care about the innocent people of the world. Surley the people of America, the workers, if they know about these crimes must condem them. The American

workers seldom get the truth from their newspapers, magazines, and radios which are controled by the money mad wall street imperialists. These war mongers do not want the people to learn the truth or they would not permit them to carry out their war mongering inhumane crimes against the people of the world. It is very clear that they are doing these inhumane crimes to expand the war and make more profits.

I was forced to be the tool of these war mongers and made to drop germ bombs and do this awful crime against the people of Korea and the Chinese Volunteers. 1. cause I am a soldier I must follow orders and these orders came from those imperialists on wall Street. I could not refuse to

do this crime. But on the other hand I was the person who did this inhumane crime against the people, by carrying germ bombs and dropping them where innocent women and children would be the most likely victims. This is a horrible crime against the people, even the German Nazis would not use it, those people like Ilsa Koch who would make lamp shades out of human skin would not use it, but I used it for the U.S. imperialist warmongers of wall street. Since I have been captured by the Chinese volunteers and I laid down my arms I have been treated far better than a person who had committed even much lesser crimes deserves to expect But

they always said after I laid down my arms that I was no longer an enemy. They explained the lenient policy toward POWs which I, brought up as I was on the propaganda lies of the Wall Street imperialists, found very difficult to understand. But the Chinese volunteers were very patient. They issued me warm clothing against the cold, gave me excellent food, bedding, and a warm place to sleep. I am eternally grateful for their kind treatment. At last, after much patience on the part of the volunteers I realized my crime. My own concience bothered me a great deal, and it is very good to be rid of this burden, to confess and repent.

I have realized my terrible crime against the people, I have done an inhume thing against innocent peace loving people I know now how wrong this crime is, and I ask that the people can see it in their hearts to forgive me for this crime It was a crime against all the peace loving people of the world and one which should surely be condemed by all peace loving people. I ask forgiveness from all people who want peace because my crime has been against them.

John Quinn
13 April 1952

HOW I WAS FORCED TO TAKE PART IN BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE BY THE U.S. WALL STREET

(A statement broadcast by John Quinn on April 14, 1952)

I am John Quinn, 1st Lt. U.S. Air Force, serial No. 17993A, age 29, from California. I joined the Air Force in February 1948, aviation cadets. After graduation I was assigned to the Air University as an instructor and was sent later to Korea to Kunsan on December 1, 1951. I was assigned to the 3rd Bomb Wing, 3rd Group, 8th Squadron, to fly B-26s.

I was shot down on January 13, 1952 and captured by the Chinese People's Volunteers 10 miles S.W. of Sunan. When I laid down my arms they gave me my first realization of the lenient policy treatment. They gave me good food, treated me kindly, gave me warm clothes, and blankets. Their kind treatment made me realize that the Chinese People's Volunteers are truly a peace loving people. The Volunteers explained many times their lenient policy of POWs to me, they were patient and kind and realized it was difficult for me to understand such a policy. But finally I did realize they were a peace loving people and I was blamed by my conscience and good will for the crimes I had committed against them and the peace loving people of Korea. I wished to confess my crime and repent this crime against these people.

On December 18, 1951, I attended a lecture on Bacteriological Warfare from 9 o'clock until 11 o'clock. It was given by Mr. Ashfork from Japan, in the ground school building. 20 pilots and navigators were there. Larson 1st Lt., Duffy Capt., Roberts 2nd Lt., Rogers 1st Lt., Schwarz 1st Lt., Schmidt 1st Lt., Howarth Capt., Beeson Capt., Land Capt., Long Capt. were there. We were told that the lecture was very important and highly secret. Then the lecturer gave us the lecture which dealt with Bacteriological Warfare and how it could

be carried out by bombing B-26s. He said it could be done by the Navy like laying a smoke screen or by low flying jet aircraft using dust, and then he told us about bombing. He told us about bombs that carried germs which would split open when they hit the ground, and about bombs on which the tail would break off, and about bombs with doors in the tail which opened when the bombs struck the ground. He showed us pictures of these three and mentioned a bomb that opeend in the air and spread boxes of germs.

He told us about the insects that carry germs and explained how malaria was carried by mosquitoes, and other different germs carried by insects. He told us how to defend ourselves against these germs in case they got back into South Korea. He told us these bombs would not explode, they would be duds. On December 31st the operations officer told us in regular briefing to watch for all duds and report them to the intellegence section.

On January the 3rd just before take off I was told by Capt Reynolds in operations that I had a special mission to drop 4 duds S.E. of Pyongyang. My navigator was Rogers 1st Lt. and Sayer Sgt. was engineer. We took off at 2:25 and dropped the bombs at 3:30. We dropped these bombs 5 miles south of Pyongyang and 3 miles east of the highway bridge. We completed the mission hurriedly and reported back to intellegence about dropping these duds—germs bombs. On the 10th of January we were again briefed on a special mission to drop two duds—germ bombs, 3 miles north of Kunuri and 5 miles east of the railroad. We took off at 2 o'clock and dropped these two bombs at 3:25. Schwartz 1st Lt. was navigator and Sayer Sgt. was engineer. We finished the mission quickly and reported to intellegence that we had dropped these duds.

On the 15th of December I also attended a lecture on atomic warfare, which was important and secret, given in the ground school building by Mr. Clark from Japan. There were 25 pilots and navigators in the room. Schwartz 1st Lt., Larson 1st Lt., Land Capt., Long Capt., Schmidt 1st Lt., Roberts 2nd Lt., Allen Maj. The lecture was about the different sizes of bombs, different ways of their exploding—under ground, in the air, under water. He told us about the different rays, especially gamma rays, and how to protect ourselves. He told us about giegar counters and about little pocket radioactivity indicators. He told us about experiments conducted in the U.S. The lecture lasted from 9 to 10:30.

From these facts it is very clear to see that the U.S. Wall Street is using germ warfare and even preparing to use atomic warfare in order to expand the war and make more profits. I was forced by these warmongers of Wall Street to commit the horrible crime against the people of dropping germ bombs on peace loving people. This inhumane crime perpetrated by these U.S. Wall Street imperialists must be condemned by all peace loving people with good will and conscience in the world. The American people who are kept from knowing the truth by the greedy capitalists of Wall Street must certainly condemn this crime against the people of the world when they know the truth. Even the German Nazis would not do this terrible crime, but it has been done by the U.S. Wall Street.

I was forced to do these things because I am a soldier and must obey orders. But I realize that it was I who did this crime. I am condemned by my own conscience and good will for committing this crime against the people. Only because I was forced by these Wall Street sadists can I ask the people to forgive me this inhumane crime. I know I have been guilty of a most terrible crime, I realize now that I was a tool of Wall Street. I ask that the people forgive me for this crime. I hope that the peace loving people all over the world will arise and condemn this crime of germ bombs and Bacteriological Warfare which has been started by the U.S. imperialists of Wall Street, I hope that the American people learn the truth and rise up against these war mongers. Wall Street must not be allowed to bring on a third world war which would be a disaster to all the peace loving people of the world

JOHN QUINN.

14 April, 1952

(This statement was broadcast over Radio Peking on May 5th 1952.)

How I was Forced To ~~the~~ Take
Part In Bacteriological Warfare
By The U.S. Wall Street

I am John Quinn, 1st/Lt U.S. Air Force, serial no. 179931, age 29, from California I joined the Air Force in February 1948, aviation cadets. After graduation I was assigned to the air University as an instructor and was sent later to Korea to Kunsan on December 1, 1951. I was assigned to the 3rd Bomb Wing, 3rd group, 8th Squadron, to fly B-26s.

I was shot down on January 13, 1952 and captured by the Chinese Peoples Volunteers 10 miles S.W. of Sunan. When I laid down my arms they gave me my first realization of the lenient policy treatment. They gave me good food, treated me kindly, gave me warm clothes, and blankets. Their kind treatment made me realize that the Chinese Peoples Volunteers are truly a peace loving people. The volunteers explained many times their lenient policy of POWs to me, they were patient and kind and realized it was difficult for me to understand such a policy But finally I did realize they were a peace loving people and I was blamed by my conscience and good will for the crimes

I had committed against them and the peace loving people of Korea. I wished to confess my crime and repent for this crime against these people.

On December 18, 1951 I attended a lecture on Bacteriological warfare from 9 o'clock until 11 o'clock. It was given by Mr ~~Ashfaal~~ Ashfork from Japan, in the Ground school building. 20 pilots and navigators were there. Larson 1st/Lt, Duffy Capt, Roberts 2nd/Lt, Rogers 1st/Lt, Schwartz 1st/Lt, Schmidt 1st/Lt, Howarth Capt., Beeson Capt., Land Capt., Long Capt. were there. We were told that the lecture was very important and highly secret. Then the lecturer gave us the lecture which dealt with Bacteriological warfare and how it could be carried out by bombing - B-26s. He said it could be done by the Navy like laying a smoke screen or by low flying jet aircraft using dust, and then he told us about bombing He told us about bombs that carried germs which would split open when they hit the ground, and

about bombs on which the tail would break off, and about bombs with doors in the tail which opened when the bombs struck the ground. He showed us pictures of these three and mentioned a bomb that opened in the air and spread bopes of germs. He told us about the insects that carry germs and explained how malaria was carried by mosquitoes and other different germs carried by insects. He told us how to defend ourselves against these germs in case they got back into South Korea. He told us these bombs would not explode, They would be duds.

~~On D~~ On December 31st the operations officer told us in regular briefing to watch for all duds and report them to the intellegence section

On ~~December~~ January the 3rd just before take off I was told by Capt Reynolds in operations that I had a special mission to drop 4 duds S.E. of Pyongyang.

My navigator was Rogers 1st/Lt and Sayer Sgt was engineer. We took off at 2:25 and dropped the bombs at 3:35. We ~~finish the mi~~ dropped these bombs 5 miles south of Pyongyang and 3 miles east of the highway bridge. We completed the mission hurriedly and reported back to intellegence about dropping these duds - germ bombs. On the 10th of ~~December~~ January we were again briefed on a special mission to drop two duds - germ bombs, 3 miles north of Kunuri and 5 miles east of the railroad. We took off at 2 o'clock and dropped these two bombs at 3:25. Schwarty 1st/Lt was navigator and Sayer Sgt was engineer. We finished the mission quickly and reported to intellegence that we had dropped these duds.

On the 15th of December I also attended a lecture on atomic warfare, which was important and secret, given in the ground school building

by Mr Clark from Japan ~~He told~~ There were 25 pilots and navigators in the room Schwartz 1st Lt, Sarson 1st Lt, Sand Capt., Long Capt., Schmidt 1st Lt, Roberts 2nd Lt, Allen Maj. The lecture was about the different sizes of bombs, different ways of their exploding - under ground, in the air, under water, He told us about the different rays, especially gamma rays, and how to protect ourselves. He told us about Giegar counters and about little pocket radioactivity indicators. He told us about experiments conducted in the U.S. The lecture lasted from 9 to 10:30.

From these facts it is very clear to see that the U.S. wall street is using germ warfare and even ~~thinking about using~~ preparing to use. atomic warfare in order to expand the war and make more profits. I was forced by these warmongers of Wall Street to commit the horrible crime against the people

of dropping germ bombs on peace loving people. This inhumane crime perpetrated by these U.S Wall Street imperialists must be condemed by all peace loving people with good will and concience in the world. The American people who are kept from knowing the truth by the greedy capitalists of Wall Street must certainly condemn this crime against the people of the world when they know the truth. Even the German Nazis would not do this terrible crime, but it has been done by the U.S. Wall Street.

I was forced to do these things because I am a soldier and must obey orders. But I realize that it was I who did this crime. I am condemed by my own concience and good will for committing this crime against the people. Only because I was forced by these Wall Street sadists can I ask the people to forgive me this inhumane crime.

I know I have been guilty of
a most terrible crime, I realize now
that I was a tool of Wall Street.
I ask that the people forgive me
for this crime. I hope that the
peace loving people all over the
world will arise and condem this
crime of germ bombs and Bacterological
warfare which has been started by
the U.S. imperialists of Wall Street
I hope that the American people
learn the truth and rise up against
these war mongers Wall Street
must not be allowed to bring on
a third world war which would
be a disaster to all the peace
loving people of the world

John Quinn
14 April, 1952

CONFIRMATION OF JOHN QUINN'S DEPOSITION BY HIS WIFE

Below we give the text of an International News Service (U.S.) message and of a news story which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of May 9th. In both of these Mrs Quinn, the wife of the captured airman, makes statements which, contrary to the intention of these Press organs, merely confirms the facts given by her husband.

First of all, here is the I.N.S. dispatch from Los Angeles, May 7th. It states:

"A Chinese Communist radio broadcast that quoted an American airman as 'confessing' that he dropped germ bombs on Korean troops was branded a lie today by the pilot's family. Mrs Mildred Quinn, 29, wife of pilot First Lieutenant John Quinn, 30, said:

" 'My husband did not go overseas until last November. In August we were still together at Langley Field, Virginia.'

"The Red broadcast claimed First Lieutenant Quinn confessed he attended a 'bacteriological warfare school' in Japan in August."

On May 9th, the "New York Herald Tribune" carried the following story headlined:

WIFE OF FLYER DENIES HE WAS IN GERM ATTACK—Says He Wasn't in Korea At Time; Calls Reported Confession a 'Silly Lie'

By The United Press

ALTEDENA. Calif. May 8—

Mrs Mildred Quinn, wife of an American flyer accused by the Chinese Communists of "confessing" he took part in germ-bomb raids on Korea, calls the charge a "silly lie".

A Communist broadcast quoted Lt. John Quinn, 29, as "confessing"

he took part in germ-bomb raids and saying he attended "bacteriological warfare school" in Tokyo last August.

"The Communists overlooked one thing," Mrs Quinn said. "They apparently didn't know that in August my husband was at Langley Field Va. They have him where he wasn't. It's all a silly lie."

In the two versions Mrs Quinn is quoted as stating two facts—

(1) "My husband did not go overseas until last November."

(2) "... in August my husband was at Langley Field Va."

Here is the passage (as given in this book on P. 25) from the deposition of John Quinn which does not conflict, but in fact is confirmed by his wife's statements:

"*I was told to report, on August 25, to Langley Air Force base* to learn to fly B-26s. I was there for eight weeks. We were sent from there to camp Stoneman for processing. At camp Stoneman I was inoculated for typhoid fever, typhus, cholera and small pox. We left the United States by airplane *and arrived in Japan on 27th November, 1951.*" (Our emphasis.)

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

NO 4 DECEMBER 1953

An International Meeting—World Council's Proposal To Organisations and Personalities Desiring An Easing of Tension

The World Council held its session in Vienna on November 23rd-28th. Council members from 59 countries were present and more than 150 personalities took part as guests in the work of the session.

The first results of the current world campaign for negotiation and agreement came out in the discussion which made it clear that the aim of this campaign has met with wide support. It showed, too, that in all countries the campaign is being conducted around precise objectives. The examination of these questions gave rise to a broad exchange of views.

In the debate on the major problems which are responsible for international tension, the World Council paid particular attention to their settlement. Recent developments in the international situation have shown that a settlement can only be reached by means of negotiation and the conclusion of agreements acceptable to all.

This idea, which the World Council has always upheld, is today finding fresh support in all countries and among people in all walks of life. Public opinion is becoming more and more favourable to the peaceful settlement of international differences. The desire to see an end to the Cold War is growing and, at the same time, the idea of the need for a meeting between the Great Powers is gaining ground. As a result, views are being expressed by political, religious, social and cultural organisations and personalities who, while they have no relations with the Peace Movement, give their support—as the Peace Movement does—to solutions which lead to a genuine relaxation of tension.

These facts led the World Council to propose joint preparation of an International Meeting to these organisations and personalities.

Our President, Professor Joliot-Curie, in his opening speech proposed that the session *"examine the best way of bringing about an International Meeting for Peace in 1954 and the measures and steps to be taken."* To make the point clearer, he added:

"The Meeting will bring together qualified representatives of the most diverse political trends and religious creeds, from all walks of life and from every country. It should have a single aim and, for myself, I would propose that it should be the relaxation of international tension."

Many speakers gave their opinion on this proposal during the discussion. Pastor Niemoller stated:

"It has been said here, at this Vienna session, that the horizon of the World Peace Movement should be extended beyond the organisation itself to include all trends near to us, so as to achieve the maximum effect through the participation of the greatest possible number of the forces working for Peace and I believe that the religious communities of the world have a great task to accomplish here."

Snr. Abel Chermont, President of the Brazilian Peace Movement, had this to say:

"In the present world situation, we are convinced that what is called for is a meeting, on an absolutely equal footing, of all forces who have an interest in the relaxation of international tension, whatever may be their views and irrespective of past differences."

Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey said:

"The World Council of Peace will be carrying through a project of great significance for the cause of Peace, by providing a common meeting-place for the representatives of all groups, all organisations and all leading personalities working in their own separate ways for Peace. This pooling of ideas, resources and efforts should prove of the greatest value in bringing respite to a distraught world."

Professor Joliot-Curie's proposal was also discussed at length in the Commissions. The World Council and its guests together adopted the "Message to Organisations and Personalities Desiring A Relaxation of International Tension."

In this Message, the World Council clarifies its attitude to such a Meeting. In its desire to remove any obstacles which might hinder the participation or support of organisations or personalities interested in the meeting, it refrained from laying down any rules. It expressed its point of view on the main problems of the hour in its General Resolution, but it does not subordinate the holding of the Meeting to acceptance of its point of view. It merely desires that a meeting of this nature, which would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension, should be held in the near future.

The unanimous decisions on this point reached by the World Council enabled Signor Pietro Nenni, in his closing speech, to state:

"Our World Council of Peace, fully conscious of its responsibility, has just taken the initiative in calling for an International Meeting of all those desiring to speed negotiation so as to ease international tension."

The Vice-president of the World Council pointed out that the development and influence of the current campaign are the essential conditions for the success of the proposed meeting, and concluded with these words:

"A new vista of work is thereby given to all National Peace Committees. The achievements of each will mark the progress of Peace and enable us to meet again, here or elsewhere, a few months hence with even more confidence in the outcome of the struggle, which is not ours alone but that of all justice and Peaceloving humanity."

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES DESIRING A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. But the negotiations have come up against fresh obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions of vital importance to the Peace of the world.

Yet the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent men of science, religion and politics are raised in condemnation of the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All reasonable people appreciate that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee implementation of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most of the countries of Western Europe have made a public stand against the revival of German militarism in any form.

In these circumstances, we think on opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. Our own viewpoint on the problem is set out in the resolution passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on November 28th, 1953.

Joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the study of possible solutions is now needed.

An international meeting of this nature, held as soon as possible, would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

(Vienna, November 23rd-28th 1953)

GENERAL RESOLUTION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Budapest Appeal for negotiation, launched by the World Council of Peace, has had profound repercussions and has won the widest support. As a result of this campaign, the idea of settling international differences by agreements acceptable to all is daily winning ground and bearing fruit.

In Korea, the ending of hostilities was a victory for the cause of Peace.

On Germany, the latest exchange of Notes between the Great Powers proves that the holding of a Four Power Conference in the near future is possible.

On Indochina, the idea of a cease-fire and a peaceful settlement is making progress both in France and Viet-Nam.

But the forces opposed to the easing of international tension are using the word "negotiation" to veil plans for prolonging the Cold War. It is not employing negotiation, for one side to confront the other with accomplished facts; it is not desiring negotiation, to seek to create conditions which must make it fail.

In both Asia and Europe there are situations and conflicts which represent a special danger to World Peace.

In Korea, negotiations are in danger. The attempt to exclude neutral nations, especially India, from a Political Conference dealing with specifically Asian interests, can wreck the negotiations. The peoples will not allow hostilities in Korea to be resumed.

The interests of European security demand the earliest possible settlement of the German problem. This settlement is only possible by agreement between the Four Powers—the United States, the USSR, Great Britain and France. The main obstacle which stands in the way of this agreement is the intention of one side to rebuild German militarism and to bring Germany into a war coalition directed against the other.

The World Council of Peace calls upon the peoples of Europe to prevent the ratification of the "European Army" treaties and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form. This would open the way to a Four Power agreement on the German problem—an agreement that would offer the German people the prospect of a peaceful future and give all the peoples of Europe a guarantee against the revival of aggressive forces in Germany.

The war between France and Viet-Nam, which has been raging for seven years, can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

The World Council of Peace welcomes the proposal made in this direction by the Vietnamese delegation and supported by the Chinese delegation. This proposal, to which the French delegation made a favourable reply, could serve as a basis for a settlement.

The World Council of Peace has always maintained that foreign interference, occupation by foreign troops and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, constitute a threat both to the peoples' independence and to Peace.

Such a policy is being extended in the Near and Middle East, Latin America and Africa. In Europe it is exemplified particularly in the plan for the European Defence Community and the installation of atomic bases in Spain; in Asia, in the shape of foreign occupation, in the intensified re-armament of Japan and in the attempts of the United States to set up military bases in Pakistan. This latest effort threatens to create a war psychosis amongst hundreds of millions of people in yet another part of the world.

The armaments drive and the manufacture of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction impose an intolerable burden on the world and constitute a terrible menace.

The World Council of Peace has drawn the attention of the world to this problem by its campaign for the Stockholm Appeal and its Warsaw resolutions. It regrets that the United Nations Organisation has not yet reached agreement on these matters and hopes that efforts to bring about the absolute prohibition of atomic and biological weapons and a substantial reduction of all armaments under effective control will continue.

Finally, the World Council of Peace emphasises that, whilst negotiation must be applied to each particular problem, it considers, as it always has, that a Five Power Conference is still the best method for achieving a relaxation of international tension.

The Conference would be able, on the initiative of any of the Powers, to take up any problem felt to be a cause of international tension and to seek general agreements acceptable to all.

The persistent refusal to grant the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the councils of the world is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference. This refusal is contrary to the interests of all States and is judged more and more severaly by world opinion.

The Charter of the United Nations gives the peoples an instrument able to bring about a lasting Peace and it is for the peoples to see that it is respected. The infringements of the Charter have plunged the world into great difficulties. A return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter would help the peoples to ensure their security and independence. It would allow real co-operation between the nations in developing their economic resources, their wellbeing and their culture.

The anxiety and fear, the poverty and the difficulties of everyday life inflicted upon the peoples by the Cold War and the armaments drive, can and must be eliminated by the action of the peoples.

In the last resort, Peace depends upon the people.

Vienna, November 28th, 1953.

SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES BY AGREEMENTS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL

The only successful negotiation is that which achieves Peace

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

President of the World Council of Peace

"Recent events provide good examples of the nature and variety of the manœuvres set afoot to delay and prevent negotiation. They enable us to perceive that certain proposals for negotiation can be put forward with aims that are very different from those which the peoples so ardently desire—that is to say, a sincere search for agreed solutions acceptable to all. As we see it, the only successful negotiation is that which achieves Peace.

"The aim of dividing the world permanently into two hostile blocs tied to the arms drive which is ruining the peoples, is today clashing with the desire for negotiation. It is therefore convenient for those who find the fulfilment of their ambition to dominate obstructed by this desire for negotiation, not to make a frontal attack but, by exploiting this desire, to try and show that negotiation is impossible. They claim that they want to negotiate, but do not wish to carry this negotiation through except under conditions which make failure inevitable, thereby creating a situation more conducive to the use of force. The peoples see in negotiation a means of reducing and, later, of eliminating international tension, a means of stopping armed conflicts, of settling differences and of making possible the organisation of disarmament. There are others who wish, through negotiations undertaken with the deliberate intention of wrecking them, to dash the hopes of the peoples and remove the last obstacles which prevent them from cutting the world in two and thereby engendering war.

"The main object of the manœuvres carried out over the last months is to create utter disillusionment among the people who, since the Korean armistice, placed such high hopes on the success of future negotiation. Furthermore, knowing and fearing the great forces which the Budapest Appeal can bring into action, those who oppose an easing of international tension aimed at making the disillusioned public place responsibility for the failure. These manœuvres, which are—to put it briefly—intended to gain wide support for a tough policy, will disappoint those who instigated them. The hopes born of the successful action to stop the war in Korea cannot easily be destroyed. Aware of the dangers, have we not already put people on their guard against such manœuvres by making known the resolution passed by our Bureau here in Vienna last September? By persevering in this way, so that none may fall into the dangerous traps which have in the past been set and which will continue to be set for the people, we shall succeed in making this great hope—honest negotiation—a reality. Negotiation undertaken in good faith should permit successful settlement of the main differences. All the problems cannot be studied simultaneously, but it must be clearly understood that the solutions adopted for each one of them are not independent of each other and that, in consequence, it is inadmissible that, prior to the consideration of a question, a predetermined solution to another question should have been arrived at by an intransigent group of Powers.

"It is nevertheless in such a manner that we have seen the Western Powers proposing a Conference for the solution of the German problem after prior tri-partite conferences had laid down conditions accepted by Chancellor Adenauer and which envisaged, in one way or another, a rearmed Germany which would be drawn into the Atlantic coalition.

"The problems of the Political Conference in Korea and those relative to the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and disarmament are the object of similar manœuvres.

"Though they are in a minority, those who conduct this policy are still supported by many honest people and manage, what is more, to create confusion in others, thus rendering them powerless to act. It is all these honest people that we must convince. It would be vain to approach the minority directing this policy.

"It is in striving to convince the honest people who support this 'tough' policy, that we shall help to throw it overboard."

Negotiation for agreement

ILYA EHRENBURG (USSR)

"We have in the past supported, and we continue to support the idea of negotiation, for without negotiation no agreement is possible. But if there cannot be agreement without negotiation there can, on the other hand, be negotiation without agreement; there can be proposals for negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of agreement; there can be talks on negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of negotiation. We are now confronted with desperate attempts to deceive millions of Peace-loving people and to veil the feverish preparation for a terrible war with words dear to all friends of Peace."

Whoever wants Peace must be ready to reach agreement with his opponent

Pastor MARTIN NIEMOLLER (Germany)

"I said in Budapest last June: 'Two things are clear to me—whoever desires Peace, must also be prepared to come to an understanding with his opponent,' and further: 'Whoever desires Peace, that is, whoever is really prepared to come to an understanding with his opponent, must also be prepared to talk with his opponent and must strive for such talks with all the means at his disposal.'"

The method of genuine negotiation will ultimately prevail

Major-General Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY (India)

Former Assistant Director-General of the World Health Organisation

"When we met in Budapest, the Korean armistice was on the point of being concluded. The universal demand for Peace by the people had its effect and brought about a peaceful end to the war which was threatening to deteriorate into another world war.

"We rightly concluded that if the Korean hostilities could be terminated by a negotiated armistice, so could all other international tensions. A lot of things have happened since we met in Budapest which seem on the whole to worsen the international tensions. But I believe that our conclusion still holds good . . .

"That the method of genuine negotiation will ultimately prevail, I have little doubt. But we cannot take it as inevitable. We must work for it. What is happening in Korea and elsewhere underlines the call of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace to the people to be on the alert."

To lay down conditions before negotiating is to render negotiation meaningless

General HERIBERTO JARA CORONA
(Mexico)

"If we try to arrange a meeting with the precise aim of solving all the existing problems which threaten Peace, but if at the same time one of the Powers starts by laying down conditions and demanding that these be accepted beforehand as a proof of good faith—and these conditions may embrace all the problems that demand an immediate meeting—then such a meeting will no longer have any object, unless it is only wanted in order to ratify what has been laid down in advance. But this would not be possible either, because every Government has the institutions appropriate to this purpose within its own State system.

"In any case, the fact that even the most recalcitrant are now examining the question, shows that it no longer arouses their scorn. This is highly significant for the cause of Peace."

Bulgaria is ready to settle all differences with neighbour States

GEORGI NADYAKOV
(Bulgaria)

"The President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Vulko Chervenkov, in his speech on the foreign and domestic policies of the country, delivered on September 8th last, on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of our liberation from the fascist yoke, expressly stated that our Government has no aggressive intention against Bulgaria's neighbours and that it is ready, through peaceful negotiation, to settle all differences with the neighbouring States of Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia.

"The re-establishing of normal diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia, the economic talks with Greece which are being carried on at the present time, together with our proposal for the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Greece and the United States—all these concrete facts serve to demonstrate the full support given by our country to the recommendations of the World Council of Peace and the complete unity that exists between the Government and the people on the most important question of today, that of ensuring the safeguarding of world Peace through negotiation."

Small countries have need of Great Power agreement

Professor ANDRE BONNARD
(Switzerland)

"Switzerland is a small country and it is the small countries which have the greatest need of agreement between the Great Powers.

"We Swiss, as much as any other nation and even more than any other nation, are aware of our smallness and need agreement and *détente*. We need genuine negotiation among the Great Powers—negotiation not based upon force, not 'negotiation from strength' to use an Anglo-Saxon term, but negotiation without recourse to force."

The relaxation of international tension would open new perspectives for agreements between the peoples of Africa and Europe

GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER
(Senegal)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"More than ever before we must exert ourselves to explain to our peoples that, without a relaxation of international tension, there can be no lasting solution to their own particular problems.

"The relaxation of international tension and the possibilities it would offer of disarmament and the resumption of commercial relations between all countries, would open new perspectives for agreements between the people of Africa and Europe which would be acceptable and beneficial to all."

Peaceful co-operation and unity

TSENDIN DAMDIN SUREN
(Mongolia)

"The spirit of our time and the peoples' will demand that the representatives of the USA, the Soviet Union, China, France and Britain co-operate in the United Nations in order to safeguard Peace and enjoy its fruits and to prevent the crows from looting them and the ravening wolves from devouring them.

"We have all seen during the last few years that the United Nations, without China, has been bumping along like a cart with a wheel missing. A Mongolian proverb says:

'A flock of birds is worth more than a prowling tiger.'

"We emphatically demand that the representatives of the Governments of the different countries in UNO stop fighting like tigers and that they work together as friends and unite in Peace."

The idea of negotiation has made great progress

PIETRO NENNI
(Italy)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"Examination of the facts leads us to conclude that the idea of direct negotiation has made great headway, not only with public opinion but also with numerous Governments; that there is a certain relaxation of tension and a tendency to consider that the danger of the Cold War being transformed into a hot war is less today than it was two years ago. Yet nothing has happened which can be considered as a reversal of the policy followed since 1947 and which has often led us to the verge of grave conflicts . . .

"The problem remains that of giving enough cohesion and power of action to world opinion, so that it may expose and defeat the Cold War-mongers for whom the division of the world into opposing blocs is a life and death question.

"Great progress in this direction has been made during recent years. We shall make further progress."

NO RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES IN KOREA

The peoples must be vigilant

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

"It was a great victory for the forces of Peace that they succeeded at last in bringing hostilities to an end by making the spirit of negotiation prevail.

"Negotiation between Americans, Chinese and Koreans was proved to be possible and resulted in an armistice agreement. This is a fact of very great significance and it made a big contribution to the relaxation of international tension. But other facts—such as the behaviour of Syngman Rhee during the armistice talks and the conclusion of separate agreements between him and the United States and the sixteen Powers who took part in the Korean war under US command—were fraught with future difficulties. These acts could only impede the future negotiations and in point of fact we have since seen manœuvres similar to those we condemned in relation to the German problem.

"The forces that fear the relaxation of international tension use the most diverse methods to prevent the holding of the Political Conference. The preliminary conference is continually coming up against difficulties.

"The Korean and Chinese delegates have just proposed a new plan which tends to avoid 'tough' policies at the conference table by bringing into the Political Conference neutral countries like the Soviet Union, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma. This plan corresponds to the peoples' conception of negotiations and should be accepted by all the parties; pressure is being exerted to wreck it.

"Does not Dulles threaten to disregard the armistice agreements regarding the liberation of prisoners if, after a certain date, the proposals of the mechanical majority at UNO for the composition of the Political Conference are not accepted as they stand by the Koreans and Chinese? . . .

"Our immediate task is to call on the people to be vigilant so that hostilities may not be renewed in Korea and the Political Conference may find a peaceful solution of the Korean problem."

Invite the USSR, India and other neutral Asian countries to the Political Conference

HAN SUL YA (Korea)

"Everyone now sees that the armistice in Korea has contributed to the easing of international tension. It has fortified the hope for Peace of all men of goodwill and shown that it is possible to settle international conflicts and other outstanding issues through understanding between the countries concerned.

"The Korean question can and must be solved at the Political Conference which, we may surmise, will be called in the very near future.

"Our people well know that the settlement of the Korean question will strengthen the cause of Peace in the Far East and throughout the world. To the extent that neutral States of Asia are concerned in the solution of the Korean question, we consider that countries with such a great interest in it as the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia, Pakistan and Burma must be invited to take part in the Political Conference. We do not doubt that the participation of these countries will have a favourable influence on its work and will help to settle successfully the questions with which the Conference will have to deal."

MAO DUN (China)

"Although the United States Government was compelled to accept the Armistice Agreement, they have always deliberately kept the Korean armistice in an unstable condition. Immediately after the signing of the Armistice Agreement, the United States and the Syngman Rhee clique signed a so-called 'Mutual Defence Treaty' giving the United States the right to station troops indefinitely in South Korea.

"United States military aircraft and military personnel have constantly violated the Armistice Agreement and invaded the demilitarised zone. The United States is repeatedly obstructing and sabotaging the realisation of the Armistice Agreement, while Syngman Rhee almost every day threatens to 'march to the North', 'unify Korea by unilateral military actions,' 'drive the Indian custodian troops out of Korea by force.'

"On the question of the repatriation of POWs, the United States Government has repeatedly violated the terms of reference for the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission, preventing the POWs from listening to explanations and using special agents to keep a terrorist control over them . . .

"The United States Government has consistently refused to discuss the composition of the Political Conference, because it stubbornly opposes the proposal of the Chinese and Korean Governments to invite neutral countries, especially India and other neutral countries in Asia, to take part in the conference. But the United States Government has not been able to give any reason whatsoever for its opposition.

"Since the task of the Political Conference is to settle peacefully the Korean question, which is also a question relating to Peace in Asia and the world, to discuss such an important question without permitting the participation of the neutral countries concerned, especially the neutral countries in Asia, is, we believe, entirely devoid of reason."

Major-General Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY (India)

"Scarcely had the ink dried on the Armistice Agreement than the Secretary of State of the USA, Mr. John Foster Dulles, publicly condemned the activities of the Repatriation Commission and had the temerity to describe India and other nations working on it as 'so-called' neutral nations! Mr. Syngman Rhee threatened

to attack the Indian Custodian Force and launched a vile campaign of slander against India and our Prime Minister himself. The UN Command handed over the prisoners-of-war to the Indian Custodian Force, obviously after having made the most detailed arrangements to ensure that the proper administration of the prisoners' camps would be made difficult.

"... Peace-loving mankind is at one in demanding that India and other Neutral Asian countries participate in the Korean Political Conference."

Report on Korea at Peace

TOKUSABURO DAN
(Japan)

"What moved us most was that all the reconstruction and building undertaken after the armistice show that the Korean people count on the possibility of a lasting Peace, although the threat of a new attack has not ceased to exist. In fact, the Koreans are beginning to restore school buildings, hospitals and theatres.

"For example, on the day following the armistice, they began building a large theatre on the beautiful hill of the capital; it will shortly be completed, that is to say, only four months after the cease-fire. What does this prove? It shows that the Koreans have not only the firm intention of defending world Peace side by side with all the Peace-loving peoples of the world, but also that they have profound faith in the power of the forces of Peace to defeat the forces of war."

We must prepare the way for a lasting Peace in the Far East

Dr. JAMES ENDICOTT
(Canada)

"At its meeting in Ottawa, the National Council of the Canadian Peace Congress demanded:

'Strict observance of the Korean Armistice Agreement and a round-table conference on Korea, with neutral participation, to prepare the way for lasting Peace in the Far East'."

Mr. SATTAR
(Iraq)

"The withdrawal of the UN troops and the Chinese Volunteers from Korea and the granting of the right of self-determination to the Korean people are essential prerequisites for reaching a satisfactory settlement of the Korean question. We know, too, that Peace in Korea is closely linked to Peace in Asia, particularly in the Far East. The Political Conference, with the participation of the majority of the representatives of the UN forces; the examination by this Conference of the Korean question only, to the exclusion of the other questions relating to the establishment of Peace in the Far East; the non-participation of representatives of the neutral Asian States which are interested in a general settlement of Asian problems, particularly the Korean and Japanese questions and the wars in South-east Asia; the problem of the admission to UNO and to the Security Council of the representatives of the People's Republic of China—for all these reasons the Political Conference cannot achieve its aim or justify the hopes that it will reach a definite peaceful settlement of the Korean question and establish Peace in the Far East.

"We are therefore faced with the urgent task of doing all we can to prevent a renewal of hostilities in Korea, whether or not the Political Conference obtains any success in this."

Korea shows that negotiation is possible

Pastor MARTIN NIEMOLLER
(Germany)

"The World Council of Peace and its endeavours, the world forces of Peace and public opinion have finally succeeded—and indeed I am convinced that they have succeeded—in bringing the contending parties in the difficult problem of the Korean conflict to the Conference table. This is a good omen for all future efforts.

"I believe that Korea has clearly shown that they are obliged to negotiate even if they do not really want to."

The world wants a genuine Peace

Metropolitan NIKOLAI
(USSR)

Examining the effects of the Korean armistice, the Metropolitan stated:

"We Christians, like all other Peace-loving people on Earth, are greatly inspired by this important international event because it is the first significant result of the struggle of the peoples for Peace, a first convincing demonstration of the strength of public opinion when the latter is the weapon of a moral evaluation of things.

"Now, the whole world is following with sustained attention the observation of the clauses of the armistice and is awaiting the opening of negotiations for a stable Peace in Korea ...

"We must do everything possible to see that world public opinion plays an active part in these talks by demanding the peaceful unification of Korea and the withdrawal of all foreign troops. It is necessary that all Christian churches and religious organisations in the USA take a stand on this question and help the American people to make their Government recognise the Korean people's right to self-determination."

Foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea

Professor
FELIPE SALAZAR SANTOS
(Colombia)

"Quite a few Latin American countries have already begun to move. In various ways public opinion is demanding that the Governments embark on a new political course at UNO and that they instruct their delegates to vote more in accordance with the ideas they represent. In Colombia, for example, the President of the Republic received many petitions, signed by people of various trends and from all walks of life, demanding the return of our troops and naval units which are still in Korea."

German rearmament compromises international security

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

In his opening speech the President dealt in detail with the essential characteristics of the German question as it is to-day:

"It is clear that the rearmament of militarist Germany is a part of the United States policy of peripheral strategy. A rearmed Western Germany, out for revenge, is regarded as a first class strategic base. It becomes increasingly evident to the people of the Western countries bordering on Germany, that their own safety will be jeopardised if these projects are carried through, for such a Germany may well be tempted, as in the past, to start expanding in their direction. This whole aggressive policy is put forward under the cover of defence, whereas actually it compromises the security of the world. It attempts to ignore the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Treaties. It wipes out the Potsdam Agreement of which the fundamental principles would permit the conclusion of a treaty between the Four Great Powers creating a united, democratic and peaceful Germany. All peoples have some responsibility for eliminating the danger of a rearmed, militarist Germany, but Germany's neighbour States bear a particularly heavy responsibility."

The danger is causing fresh voices to speak out for France's national interests

GILBERT DE CHAMBRUN (France)

Secretary of the World Council of Peace

"The European Community and a European army would establish the predominance of German militarism in Europe. Any countries associated with Germany in these units would not only risk being dragged into a third world war, following in Germany's steps, but at the same time would be in danger of having to withstand the pressure of German militarism along their frontiers...

"In my country, a large number of people who accepted the Atlantic Pact because they considered it was a defensive measure, today feel that the entry of Germany into the European Army, under the orders of an Atlantic chief, would give this Pact an aggressive character because of the territorial ambitions of the Bonn Government.

"If we now examine the Soviet proposals, we have to admit that they are based neither upon preconceived conditions nor upon *faits accomplis;* in fact these proposals alone are based upon existing international agreements: Potsdam, the Anglo-Soviet Pact and the Franco-Soviet Pact.

"They are a compromise because both sides would renounce the idea of a divided world gambling over Germany.

"Germany could be quickly reunified following a Four Power Agreement aimed at finding a peaceful solution of the German problem. The only limitations imposed upon Germany would be in order to prevent the rebirth of militarism, both for Germany's neighbours and for the German people themselves...

"I would particularly like to speak to our friends of the Soviet Peace Committee. I do this because our two countries have a common interest in averting the revival of German militarism. This treaty, sealed by our common sufferings, is once again the order of the day in France.

"A few days ago M. Edouard Daladier, former President of the Council, reminded the National Assembly that since the duel between Alexander III and Napoleon no Russian soldier has set foot on our soil as an enemy.

"A great number of my countrymen consider that two points which do not depend solely on them are necessary in the struggle they are conducting in their country in the national interest.

"The first of these points is the firmness the Soviet Government shows in frustrating, in not tolerating, the *fait accompli* of German rearmament. This firmness helps us all the more because we too are working to make the French Government show an equal strength in face of the same danger.

"The second point is the full implementation of the Franco-Soviet Pact which, in spite of the vicissitudes of the last few years, is legally still in force, since it was drawn up on a twenty-year basis. The Franco-Soviet Pact envisages consultation between the two Governments in the event of a new threat from Germany. The threat is there. The great majority of the French people wish these consultations to take place...

"There is a lot of talk about building Europe. They use this fine expression to cover the revival of the Wehrmacht.

"To build Europe is to encourage all the peoples of this continent to live in co-operation with one another. It means developing between them commercial and cultural relations. It means securing the great German nation against the return of militarism which has been the cause of so much unhappiness in Europe, thus helping it back into the peaceful community of nations."

The Soviet people never repudiate their pledges

ILYA EHRENBURG (USSR)

The speaker described the two opposing policies on the German question:

"I ask this authoritative gathering to examine impartially the events of recent months. The Soviet Union has concluded no agreement with the Government of the German Democratic Republic directed against the security of France, Great Britain or the USA. There is no military agreement between the Soviet Union and the Government of the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union has not revived a German army to increase its power, nor has it used German territory to instal either atomic or other types of aggressive bases. For its part, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has carried out a series of political and economic measures which can facilitate the unification of Germany. This Government has never declared that its aim is to liberate the people of Frankfurt-on-Main or of Munich. Its Ministers do not say that they want to change the political or social systems of Denmark or Belgium and that when such changes have taken place they will be ready to discuss the question of the joint administration of the Danish part of Schleswig or the district of Malmédy.

"What has the behaviour of the other side been like? It has in every way supported the revenge-seeking elements in Western Germany. It has helped to revive military and paramilitary organisations run by Nazis. It proposed that the Government of West Germany conclude a military treaty directed against one of the Great Powers which, together with other Great Powers, won the victory over fascism. This other side has turned the territory of

Western Germany into an aggressive bridgehead, into an arsenal of atomic and other weapons.

"The Government of Western Germany, for its part, has openly launched slogans of revenge. It has laid down claims to the territories of States who were allies of the USA, Great Britain and France. The leader of the West German Government has rejected the idea of negotiating with the Government of the German Democratic Republic and has declared that one of his aims is the *"Liberation of the inhabitants of Dresden and of Weimar."* The Ministers of this Government speak of the need to change the political system of Poland and Czechoslovakia. With the tacit approval of the representatives of Great Britain and France, they call upon the citizens of West Germany to recreate divisions which will make it possible to alter existing frontiers. Yet agreements exist between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and between France and the Soviet Union, which can prevent any possible repetition of German aggression . . .

"I listened with great attention to M. de Chambrun's speech and I can make him the reply that the Soviet people are not in the habit of going back on engagements to which they have pledged themselves. If the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance is observed by the two parties it can become a guarantee of security for our two countries and for the whole of Europe.

"The States with an interest in the preservation of Peace are today much stronger than they were nine years ago. They can cause revenge-seekers and aggressors to think again. I believe in France. The people who fought at Valmy and Verdun, the people of the Maquis, will find a way out which is consonant with their traditions and their good sense. Let my words be understood aright; they have their source not in political considerations but in the heart."

Let us have a Germany in which her neighbours can have confidence

WILHELM ELFES
(Germany)

"The peaceful re-establishment of a united, democratic State which is desired by the German people and necessary to their national well-being cannot be achieved by the methods conceived in Washington and Bonn. I am glad that M. de Chambrun has already said this clearly. This is why we decided right from the beginning—and particularly at our international meetings in Berlin, Vienna and Budapest—on another method.

"This method which has also been put forward in the Soviet Union's Notes, begins with the Potsdam Agreement and leads through an agreement between the Great Powers as well as between Germans, and free all-German elections, to a unified Germany. This Germany would serve neither the East nor the West as an advanced military base and would see her national existence guaranteed by a Peace Treaty, her peaceful development by a democratic constitution and her economic potential by free trade relations. It would be a Germany enjoying both the respect and the confidence of its neighbours and would, therefore, be accepted into the United Nations as a matter of course."

The desire of the German people is to live at Peace with the Soviet Union and France

JOSEPH WIRTH
(Germany)

Former Chancellor

"Seeking agreement with all, without exception, had to be and must still be the principle of German foreign policy. If Germany wants Peace with Russia, she must, at the same time, seek Peace with France. This fundamental principle of history is being strikingly borne out by the current debate in the French Parliament.

"This idea is deeply rooted in the German people too—so deeply that, at the recent elections, the forces with an interest in war had to use the words Peace and agreement in order to hide their true aims from the people . . .

"To silence the voices calling for agreement, the rights guaranteed by the Constitution are being restricted. Already, the Constitution itself is being attacked. It is to be altered to make possible the conscription of the youth of West Germany. Germans who play a leading role in the fight for Peace are being persecuted for allegedly endangering State security.

"That such measures are necessary proves that, in the Federal German Republic, there is strong opposition to the policy of revenge and militarism . . .

"It is a source of great strength to us to know that this struggle of the democratic forces in Germany is supported by the confidence of all Peace-loving men and nations in the world."

The basis of German unity

ANNA SEGHERS
(Germany)

"On what basis can the unity of Germany be achieved today? There are some astounding notions on this subject, both in Germany herself and in other countries. Extraordinary plans are being drawn up in the West, but they are not aimed at helping Germany or advancing the cause of the unity, Peace and prosperity of Germany. They do not aim at bringing up German children to be worthy members of the family of Peace-loving peoples . . .

"One thing is certain—we know what a united Germany must not be. She must certainly not be what General Kesselring, for instance, envisages. He declared recently that the S.S. were the *élite* of the Wehrmacht and the forerunners of the European Army. She must certainly not be occupied by a European Army, giving every former S.S. man the hope of being promoted to the *élite*, perhaps even with "No man's lands" behind the Elbe and the Rhine, which would become enormous graveyards once the atomic weapons had done their job. Any negotiations on the unity of Germany must be approached by the participants with the determined intention of arriving at a peaceful solution. This intention is never absent from negotiation, as contrasted with the use of force.

"So the discussion must not be entered into with the intention of dragging it out interminably or even wrecking the chances of a solution, as has very often happened. Conditions must be sought which are acceptable both to the Four Great Powers and to both parts of Germany, that is to say the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic. From the start, everything that threatens the Peace of Europe and the Peace of Germany must be eliminated. Only when militarism no longer plays any role whatsoever will a new, united Germany cease to be a possible threat to the security of her neighbours."

We must achieve a united, democratic and peaceful Germany

JAROSLAV IWASZKIEWICZ
(Poland)

"The friendship of the Polish people for the people of France can be counted on. Further, they know what an immense, brilliant and attractive force France can be when she embraces a cause on behalf of the peoples. Today, this cause is the cause of Peace and the independence of nations.

"The German people find themselves in a dramatic position at the present time. The forces which, twice already, have led them into disaster are once again trying to entice them. But the German nation has always contained great, progressive forces with the power to act for the good of humanity. These forces are today reacting against the possibility of another catastrophe, they

are combatting the revival of hatred and chauvinism. They exist in West Germany, too, and are working in spite of the terror used against them by Adenauer; it is our duty to support them with all our strength . . .

"These progressive forces are being stoutly supported by the German Democratic Republic which has proved that the German people are capable of establishing good neighbour relations based on the principles of mutual respect, friendship and co-operation, thus making a precious contribution to the work of consolidating Peace in the world.

"The Polish people believe that the only way to ensure Peace and ward off the menace of a new war is to achieve a Germany united on peaceful and democratic principles, in the spirit of Potsdam, as the Soviet Union has so often pointed out in its well-known Notes.

"The Polish nation would welcome with deep satisfaction the birth of a unified German State which would no longer be a threat to its neighbours and would become a real factor for Peace in Europe, while restoring to the great German nation its rightful place in the family of free nations."

Support the Peace-loving forces in Germany

ISABELLE BLUME
(Belgium)

Secretary of the World Council of Peace

"In all those countries in which, at the present time, the supporters of EDC, uncertain of victory, are trying to hide German rearmament behind the screen of the European Union, we are faced with a duty which becomes more urgent every day. It is that of bringing into the light of day what our enemies want at all costs to conceal, namely the monster lurking beneath all the plans for saving the civilisation of Europe and which is frightening Germany herself and all her neighbours—the rearmament of West Germany and her incorporation in the European Union . . .

"It is awful to think that, with the help of our peoples, not only could the old German dream of Europe in bondage to Germany be made a reality, but also that the European Union is taking up again Mussolini's and Hitler's plans for Africa, making of it an imperialist settlement for the excess population of Italy and Germany. This is a further proof, if such were necessary, that the European Union as conceived in Strasburg and as demonstrated in EDC can neither be an instrument for the liberation of nations nor an instrument of Peace . . .

"There is a fact of which our peoples and even our politicians are aware—the strongest guarantee must come from the German people themselves. Now, the recent ratification of the treaties by the two Houses of the Parliament of the Federal Republic and Adenauer's election have given us no assurance on this point, except one, which is that in Germany there are nine million voters who share our feelings and whom we must help at all costs . . .

"If we do not help these Germans to defeat EDC in their own country, we shall not succeed in defeating it in our own countries either."

D. N. PRITT Q. C.
(Britain)

"The effort is now being made to rush through the re-militarisation of Western Germany, which involves the permanent division of Germany—permanent so far as anything can be permanent in these days of collapse and rebirth—involves, too, a major step towards a Third World War, and the intensification of already perilously strained international relations.

"What is the attitude of British public opinion to this re-armament proposal? I have no doubt that the great majority of the people is unequivocally opposed to it?"

J. THEODORE HARRIS
(Britain)

"We wish to assure our German friends here in this Council that the British people want only to live at Peace with the German people, to have normal friendly relations, to help the German people to heal the divisions which mutilate their national life, to see the German people reunited, at Peace.

"It is not from any enmity to the German people that I speak with such deep conviction against the arming of Germany. We seek also for general disarmament. Only in these conditions can the German nation, which has contributed so much to the cultural life of the world, for example in music and literature, be free and really secure for the first time in their history."

The European Defence Community can be defeated

MRS. MINNAERT-COELING
(Holland)

"In July of this year the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament ratified the European Defence Community Treaty by 75 votes to 11. This is certainly a very large majority, but it is not as large and especially not as solid as one might think and as the papers would like us to believe . . .

"The Dutch people have not forgotten the occupation and they oppose the restoration of Nazi domination, although opposition to the European Army Treaty is not yet strong enough.

"That is why, above all, it must be explained to the Dutch people what the EDC treaty entails—German rearmament and the restoration of Nazi domination . . .

"The events of the last months in France are also encouraging for us. Many who at first thought that ratification of the EDC treaty was unavoidable have recently regained their courage and prefer to wait. The same phenomenon is to be observed in Right-wing political parties. Many put great hopes in future developments in France. This gives us the chance of making contact with wider circles."

The possibility of a peaceful settlement remains

OLAF FORCHHAMMER
(Denmark)

"The most important task of the moment is to avoid any complication of the German question . . .

"The rearmament of West Germany and her incorporation in a West European military bloc will automatically prevent the peaceful unification of East and West Germany.

"Yet, after one-and-a-half year's discussion and pressure, the Bonn and Paris agreements of May 1952 have still not come into force.

"So an eventual Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers, on which there have already been several exchanges of Notes, would not yet find itself confronted with the *fait accompli* of West German rearmament.

"The ambiguous and uncertain attitude of certain Western politicians is shown by the fact that, while calling a Four Power Conference, they at the same time jeopardise it by doing everything to push through the plans for a European army.

"But as long as these endeavours have not reached fulfilment, the Four Power Conference will not find itself confronted by a *fait accompli* . . .

"I am convinced that such a Conference would help to encourage and strengthen resistance to the European Army and would clearly demonstrate who stands for Peace and who does not."

SHEVQUET MUSARAJ
(Albania)

"The peaceful solution of the German question is of particular concern to our people.

"We have no common frontier with Germany, but we underwent the same horrors and devastation at the hands of the Nazis as the countries bordering on Germany. It is enough to mention the 28,000 who were killed during the anti-fascist struggle (that is 3% of our population) and the 60,000 houses which were burned down (about 40% of inhabitable dwellings), to show what a scourge German militarism and Nazism were for Albania.

"Therefore, in order to ensure a correct solution of the German problem, we have supported and continue to support, unreservedly, the Soviet proposals which put forward the demilitarisation and denazification of Germany and the creation of a united, democratic and free Germany, as provided for in the Potsdam Agreement which was signed by the Great Powers."

KNUT LØFSNES
(Norway)

"The solution of the German problem must be built on the basis of an understanding between the Great Powers which defeated Hitler Germany."

The reasons for the opposition to EDC of the peoples of French West and Equatorial Africa

GABRIEL d'ARBOUSSIER
(Senegal)

"The EDC Treaty is the logical result of the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact which were the means of extending US participation in the plans for another World War and in maintaining colonial exploitation and oppression."

M. Gabriel d'Arboussier went on to quote facts proving that the increasing poverty and oppression in colonial and dependent countries are concomitants of the worsening of international tension.

"...So the opposition of the peoples of French West and Equatorial Africa to incorporation in EDC does not spring from a narrow view of things, but from actual experience and a clear understanding of the prospects offered.

"The support that the peoples of French West and Equatorial Africa must lend to the French people's struggle against the ratification of the EDC Agreements, is dictated by the immediate interests of these peoples and not by some slogan or other."

BIRAMA TRAORE
(French Sudan)

"We do not accept the Bonn and Paris agreements, for they would mean a mass migration to our country of what is called the excess population of Europe...

"Neither do we support the setting-up, in any part of the world, of a Nazi regime which would revive the absurd Hitlerian theory of superior and inferior races.

"We want neither the European Community, Eurafrica nor the Third Force, for if we accepted them we should be going against our own national independence and we should make the serious mistake of encouraging the warmongers in the crimes they are getting ready to commit against our brothers in all countries."

Replace the policy of strength by a policy of negotiation

EMMANUEL d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE
(France)

At the last sitting the speaker analysed a recent vote in the French National Assembly.

"All the majority parties split, a great number of Deputies of the majority joined the opposition in the common fight against the Bonn and Paris treaties, men of such diverse views as Herriot, the President of the Assembly, Daladier, Jacques Duclos, Daniel Meyer and General De Gaulle are speaking out against these treaties; the reason for this is that the popular will has been demonstrated throughout the country at the call of the Peace Movement and of a wide variety of organisations, particularly organisations of ex-servicemen and war victims...

"It would be wrong to believe that all these men, who represent varying trends of opinion, see this fight only in a negative light. Assuredly, they want to prevent the realisation of the EDC. But they all had a common objective of a very positive nature—replace a policy of strength by a policy of negotiation, eliminate the dangers of war and seek conditions that would guarantee the security of Europe...

"The theory of men like Guy Mollet, urging that all non-Communist nations join the American bloc—and this is Adenauer's theory, too—is opposed by another, our theory, which is upheld by Deputies of the Right, Left and Centre. It is the theory that the peaceful co-existence of different systems is possible, the theory of the settlement of all differences by honest negotiation. It was on this basis that former President of the Council of Ministers, Daladier, put forward a peaceful solution of the German problem...

"A conference can only succeed if the participants seek a peaceful solution and not the inclusion of a remilitarised Germany in a system of strength. A conference cannot succeed if one of the parties goes to meet the other with the intention of confronting it with a *fait accompli*."

Concentrate the efforts of all who are opposed to German rearmament

PIETRO NENNI
(Italy)

"The conclusion to be drawn from the present stage of the problem of EDC is that we must organise with the utmost urgency a great campaign of explanation and action against ratification, in close co-operation with every opponent of EDC. This should embrace not only the six countries of the "Little Europe" but the whole of Europe and the entire world, since it affects Asians and Africans just as much as Europeans...

"We have just seen that in Western Europe the situation is characterised by the struggles on the question of the European Community and the ratification of the EDC Treaty. In these struggles that section of public opinion which has not agreed with us up till now is deeply divided and even severely shaken by a matter of conscience which is breaking down the ideological, political and social barriers which some had tried to raise against us."

The Vietnamese people urge negotiations

LE DINH THAM
(Viet-Nam)

"Not only have French colonialists fallen short of their aims of reconquest, but they have sustained serious losses. The French Army has already lost more than 300,000 killed, wounded and prisoner and a great quantity of war material and weapons destroyed or captured by the People's Army. The ruinous war in Viet-Nam is a bottomless pit for French finances; this year, military expenditure has reached the enormous figure of 600,000 million francs. Every day that the war in Viet-Nam goes on means further losses for France. It is clear that the war of aggression against the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam is contrary to the interests of the French people. The movement for the ending of the war in Viet-Nam, in which broad sections of the people are taking part, faithfully reflects the aspirations of all honest French men and women. This movement has made considerable progress during recent months. On behalf of the Peace-loving people of Viet-Nam, I bring warm greetings to our friends in France...

"The armistice in Korea has increased the confidence of the peoples of France, Viet-Nam and the Peace-loving people of the world in their ability to bring this war to an end and reach a peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question. It has clearly demonstrated that all international conflicts can be settled by negotiation. The peoples of the world are becoming more concerned at the fact that the people of Viet-Nam are still suffering from a cruel war of aggression. In France and throughout the world there is an increasing volume of protest and concrete activity demanding an end to the war and peaceful negotiations to settle the Viet-Nam question...

"The war in Korea was ended by negotiation. It is therefore necessary and possible to put an end to the war in Viet-Nam by means of negotiation. The Peace-loving people of Viet-Nam urge negotiations to end the war and to reach a peaceful settlement of the Viet-Nam question, because it is desired by the people of the whole world and conforms to the interests of the peoples of Viet-Nam and France. During the past eight years the people of Viet-Nam have resolutely fought a war of resistance to the French colonialist troops in order to defend their independence and their liberty, to reconstruct their country in Peace and live a new life. This desire of our people has just been reaffirmed in a letter sent to the National Council of the French Peace Movement by the Viet-Nam Peace Committee."

The war in Viet-Nam can be ended through negotiation

MAO DUN
(China)

"Though the calls for the end of the war in Viet-Nam are being more and more echoed by people of all sections of French society, the United States Government is resorting to all sorts of means to exert pressure on the French Government to drag on the war in Viet-Nam. The aim of the United States Government, in addition to keeping the Far Eastern situation in a state of tension after the cease-fire in Korea, is to take over Indo-China for itself. At the same time, it is also trying to weaken the French position in Europe, so as to facilitate the rearming of West Germany. For this reason, the Vietnamese war has not only brought about the determined resistance of the Vietnamese people but has also aroused the increasing opposition of the French people.

"The Chinese people extend their boundless sympathy to the heroic Vietnamese people who are suffering from the calamities of war. We wholeheartedly support the proposal made yesterday by Mr. Le Dinh Tham, the delegate from Viet-Nam. His proposal serves the interest of Peace. We hope that all Peace-loving peoples the world over will take immediate action to call for an armistice in Viet-Nam and the peaceful settlement of the Vietnamese question. Since an armistice has been achieved in Korea through negotiations, we believe that the Vietnamese war can also be stopped in the same way."

Stimulate the movement of opinion for peaceful negotiations

Professor MARCEL NER
(France)

"We are happy to be able to state here that, in recent months, the French people have reached a much clearer understanding and have strengthened their will. Their anger is rising because they know that the destruction of the French Army, decimated in Indo-China, and the rearmament of Germany together with the glorification of the spirit of revenge, are preparations for another war or the enslavement of France to her neighbour in the East.

"The majority of French public opinion is today in agreement on the following points:

1 — The war in Indo-China serves no national interest. It only serves private interests or the interests of the USA.

2 — There is only one authentic Government in Viet-Nam, that of the Democratic Republic.

"After the experience of the armistice in Korea, the French delegation unanimously considers that the immediate ending of bloodshed and the opening of negotiations depend on a step which the Government must take with the utmost speed. We wish to restore to France the power to make Peace, without the US Government or private interests creating obstacles...

"We were happy to note that, in spite of the war, M. Le Dinh Tham could express sympathy for the French people from this rostrum.

"We are happy to express here our lively, fraternal sympathy for the people of Viet-Nam and to tell their representatives of the French people's emotion at the humane way with which our prisoners are treated and in which they are often liberated and allowed to return home.

"We agree with the delegates of Viet-Nam and of the great Chinese people in the proposal they made to the Council to launch an Appeal to the peoples of the world, to set in motion a great movement of public opinion for the immediate ending of hostilities and the opening of negotiations for Peace in Viet-Nam...

"When, now that the war in Korea is ended, the war in Viet-Nam, too, is stopped, a great step towards world Peace will have been taken, which will also be a great step towards convincing the peoples that it is possible to impose their will for Peace everywhere."

Cease fire!

J. CASADEI

Representative from the WFTU

"The World Federation of Trade Unions is waging a determined struggle against the war in Viet-Nam which has been going on since 1946. Why should it not be possible, after so many years of bloodshed, destruction, ruin and death, to compel the opening of negotiations for a peaceful settlement of this question? The Third World Trade Union Congress, not only judged that this is possible, but it also decided to make December 19th next, a great day of active international solidarity of the working people of the whole world with the people of Viet-Nam and a day of struggle for the ending of the colonial war in Viet-Nam.

"In the Appeal to the Working Men and Women of the World, the WFTU asks them to unite under the slogan 'An immediate cease-fire in Viet-Nam!,' to express their warm solidarity with the workers and people of Viet-Nam and to demand of the French Government and Parliament and the United Nations the ending of the war."

Growth of national resistance to remilitarisation in Japan

TOKUSABURO DAN
(Japan)

"During the last six months and especially since the eve of the armistice in Korea, there has been a vast development of the Japanese people's struggle against the existence of foreign military bases on their territory and against rearmament, the aim of which is to turn the Japanese into mercenaries of another country. At Uchinada, in the Department of Ishikawa, as is well-known, a great united front was formed between workers, fishermen, peasants and intellectuals of all political views, to resist the plans for setting up a United States military establishment in this locality. This brilliant example gave an immense spur to the whole people and ever broader strata are beginning to play a role in the national resistance to the remilitarisation of Japan."

The speaker quoted the opinion of a conservative political organisation on the so-called Mutual Security Aid granted to Japan by the USA:

"1. That Mutual Security Aid infringes the Japanese Constitution, since the basic principle of this Aid requires solutions of international differences by military means and it demands of us the creation and build-up of armed forces.

2. That Mutual Security Aid is fraught with the danger of dragging Japan into war, since it lays military obligations on Japan."

Proposed bases in Pakistan would create unbearable pressure on India

Major-General Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY
(India)

"The proposed Pakistan bases are intended to sow discord among this group *(the so-called "Group of Arab and Asian nations" at UNO)* which can have very far-reaching evil results. The bases are also intended to bring almost unbearable pressure on India in her advocacy of, and work for, the peaceful solution of the Korean problem. The intention is an attempt to put an end to the splendid Peace-making contribution which India is making in the cause of World Peace."

INDULAL YAGNIK
(India)

"Nearer home the imperialist designs have now been convincingly exposed in what we call the foreign pockets of India occupied by the French and Portugese Governments. Years ago, these Governments, which cannot gain anything from these little areas but the dislike of the Indian people, appeared to be willing to discuss with our Government the question of the grant of independence to these territories. Recently, however, their attitude has hardened; and now it is as plain as a pikestaff that these Powers have virtually sold their little kingdoms to the US Government, to serve it as war bases on the sea-board of India...

"And finally all India is now seething with indignation at the US moves for planting their military bases in Pakistan by entering into a military pact with her Government. Our Prime Minister has sharply criticised their moves as unfriendly acts fraught with serious consequences for India and its relations with Pakistan. All sections of our people and our Press have been unanimously denouncing this latest phase of US diplomacy as inimical to the freedom and Peace of the Arab States, the Far East, the friendly Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and, above all, of India herself."

Withdraw foreign troops and respect the sovereignty of the peoples of the Middle East

ANTOINE TABET
(Lebanon)

"In recent years the USA has made great efforts to set up an aggressive military bloc incorporating the Arab and other States in the Near and Middle East, sometimes under the label of the 'Middle East Command' or 'Mutual Defence' and sometimes under the name of the 'Northern Middle East Pact.' The Arab peoples energetically resisted this project and so far it has not been possible to put it into operation.

"In spite of this failure, we are witnessing an intensification of the efforts to bring this plan to fruition in other forms...

"According to the Lebanese paper, 'Assarkha,' Admiral Wright came to propose the conclusion of bi-lateral military agreements between the United States and each of the Arab countries, beginning with the Lebanon and Syria. These agreements would be similar to those concluded with Spain and Greece, that is to say, they would give the USA the right to set up military bases and atom bomb dumps, to use the resources of the Arab countries at the whim of the US and to station occupation troops...

"Further, the USA is trying to form a Mediterranean bloc and to drag the Arab countries into it through the intermediary of Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and Spain. Recently, contacts were established between Franco and the supporters of US policy in the Arab countries...

"We are fighting for our independence and national sovereignty. We demand the withdrawal of foreign troops from Iraq, Transjordan, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and all the colonial and semi-colonial countries. We stand solidly behind the people of Iran in their fight for liberty and full independence. We are also striving to achieve a genuine relaxation of international tension in our own interests and that of all other nations. We are sure that we shall be supported by all Peace and liberty-loving peoples represented by the World Council of Peace and the Peace Movement."

The occupation of the Suez Canal is a threat to Peace

ABDUL RAHMAN SHARKAWI
(Egypt)

"The Canal is no longer a British base but an international base and especially a base for atomic bombs...

"The maintenance of British occupation troops in Egypt and of the Suez Canal as a military base is a direct threat to world Peace.

"The Egyptian people are resisting military pacts and bases in full awareness that the victory of Peace in the world is also a victory for the cause of their liberty, progress and civilisation."

Blockade is reply to Iranian people's desire for independence

Professor SAID NAFICY
(Iran)

"Our people have always insisted that all they wanted was to live in Peace and freedom so as to set their social, economic and cultural life in order. No pretext, no crusading spirit will ever be able to shake our people's strong determination to fight for Peace.

"Besides, have our people not given proof of this lofty and sacred aspiration in these last years? It suffices to quote the oil nationalisation, the facts of which are known to the world. Our people were convinced of the obvious truth that, as long as this source of wealth was not in their own hands, their independence and their national sovereignty were in jeopardy. When, at last, the logical solution to this question was found, the world had no longer any doubt as to the legality of our claims. International bodies acknowledge that we were in the right and fair-minded people approved our action; but the sole reply from the other side was an economic blockade which has deprived us of the benefits of our immense national resources for more than two years in an attempt to force us to give up our rights."

Our countries have been transformed into military bases

MANUEL SANCHEZ ARCAS
(Spain)

The speaker analysed the military agreements recently concluded between the Governments of Spain and the USA, whereby Washington "allied itself to a regime condemned by UNO in 1946 for its fascist character and activities."

"Spain's geographical situation is suitable for launching an aeriel offensive, not only for long-range attacks (as in a war against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies), but also short-range (as in a possible war between the USA and its European imperialist rivals). This explains the importance attached by dollar strategists to the adequate equipping of Spanish territory for use as an offensive air base. This intention is made clear by the construction of aerodromes on the Pyrrenean frontier without taking the requirements of defence into consideration . . .

"One of the concessions made to the USA by Franco authorises it to erect secret installations. Article IV of the Defence Agreement, referring to the property rights granted to the USA in the treaties in the case of both permanent installations and other constructions, says: 'In both cases (if the agreement is abrogated) these installations can be acquired by the Spanish Government, with the exception of the secret installations.' This concession amounts to giving the US permission to convert Spain into an arsenal for atomic bombs, H-bombs etc. and into a base from which these bombs can be used without taking into account the mortal peril in which this would place our country, the countries bordering on Spain and the Peace of the world . . .

"This treaty turns Spain into a base for aggression, yet one more in the chain of US bases, which have been set up in Britain, France, Italy, Norway, Greece and other countries, encircling the frontiers of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. The transformation of Spain into a US base is directly connected with the measures which are being taken at the present time to remilitarise Western Germany."

ZAKARIA CERTEL
(Turkey)

"The war forces have done everything in their power to prepare Turkey as a war base, a stepping-stone and a centre of an offensive plan against the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies. The Turkish armed forces have been reorganised, mechanised, equipped with the most modern weapons. All the Turkish land, sea and air forces have been put under the command of NATO. A NATO headquarters has been established in Smyrna. 3000 Anglo-American military teaching staff are preparing the new cadres of officers and teaching modern war methods. Twelve air bases for the heaviest bombers have been constructed in different parts of Turkish territory. Naval bases have been established on the Black Sea and the Aegean ports of Turkey. Military roads are being constructed in the direction of the Soviet frontiers."

The Trieste question must be settled peacefully

CLAUDIO TONEL
(Trieste)

"You all know that the question of the Free Territory of Trieste is bound up with aggressive plans in the Balkans. Today, the US and British Governments are trying to accelerate the linking up of the strategic potential of the Eastern Alps with that of the Balkans and to achieve this they want to get the Governments of Rome and Belgrade to accept the arbitrary decision given in the bipartite Note of October 8th, last . . .

"As you have already been informed, the Trieste Peace Movement has asked for the replacement of the two-fold military occupation, Anglo-American and Yugoslav, in the two zones of the Free Territory of Trieste, by a single provisional, civilian administration responsible to the Security Council of the United Nations. Our Peace Committee has collected approximately 50,000 signatures for this demand and they have been sent to the UN. Meanwhile, since the recent events, our Committee has decided to take fresh steps. To avoid the partition of the Territory, we adopted a plan which was unanimously approved by the Communal Councils of Trieste and Muggia asking for a UN Commission to be sent to Trieste and petitioning for a popular referendum in the two zones on the future of the Territory."

Mobilise public opinion against the establishment of foreign bases

ALBERTO CIANCA
(Italy)

"Certain peoples have already learned what foreign bases and troops on their territory mean. Italy's experience is particularly unhappy. You know that foreign bases have been set up and foreign troops stationed in my country, although no treaty which might give this *fait accompli* a shred of legal sanction has been passed by Parliament. As a matter of fact, the EDC treaty has not yet been brought before Parliament and the opposition it will meet there will be no less energetic than that of the French National Assembly. The Government has not yet put to the vote, in the two Chambers, the London Convention which provides for and regulates the stay of foreign military contingents in the countries of Western Europe and which, moreover, does not envisage the establishment of actual military bases . . .

"A tragic proof of the dangers resulting from the conflict between the national interests and the presence of foreign military organisations on our soil, has been provided by the grave events in Trieste . . .

"As more and more foreign bases are set up, international tension becomes more acute and there is a growing danger that violence will prevail over negotiation.

"The mobilising of public opinion against this danger in every country is, we think, one of the essential tasks of the World Council of Peace."

Our people are opposed to the stationing of foreign troops

OLAF FORCHHAMMER
(Denmark)

"The elections which have just taken place have, for one thing, clearly shown that the majority of the Danish people is opposed to the stationing of foreign troops in Denmark. The Socialist Prime Minister stated in Parliament that the majority of the Danish Parliament is also opposed to it."

HALLDOR LAXNESS
(Iceland)

International Peace Prize-winner

"The turning of Iceland into a US military base was formally agreed to by a majority of the Deputies of our Parliament, the Althing, but this formal handing-over of the country has nothing to do with the will of the people, who think that such a handing-over is a most unnatural thing. A traffic of this nature—handing over the rights of a country to a foreign Power by voting in Parliament—is a novelty in the world and contains a strong element of absurdity. It is as unnatural an action as if I should go to another man, saying to him: It is my wish to be your slave, will you please be my master?

"The whole Icelandic people dislike the stationing of US forces in Iceland and even the reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie, which in the Press plays the role of a confidential clerk of the occupying Power, would never dream of fraternising with the American soldiery or inviting its members to their homes."

Against foreign interference in Latin America

BALTASAR CASTRO
(Chile)

President of the Chamber of Deputies

"Our country has signed the military pact with the USA against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people and for the last three years the popular movement for the abrogation of this treaty has been growing rapidly. Our present Government is a step towards a more democratic regime in the country, and the President of the Republic based his electoral campaign on the abrogation of the pact and the establishment of commercial relations with all countries. The result is that the people and their leaders are ready to help the Government and press it to carry out these two promises. I hope that one day, Chile will do so and thus give a fine example of independence and pride to many Governments which have bartered their dignity for a few machine-guns for use against their own workers and have handed over part of their territory for the setting up of military bases."

General EDGARD BUXBAUM
(Brazil)

"Let us take a quick look back over the past four or five years and examine the overall picture presented by the backward countries. We must admit that, even recently, they were generally unable to put up effective resistance to the new methods of economic plunder and national oppression used by foreign warmongers. During these last few years this fact has been a serious and unfavourable factor in the international situation. The more or less rapid and easy militarisation of the economy of these countries by the aggressive forces of the US under cover of Truman's Point Four and other disguises, has played an important role in sharpening international tension and in the preparations for a third world war...

"The facts proving the unprecedented increase of foreign military, economic and political oppression on our Continent which is aimed at preparing for war, are epitomised in the bilateral military agreements made between the US and several countries of Latin America. These agreements undoubtedly constitute, not only military alliances of an aggressive nature, but also instruments for destroying the sovereignty of the nations of Latin America."

FERMIN BERETERBIDE
(Argentina)

"North American policy, to which several Latin American Governments subscribe, is making ever more pressing demands for the conclusion of economic pacts and agreements in which there are clauses containing political restrictions. The Pacts of Rio de Janeiro, Bogota and Washington make the countries of Latin America militarily and economically dependent upon the USA if war should break out. To these have recently been added bilateral pacts extorting the cession of military bases, the subordination of the national economies to continental defence plans and restricting the sovereignty of the nations of Latin America...

"It is therefore with anxiety that our country sees a repetition of what happened to Mexico yesterday and is happening to Venezuela today. Such a policy is harmful to the development of industry and the national economy because it subordinates them to the US economy and is operated in the interests of an arms drive which seriously affects our national independence."

Elimination of foreign bases imperative to détente

Professor FLORICA MEZINCESCU
(Rumania)

The speaker quoted "US News and World Report" which lists US bases in Alaska, Britain, Turkey, North Africa, Greenland, Saudi Arabia, Tripoli, Okinawa, Guam etc. She then went on:

"The military bases situated on foreign territories thousands of miles away from the USA have no connection with the security of these countries. The interests of international security obviously demand that the Great Powers get together and decide to liquidate these bases—this would be a decisive step towards the easing of international tension."

PIETRO NENNI
(Italy)

"Can we look forward to an improvement in international relations as long as the principal activity of the United States is to tighten up the system of US military bases in Europe, Asia and Africa, and to perfect the plans of peripheral strategy? Can one speak seriously of a Four-Power Conference on the German question without renouncing, at least while awaiting the results of such a conference, the incorporation of Western Germany in the Atlantic military alliance?"

WE MUST CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE THE ABSOLUTE PROHIBITION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE REDUCTION OF ALL ARMAMENTS UNDER STRICT CONTROL

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

"We know the impressive demonstration of approval given to the Stockholm Appeal by the people of the whole world. The desire to ban weapons of mass extermination has become even stronger since then . . .

"While certain progress has been made towards the solution of this problem it must be recognised that today there is still a clash of ideas and that no effective decision has been reached up to now by the UN Disarmament Commission.

"The same arguments are always put forward in order to make banning of atomic weapons impossible. In the most recent proposals put forward at UNO—those of the former French Minister Jules Moch—is repeated the fundamental contradiction of the Baruch Plan which stipulates that agreement on the ban should be preceded by a disclosure of all military forces and all atomic installations.

"How can we believe in the sincerity of those who ask nations to reveal their defences and industrial structure in their entirety, without the others and themselves having first renounced the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons? The only measure of this kind put forward in the French representative's plan is the prior banning of the use of chemical and biological weapons, though this ban, as laid down in the Geneva Protocol, has already been accepted by all the Powers, so far as chemical weapons are concerned, and by all the Powers except the United States, in the case of biological weapons.

"Why not put forward the same proposal of prior banning in the case of atomic weapons?"

Professor J. D. BERNAL F.R.S. (Britain)*

Vice-President of the World Council of Peace

"Popular demand for disarmament has steadily increased as the result of the bitter experience of the last two years, particularly in the war in Korea, when something has been seen of the amount of destruction which can be carried out even by the so-called conventional armaments and of the way in which, in modern war, civilians and particularly women and children have been their chief victims. At the same time the relentless economic pressure of the rearmament drive is holding back social progress in many countries and has reduced some of them to a state of extreme economic distress . . .

"It is particularly the scientific development of new weapons and the threat that they hold for indiscriminate and unlimited destruction that is arousing world conscience . . .

"The device of insisting first of all on an international census of armaments is transparent. It has the advantage of spinning out time while gathering militarily interesting information without any commitment to subsequent action. At its last meeting on November 18th, the United Nations Political Committee reaffirms the Assembly's desire to reach agreement, but in the very same paragraph it lays down the already unacceptable and futile sequence of regulation, limitation and reduction. This deadlock must be broken and that can only be so by the action of the peoples themselves. They must insist that Governments come together with a sincere intention to achieve substantial and rapid disarmament and without any preconditions about how it is to be reached . . .

"The Baruch Plan of ownership of all fissile material by an international authority, has now become pointless. It was always unacceptable as it would have meant effective control over the economy of every country in the world and more so now than ever because of the steps taken to use atomic energy for the power of production. Control at the source could do nothing to prevent the concealment of atomic and hydrogen bombs. For that, only a system of inspection as already agreed in principle by all countries including the Soviet Union could be effective. Even that, it should be recognised, requires for its success a genuine intention from the start to abide by the agreement and some evidence of good faith which can only be guaranteed by the strength of popular will in all the countries concerned.

"It is for that reason that we should insist on the importance of the preliminary declaration of abolition of weapons of mass destruction. In the last resort the surest guarantee against any breach of international agreement is the honesty of the common people in standing by the agreements they have made.

"It is, of course, for this very same reason that the promotors of the majority resolutions refuse to make any such agreement."

ALEXEI SURKOV (USSR)

"There is an iron logic in the fact that the problem of the struggle for a reduction of armaments and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction arises, willy-nilly, in all public discussions which aim at seeking a way of reducing the present international tension.

"Why is this?

"I think it is because the armaments race, born of international tension, has itself become, as it swelled more and more monstrously, a constant source of aggravation of this tension.

"We can say the same for the atomic and hydrogen bombs which, since they saw the light of day, have kept millions of human beings in a state of anxiety and mental prostration. They, too, are a serious cause of the present international tension . . .

"What are the Soviet proposals for solving these problems? To begin with what is most important—to establish and to decree that the nations and the Governments ban the use of atomic,

* *Professor Bernal's speech was read by Mr. Duncan Jones, General Secretary of the British Peace Committee.*

thermo-nuclear and all other weapons of mass extermination, and that they denounce as war criminals the first Governments to use them.

"To establish and decree that the nations and the Governments undertake a substantial reduction of armaments and armed forces, in an agreed ratio and order.

"After this *objective* has been laid down as an obligation for the contracting parties, they will proceed to the creation of *conditions* necessary to ensure the speedy and strict application of the decisions taken; that is to say they will proceed to a census of the objects to be controlled and to a strict control and inspection, with the right to control the objects declared by any Government and the additional right of seeking out objects which are not declared but whose existence is suspected by the international control bodies . . .

"A few years back, when we were advocating the prohibition of the atomic bomb, those in possession of this inhuman weapon said, with irony—they are demanding prohibition because they do not have this weapon and fear it.

"But time passed and the bitter necessity of not remaining unarmed forced us to create this weapon. Seeing that we still persisted in our demand for the banning of this murderous weapon, those in possession of large stocks of bombs kept on saying—they demand prohibition because they have few bombs while we have many, and because they fear the hydrogen bomb which we are preparing.

"With time the same bitter necessity of not remaining unarmed brought us to create the hydrogen bomb as well.

"Disconcerted by this fact so unpleasant to them, those who yesterday had a monopoly of atomic and hydrogen bombs, tried to frighten humanity by talking of the threat represented by the atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons in the possession of the Soviet Union. They are incorrigibly bad-natured and instead of renouncing this terrible weapon on a reciprocal basis—which is the natural thing to do—they went into another fit of atomic hysteria.

"We, on the other hand, having torn from the hands of yesterday's monopolists the advantages of unilateral possession of atomic and hydrogen bombs and quite aware of the strength of our position as a result of this—we do not cease and shall never cease demanding, tenaciously and insistently, the prohibition of this barbarous weapon.

"We demand it because we have confidence in humanity and in its future, because we believe that human reason will triumph over the mad intentions of these dangerous maniacs.

"It is not because we are weak but because we are strong and sure of our future, because we are capable of attaining the objectives of our work of peaceful creation, that we intend, along with all men of good sense, to do all we can to reduce the dangerous international tension. To this end we are ready, on the honourable basis of reciprocity, to make all reasonable concessions serving the cause of Peace. Agreements can be reached with us, but it is impossible to dictate orders to us."

HAN SUL YA
(Korea)

"On behalf of my people who have suffered the horrors of war, I call on all men of goodwill throughout the world . . . to put an end to the arms drive, to ban atomic weapons and the hydrogen bomb—weapons of mass destruction—and to reduce the level of armaments of all types."

Professor LEOPOLD INFELD
(Poland)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"The first step towards reducing international tension would be to forbid the manufacture of the hydrogen bomb and the atom bomb; to destroy the existing supplies and to establish an effective international control preventing the manufacture of such bombs . . .

"After that, further steps would come, such as disarmament, which would have the effect of raising the living standard of humanity all over the world. How can we obtain the prohibition of the use of the atomic weapon and weapons of mass destruction? By a mutual understanding acceptable to all. By an understanding among equals, without conditions imposed in advance; by an understanding arrived at in an atmosphere of goodwill."

Dr. ANDREA ANDREEN
(Sweden)

"Allow me, as a member of the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacteriological Warfare in Korea and China, to point out that the exposing of bacteriological warfare further stresses the need for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction."

Mme. EUGENIE COTTON
(France)

Vice-president of the World Council of Peace

"At the present time we have reached a paradoxical and monstrous situation in which the latest scientific discoveries and improvements are used for lethal purposes, no matter what the cost, while millions of human beings are left to live in unbelievable poverty. We must therefore waste no time in telling the people about these two things which should be incompatible—the immense wealth of the world on the one hand and its dire poverty, on the other. They must all know that transmutations have revealed to us a new form of behaviour of matter, vastly different from the chemical reactions that we are used to, the combustion of coal for example. It is as if the transmutation of atoms had placed new fuels at our disposal which, weight for weight, release millions of times more heat than the burning of coal.

"Once we have calories we can set machines to work, produce electricity, in other words, supply energy for various industries and heat and light for homes . . .

"Measuring all the well-being and security which would accrue to mankind from the use of this powerful nuclear energy which is being put to such evil ends, all men and women will take a pledge to unite their efforts in order to ensure a future of Peace, Happines and Beauty for the world."

Professor FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE (France)

"Is not a meeting between the representatives of the Five Great Powers (USA, USSR, Great Britain, the People's Republic of China and France), since they bear the heaviest responsibility for the maintenance and consolidation of Peace, the best way of bringing about an easing of international tension?

" Let the representatives of the Great Powers meet, let them exchange views on their interests, their fears and the problems which divide the world in general, thereby dispelling mistrust and clearing the atmosphere.

"Though such a meeting might not necessarily reach definite solutions on any particular problem, it would have the great advantage of creating conditions favourable to successful negotiations on particular problems. Seen in this light, a meeting between the Five Great Powers would have, as we know, the support of many millions of men. It would restore to UNO the possibility of fulfilling its mission and of successfully bringing about disarmament."

PIETRO NENNI (Italy)

"The Korean armistice created the preliminary condition for a Five Power conference including China, and yet US opposition to a meeting with China has not weakened. One should even say that if, after the armistice, the holding of the Peace Conference in Korea is coming up against all kinds of difficulties and excuses, it is to put off for as long as possible the day when, Peace having been concluded, China's entry into UNO and the meeting of the Five Great Powers would become, in a manner of speaking, inevitable."

MAO DUN (China)

"All Peace-loving peoples should demand at this time that the Big Powers agree on general disarmament, the prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs, germ weapons, as well as other weapons of large-scale slaughter, the abolition of military bases on the soil of foreign countries serving as spring-boards of aggression, and the withdrawal of troops stationed in foreign lands, which infringes on the sovereignty of these countries. In order to make a comprehensive examination of possible measures that will work toward the relaxation of international tension, it is reasonable and imperative at this time to call a Five Power Conference in which the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China will take part. Peace-loving persons in many countries have repeatedly proposed that the People's Republic of China must be a member of this Five Power Conference. But the United States Government has continually barred the People's Republic of China from assuming its legal status in the United Nations and its right to take part in international conferences. This is not only unfair and unreasonable, it entirely ignores the need of the present international situation. The United States Government has not only denied China her rightful place in international affairs, but has invaded Taiwan, which is Chinese territory, and encircled China with military bases established in South Korea, Japan, the Ryukus, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand and many other places. It has also forced other countries to place embargoes and economic blockades against China. All these measures prove that it is the United States Government which creates international tension.

"The United States Government should not indulge any more in empty talk of peaceful negotiation but has to prove its words by action. It should agree to the calling of the long-awaited Five Power Conference so as to further ease the international situation.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, this Council meeting is our first since the cease-fire in Korea. As a result of the three-year struggle on the part of the Chinese and Korean peoples and the efforts of Peace-loving peoples throughout the world, the wild ambition of the forces of war has been frustrated and the tense international situation which lasted for several years has begun to show some relaxation. But the forces of war have by no means abandoned their war plans and they are persisting in endless provocations. Hence, we still have before us a tremendous task in defence of world Peace. All Peace-loving peoples must be ever more vigilant, must continue to work tirelessly, mobilise more broadly, and unite more closely in our common endeavour to strive for the early convening of the Five Power Conference, the solution of all international disputes through negotiation and to achieve a further relaxation of the international situation."

ILYA EHRENBURG (USSR)

"One of the Great Powers, I mean the United States, refuses to negotiate with another Great Power, China. How do American statesmen, who, while extolling the principle of negotiation, refuse to talk with the Government of the People's Republic of China, justify their position? They say that when the United Nations was founded there was a different Government in China. But can it be said that China has become a less important country than it was under Chiang Kai-shek? No, no one says so. The Americans say that they do not like the Government of Mao Tse Tung, and that's why a conference of the Five Great Powers is impossible. Does the Chinese Government refuse to negotiate, saying that Eisenhower's Government is not to their liking? The Americans say that, since the San Francisco Conference, there has been a change of Government in China. That is true. But do the Chinese refuse to negotiate on the pretext that the Republicans have replaced the Democrats? The Americans stress the fact that the new regime in China was born in battle. But was it not out of battle that the United States itself was born? The Americans refuse to negotiate with the Government of the People's Republic of China, calling it aggressive! As far as I can remember US bombs have often fallen on Chinese towns, but not a single

Chinese bomb has fallen upon American towns. Let us however suppose that for many Americans the Chinese are aggressors. For many others—among them the fairly large population of China—it is the Americans who are the aggressors. Nevertheless the Chinese people do not say that they refuse to negotiate with US representatives because they are aggressors."

Dr. JAMES ENDICOTT
(Canada)

"The National Council of the Canadian Peace Congress met in Ottawa. We proposed to the Canadian Government the following ... points which I would like to put on the record for discussion in the Commissions:

A meeting of the leading Powers with a view to solving, through negotiation, questions which threaten the Peace of the world.

... The Government of China must be recognised by Canada. China must no longer be barred from her rightful seat at the United Nations."

EMMANUEL d'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE
(France)

"While it is desirable that negotiation should be undertaken in every part of the world where there is a dangerous situation, as in Korea, Europe and Indo-China, we nevertheless know that only a meeting and agreement between the Five Great Powers can lead to a relaxation of international tension.

"The resolutions of the Congress of the Peoples are more than ever valid today. A Five-Power Conference is necessary so that the Great Powers may bring up for discussion all the problems which are at the root of international tension ...

"It is necessary so that 500,000,000 people and the Chinese Government by which they are represented may be heard in a debate which affects the security and Peace of all continents. This conference is necessary to create the conditions for harmonious co-operation between the Five Great Powers at UNO."

GOVIND SAHAI
(India)

"We feel that in the present day world no country can exist alone or achieve all-round progress without Peace in the world. Therefore, we are determined to strain every nerve to establish Peace in the world. In order to give a concrete shape to this ambition we have suggested that the Five Powers should meet at the earliest possible moment. Let the leaders of these five big countries sit at a table in a cordial atmosphere and exchange views and suggestions to end the causes of international tension in order to save this world from any future war and its destructive effects."

TOKUSABURO DAN
(Japan)

"The Japanese people will not fail to support all international activities organised to ensure the peaceful co-existence of the nations. They will do all they can ... to organise a campaign in support of a Five-Power Conference."

Mr. IBRAHIM
(Transjordan)

"Even those people who still believe in a Communist threat find that they do not gain by the continuation of tension in the world. On the contrary, they lose by it. Therefore, they realise more and more that a meeting of the Five Great Powers in a Conference for Peace would be closely connected with the struggle for national independence in our country.

"We believe China should be admitted to UNO and should be allowed to participate in all international conferences. This, we think, would help to solve all outstanding questions concerning Peace."

NASOU GAFARI
(Syria)

"The establishment and consolidation of Peace resulting from these negotiations would of necessity guarantee the full national independence of small countries."

Mme JEANNE EBOLLO
(Cameroons)

"Our country is one of the territories under UN trusteeship and has a vital need of Peace in order to attain her independence through peaceful means. In our fight for Peace we strive at the same time to bring the UN back to the principles upon which it was founded viz.:

(1) to ensure Peace and security for the nations;

(2) to ensure the progress of dependent countries to self-government or independence."

Major-General Sir SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY
(India)

The speaker pointed out the responsibility for the maintenance of Peace placed on the Five Great Powers by the UN Charter. He went on:

"Under the Charter, the Five Great Powers were to work together on a mutually agreed basis to preserve Peace and thus leave man free to develop. That is how the concept of unanimity, which is now misnamed veto power, arose. It devolved on the Security Council to maintain Peace. Military pacts between nations and military bases on foreign territories are repugnant to the letter and the spirit of the Charter. Even if the matter of words be arguable, there is no doubt about the spirit of the Charter. The move away from the Charter has bedevilled all our efforts to give the world secure Peace. It would be very much worthwhile to bring nations back to the Charter, to make them respect it."

Appendices

Newly elected members of the World Council of Peace

Mrs. Grethe FORCHHAMMER, B. A., President of the Union of Democratic Students (Denmark)
Djalal AWKATI, Officer (Iraq)
Baltasar CASTRO, Writer, President of the Chamber of Deputies (Chile)
Alberto CIANCA, Senator, former Minister (Italy)
Sergei GERASIMOV, Film producer (USSR)
Nicolas GUILLEN, Poet (Cuba)
Knut LØFSNES, Lawyer (Norway)
Abdul Karim MACHTA, Moslem religious personality (Iraq)
Clarenzo MENOTTI, Former Senator, teacher (Italy)
William MORROW, Former Senator (Australia)
Erwin SCHARF, Writer (Austria)
Valentin SOROKIN, Economist (USSR)

Newly elected members of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

Mrs. Monica FELTON, Writer (Britain)
Sra. Maria Rosa OLIVER, Writer (Argentina)
Jorge AMADO, President of the Brazilian Association of Writers (Brazil)
D. N. PRITT, Q. C., President of the British Peace Committee (Britain)
Alexei SURKOV, Writer, Secretary of the Association of Soviet Writers (USSR)
William WAINWRIGHT, Writer (Britain)

Newly elected Jury for the International Peace Prizes

Dr. Anna SEGHERS, Writer (Germany)
Mrs. Wanda WASSILIEWSKA, Writer (USSR)
James ALDRIDGE, Writer (Britain)
Jorge AMADO, Writer (Brazil)
Leonidas BARLETTA, Producer (Argentina)
André BONNARD, Writer (Switzerland)
Mao DUN, Writer (China)
Howard FAST, Writer (USA)
Willy FERRERO, Musician (Italy)
Sergei GERASIMOV, Film producer (USSR)
Nazim HIKMET, Poet (Turkey)
Joris IVENS, Film producer (Holland)
Leon KRUCZKOWSKI, Writer (Poland)
Arthur LUNDKVIST, Writer (Sweden)
Leopoldo MENDEZ, Engraver (Mexico)
Jan MUKAŘOVSKÝ, Rector of the University of Prague
Pablo PICASSO, Painter (Spain)
Paul ROBESON, Singer (USA)
Georges SALENDRE, Sculptor (France)
Major-General Sir Sahib Singh SOKHEY (India)
Antoine TABET, Architect (Lebanon)
VERCORS, Writer (France)
Jorge ZALAMEA, Writer (Colombia)

Secretary of the Jury: Jorge ZALAMEA

Statement by the Scientists at the Meeting of the World Council of Peace

The scientists present at this session of the World Council of Peace, knowing the terrible power of destruction of weapons of mass extermination, call upon their colleagues throughout the world to take energetic action for the prohibition of these weapons.

They call upon them to support the efforts of all those who want science no longer to be used for destructive ends but put at the service of mankind.

Recommendation of the Cultural Commission

The last session of the World Council of Peace correctly demonstrated the need and the possibility of a wide extension of cultural relations, a valuable factor in achieving and ensuring a relaxation of international tension.

We are happy to see that in spite of the still too numerous obstacles, appreciable results have been obtained since then. At the same time, we note how much greater successes can be obtained. Vast prospects will open up if all organisations and individuals who hold dear both the culture of their own country and that of the world, take upon themselves to enter into contact and work for fruitful international relations on a reciprocal basis.

The full support of the Peace Movement is assured for the many activities already carried out or planned, such as visits or exchanges of delegations, works of art, literary, scientific or other publications; international exhibitions, congresses and meetings and interchange of scientists, intellectuals, artists and sportsmen.

We call on every organisation and person interested in the development of cultural relations between the peoples. We appeal to them to multiply such activities and to secure broader and, therefore, more effective co-operation.

Vienna, November 28th, 1953.

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES WHO DESIRE A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. Negotiations which were opened, however, have come up against renewed obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions vitally important for the peace of the world.

Nevertheless, the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent scientific, religious and political authorities are condemning the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All people of good sense realise that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee fulfilment of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most West European countries have made a public stand against the rebirth of German militarism in any form.

In these conditions, we think an opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. The resolution, passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on November 28th, 1953 is an expression of our point of view on this matter.

The joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the examination of possible solutions is now necessary.

A meeting of this nature, to be held as soon as possible, would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

World Council of Peace

(Vienna Session, 23rd—28th November 1953)

The General Resolution of the World Council of Peace

The Budapest Appeal for negotiation, launched by the World Council of Peace, has had profound repercussions and has won the widest support. As a result of this campaign, the idea of settling international differences by agreements acceptable to all is daily winning ground and bearing fruit.

The end of hostilities in Korea was a victory for the cause of Peace.

The latest exchange of Notes between the Great Powers proves that the holding in the near future of a Four Power Conference on the German question is possible.

The idea of ending hostilities and reaching a peaceful solution in Indochina is making progress both in France and in Viet-Nam.

But forces opposed to the easing of international tension are using the word "negotiation" to veil plans for prolonging the Cold War. Negotiations cannot be realised if one party is confronted by the other with accomplished facts; the desire for negotiation cannot be present if conditions are created to make if fail.

In Asia and in Europe, there are situations and conflicts which are especially endangering World Peace.

In Korea, negotiations are in danger. The intention to exclude neutral nations, especially India, from a Political Conference dealing with specifically Asian interests, could cause the failure of negotiations. The peoples will not allow hostilities in Korea to be resumed.

The interests of European security demand the quickest possible settlement of the German problem. This settlement is only possible by agreement between the Four Powers — the United States, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France. The main obstacle which stands in the way of this agreement is the intention of one side to rebuild German militarism and to bring Germany into the war coalition directed against the other.

The World Council of Peace calls upon the peoples of Europe to prevent the ratification of the Treaties concerning the European Army and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form. This would open the way to agreement on the German problem between the Four Powers, thereby offering the German people the prospect of a peaceful future and giving to all the peoples of Europe a guarantee against the revival of aggressive forces in Germany.

For the last seven years there has been war between France and Viet Nam which can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

The World Council of Peace welcomes the proposal made in this direction by the Vietnamese delegation supported by the Chinese delegation. This proposal, to which the French delegazion made a favourable reply, could serve as a basis for a settlement.

The World Council of Peace has always affirmed that foreign interference, occupation by foreign troops and the establishment of military bases on foreign soil, constitutes a threat both to the peoples independence and to Peace.

Such a policy is also being developed in the Near and Middle East, Latin America and Africa. It shows itself in Europe, particularly by the plan for the European Defence Community and the installation of atomic bases in Spain, in Asia by the foreign occupation and the intensification of the rearmament of Japan, and in Pakistan where the United States is trying to set up military bases. This latest effort threatens to create a war psychosis amongst hundreds of millions of people in yet another part of the world.

The armaments race and the manufacture of ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction impose an intolerable burden on the world and constitute a frightful menace.

The World Council of Peace, has drawn the attention of the world to this problem by its campaign for the Stockholm Appeal and its Warsaw resolutions. It regrets that the United Nations Organisation has not yet reached agreement on these matters, and hopes that steps will be taken to bring about the absolute prohibition of atomic and biological weapons and a substantial reduction of all armaments under effective control.

The World Council of Peace finally emphasises that, whilst negotiation is necessary on each particular problem, it considers, as it always has, that a Five Power Conference is still the best method for achieving a relaxation of international tension.

This Conference would be able, on the initiative of each of the Powers, to take up any problem felt to be a cause of international tension, and could seek general agreements acceptable to all.

The persistent refusal to grant the People's Republic of China her rightful place in the councils of the world is an obstacle to this Five Power Conference This refusal is contrary to the interests of all states and is judged more and more severely by world opinion.

The Charter of the United Nations gives the peoples an instrument able to bring about lasting peace. The peoples should strive to ensure respect for the Charter. The infringements of the Charter have plunged the world into great difficulties. A return to the letter and the spirit of the Charter would help the peoples to ensure their security and independence. It would allow real co-operation between the nations to develop their economic resources, their wellbeing and their culture.

The anxiety and fear, the poverty and the difficulties of everyday life imposed upon the peoples by the Cold War and the armaments race, can and must be eliminated by the action of the peoples.

In the last resort, Peace depends upon the people.

World Council of Peace

(Vienna Session, 23rd-28th November 1953).

PRIX INTERNATIONAUX DE LA PAIX 1953

DECLARATION DU JURY

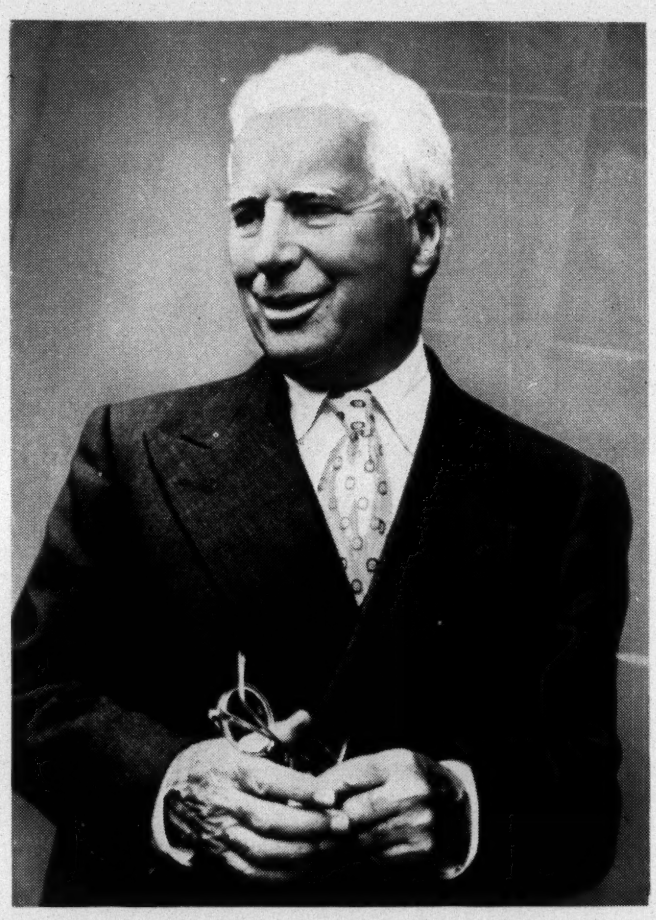
Le Jury des Prix Internationaux de la Paix, réuni à Vienne les 30 et 31 Mars 1954, tenant compte de l'exceptionnelle contribution que leur activité créatrice apporte à la cause de la Paix et de l'amitié entre les peuples, a décerné à l'unanimité les Prix Internationaux de la Paix 1953 au célèbre artiste britannique Charles Chaplin et à l'éminent compositeur soviétique Dmitri Dmitrievitch Chostakovitch.

LES MEMBRES DU JURY

James ALDRIDGE
Jorge AMADO
Leonidas BARLETTA
André BONNARD
Mao DUN
Howard FAST
Serge GUERASSIMOV
Nazim HIKMET
Joris IVENS
Léon KRUCZKOWSKY
Arthur LUNDKVIST
Leopoldo MENDEZ
Jan MUKAROVSKY
Pablo PICASSO
Paul ROBESON
Georges SALENDRE
Anna SEGHERS
Sir Sahib Singh SOKHEY
Antoine TABET
VERCORS
Wanda WASSILIEVSKA
Jorge ZALAMEA

Charles CHAPLIN

Bernard Shaw a dit que Charles Chaplin était "le seul génie auquel le cinéma ait donné le jour". L'écrivain anglais Thomas Burke n'a pas hésité à affirmer que Chaplin était "le premier homme dans l'histoire dont on puisse vraiment et littéralement dire qu'il est célèbre dans le monde entier". Développant la même idée et commentant certaines mesures prises contre Chaplin par le Procureur Général des Etats-Unis, le "Manchester Guardian" affirmait en 1952: "Chaplin est peut-être le seul homme au monde qui soit, dans le monde entier, reconnu par les hommes de la rue, le seul dont chacun se souvienne avec gratitude." Et Gilbert Seldes prétendait que Chaplin était "destiné par son génie à être le seul, l'unique homme universel des temps modernes".



Ce caractère universel du personnage et de l'œuvre, souligné par les créateurs et par les critiques, se trouve largement confirmé par la statistique de la diffusion de ses films, selon laquelle plus de trois cent millions de personnes auraient assisté à la projection de chacun d'eux. Et n'oublions pas que Chaplin a réalisé jusqu'à présent 80 films. Charlie, Charlot, Carlitos, Carlino est connu et aimé des peuples de toutes les races, de toutes les religions, de toutes conditions et de tous usages. Sa présence suscite le même fervent enthousiasme des foules à Londres, sa ville natale, qu'à Tokio. A Ceylan, en Australie, au Maroc, en Argentine, en Union Soviétique, aux Etats-Unis, en France, en Norvège, au Transvaal, le public se dispute les places chaque fois qu'on annonce un de ses films.

La raison de ce succès universel n'est pas un secret. Sous l'apparence de la farce et à travers l'affabulation satirique, sentimentale ou poétique, des millions d'êtres humains se reconnaissent en Charlot.

Grâce à une profonde connaissance de l'être humain — par expérience et par intuition — et grâce à une compréhension géniale des rapports de l'homme et du destin, Chaplin a su créer un personnage dans lequel tout homme de la rue peut retrouver un trait qui l'identifie fraternellement à lui. Et il est allé encore plus loin: il a su découvrir dans l'adversité — qui est encore, jusqu'à présent, le patrimoine de la majorité des hommes —, certains charmes ineffables qui constituent une compensation de l'infortune. Bien que Charlot, le petit homme, soit persécuté, trompé, déçu par le destin ou par la société, la dignité avec laquelle il reprend son chemin après chaque revers est nourrie d'espérance. Cas unique dans l'art universel: la déception du "héros" ne laisse pas au spectateur un sentiment d'amertume, mais au contraire la confiance que, plus tard, les choses iront mieux.

Le petit homme Charlot vit dans une lutte permanente avec les êtres et avec les choses, avec la société, avec le monde, avec la destinée. Mais sa lutte n'a d'autre but que la réconciliation avec les hommes et avec le monde. A travers les péripéties les plus désordonnées, il cherche l'équilibre, l'ordre: un redressement de la justice qui conduise à la paix.

Assistant à la lutte de Charlot sur l'écran, des millions d'êtres humains ont senti qu'il représentait leur propre lutte, leur lutte quotidienne, dans leurs aspirations les plus intimes, les plus vitales. C'est pourquoi, lorsqu'ils virent leur liberté plus compromise, leur vie plus menacée, leurs chances de bonheur plus réduites, ils comprirent parfaitement que Charlot s'incarnât un jour dans le petit barbier juif du "Dictateur" pour lutter contre le plus grand des désordres, contre la plus grave des injustices. Et ils entendirent la voix de son propre

cœur lorsque le barbier, prenant la place du dictateur, cria dans les micros préparés pour une harangue tout à fait différente:

"J'aimerais aider chacun si possible, les Chrétiens comme les Juifs, les Noirs comme les Blancs. Nous avons le désir de nous entr'aider. Les gens civilisés sont ainsi. Nous voulons vivre de notre bonheur mutuel et non pas de notre malheur mutuel... En ce monde il y a de la place pour chacun... Le chemin de la vie peut être libre et magnifique, mais nous avons perdu ce chemin...

"Vous, le peuple, vous avez le pouvoir de créer une vie libre et splendide, de faire de la vie une radieuse aventure. Alors, au nom de la démocratie, utilisons ce pouvoir. Unissons-nous tous. Combattons pour un monde nouveau, pour un monde propre, qui donnera à chaque homme la possibilité de travailler, qui assurera à la jeunesse son avenir, qui mettra les vieillards à l'abri du besoin..."

Appuyé par le témoignage irréfutable de toute son œuvre, depuis "Charlot soldat" jusqu'à "Monsieur Verdoux", Charles Chaplin pouvait déclarer tranquillement en 1949: "Je suis seulement un fauteur de paix."

En 1952, après la réalisation de "Limelight", Charles Chaplin disait à un groupe de journalistes:

"Je crois au pouvoir du rire et des larmes comme contrepoisons de la haine et de la terreur. Les bons films constituent un langage international, ils répondent au besoin qu'ont les hommes, d'humour, de pitié, de compréhension. Ils sont un moyen de dissiper la vague de suspicion et de crainte qui envahit le monde aujourd'hui. Nous avons eu trop de films gratuitement remplis de violence, de sexualité morbide, de guerre, de meurtres, d'intolérance. Ils rendent encore plus insoutenable la tension mondiale. Si seulement nous pouvions échanger entre les nations, sur une grande échelle, les films qui ne constituent pas une propagande agressive, mais qui parlent le langage simple des simples hommes et femmes... Cela pourrait contribuer à sauver le monde du désastre."

Par ces mots, Charles Chaplin réaffirmait l'intention pacifiste de son œuvre et donnait son véritable sens à son personnage, au petit homme qui a su, depuis 1915, se gagner le soutien fervent de centaines de millions d'êtres humains.

Ce caractère pacifiste de l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Chaplin a été reconnu et applaudi dans le monde entier. Nous nous bornerons à citer ici les paroles qu'en 1948, l'Association française de la critique de cinéma rappelant une proposition faite dès 1926, adressait au Président du Storthing de Norvège pour demander que le Prix Nobel de la Paix fut attribué à Charles Chaplin.

"Les films de M. Chaplin se signalent par leur caractère pacifiste, par l'amour de l'humanité qui s'y révèle... Ce caractère... s'est accentué particulièrement dans ses deux derniers films, "Le Dictateur" et "Monsieur Verdoux", qui contiennent dans leur dernière partie des déclarations qui ont puissamment contribué, assurément, à diffuser les idées chères à M. Alfred Nobel."

On a déjà écrit sur Charlot des dizaines de livres et, sûrement, on en écrira encore des dizaines. Mais il suffit peut-être de rappeler certaines scènes de "Charlot soldat", du "Grand Dictateur", de "Monsieur Verdoux", pour trouver une justification plus que suffisante à la décision prise par le Jury des Prix Internationaux de la Paix, qui est d'attribuer à Charles Chaplin l'un des deux Prix Internationaux de la Paix 1953.

Dmitri Dmitrievitch CHOSTAKOVITCH

Dans les années 1925—1930, les milieux musicaux d'Europe et d'Amérique commencèrent à s'intéresser à l'œuvre d'un jeune compositeur soviétique: Dmitri Dmitrievitch Chostakovitch, né en 1906. Rapidement, l'intérêt des musicologues se transforma en enthousiasme du public, qui, à Paris, Londres, New-York, Buenos-Aires, Rome, Tokio, Rio de Janeiro ou Mexico, reconnaissait l'apparition d'un grand symphoniste. Après sa Septième Symphonie, écrite à Léningrad en 1941, alors que les bombes hitlériennes détruisaient la ville et qu'un siège implacable faisait de chacun de ses habitants un martyr et un héros, l'opinion universelle consacrait en Chostakovitch l'un des plus grands compositeurs contemporains.

C'est au Conservatoire de Léningrad, sa ville natale, et sous l'experte direction de Maximilien Steinberg, l'un des disciples préférés de Rimsky-Korsakov, et du célèbre professeur de piano Léonidas Nicolaev, que Chostakovitch termina ses études musicales, en 1925, année où il écrivit sa première symphonie. Dans cette œuvre de début, écrite à l'âge de 19 ans, se trouvent déjà en germe les caractéristiques essentielles de son œuvre future: un admirable équilibre entre l'originalité de son inspiration créatrice et la mise à profit des traditions de la musique classique russe; une exaltation vitale et une grande richesse de sentiments, exprimés avec une connaissance minutieuse des ressources de l'orchestre et une liberté d'innovation née du domaine déjà magistral des formes classiques de composition. Il est facile de comprendre pourquoi dès lors l'illustre compositeur russe Alexandre Glazounov, directeur du Conservatoire de Léningrad, tint en très haute estime les capacités de Dmitri Dmitrievitch Chostakovitch.

La fertilité de l'imagination créatrice va de pair chez le compositeur soviétique avec son inépuisable capacité de travail: dix symphonies, cinq quatuors, un quintette pour piano et instruments à corde, un trio, vingt-quatre préludes et fugues pour piano, un grand oratorio, dix chœurs inspirés par les œuvres des poètes révolutionnaires russes, la cantate "Le soleil brille dans le ciel de notre patrie", "l'Hymne des Nations Unies", les partitions pour le "Hamlet" de Shakespeare et la "Comédie Humaine" de Balzac, des romances sur des poèmes de Shakespeare, Sir Walter Raleigh, Burns, et de poètes japonais, la musique des films "Contre-plan", "Rencontre sur l'Elbe", "La Jeune Garde", "La Chute de Berlin", etc., figurent dans le répertoire de son œuvre, qui ne s'arrête pas là.

Parlant de quelques-unes des œuvres les plus célèbres de Chostakovitch, le critique soviétique L. Danilevitch déclare:

"Sa 5ème Symphonie (1937) glorifiait avec force la lutte pour la vie, le triomphe de la volonté et l'intelligence humaine." "*Le thème de ma symphonie est le devenir de la personnalité*", disait le compositeur, "*c'est bien l'homme avec toutes ses émotions que je voyais au centre de la conception de cette œuvre.*"

"Dans les années de la Grande Guerre Nationale et dans l'après-guerre, D. Chostakovitch intervient en artiste-humaniste qui lutte par toutes les ressources de son art contre l'agression, pour la paix et la démocratie, pour l'amitié entre les peuples.

"D. Chostakovitch écrivit sa 7ème Symphonie (1941) à Léningrad assiégée par les troupes hitlériennes." "*J'ai voulu créer une œuvre sur notre époque, sur notre vie, sur notre peuple,* — déclarait l'auteur peu après avoir achevé son travail — "*C'est à notre lutte contre le fascisme, à notre prochaine victoire sur l'ennemi, à Léningrad, ma ville*

natale, que je consacre ma 7ème Symphonie."

"Dans cette œuvre Chostakovitch déploie les tableaux de la vie pacifique et ensoleillée des peuples du pays soviétique, les tableaux de l'invasion fasciste et de la résistance héroïque à l'ennemi. Il a exprimé en musique la colère des Soviétiques, leur haine des envahisseurs, leur foi en la lumière et en la vérité qui triomphent des ténèbres, du mensonge, de la barbarie.

"La 7ème Symphonie a joué un rôle important dans le resserrement des forces antifascistes internationales. On l'appela "La Symphonie de Léningrad" et en France "La Symphonie de Stalingrad", car cette œuvre est bien l'expression de la victoire sur la tyrannie fasciste.

"Après la première exécution de la 7ème Symphonie aux Etats-Unis, un représentant des simples gens d'Amérique s'écria: "Non, aucun démon ne saurait asservir un peuple qui crée une pareille musique!"

"La 7ème Symphonie n'a pas perdu aujourd'hui de son acuité et de son actualité. Dans la grande lutte pour la paix sa musique résonne comme une accusation véhémente à l'adresse des fauteurs de guerre. Cette musique nous dit: "Voyez comme la vie pacifique est belle, comme l'image de la guerre est effroyable, voyez quel crime commettent les gens qui voudraient étouffer la paix et la liberté."

"L'oratorio "Le Chant des Forêts" est une des œuvres d'après-guerre les plus importantes du compositeur. Chostakovitch y célèbre le fécond travail pacifique du peuple soviétique. L'oratorio est empreint d'optimisme, il exprime la joie lumineuse des travailleurs socialistes qui s'avancent vers le communisme. La claire mélodie de ses chants traduit la foi en l'avenir. Le thème du libre travail socialiste se trouve organiquement lié à celui de la défense de la Paix. Dans la partie centrale de l'œuvre (consacrée aux jeunes bâtisseurs de Stalingrad), on entend une accusation véhémente à l'adresse de ceux qui voudraient attiser les flammes noires de la guerre.

"En 1953, D. Chostakovitch termina sa 10ème Symphonie. Elle attira de suite l'attention du public soviétique et provoqua des discussions passionnées. Mais indépendamment des critiques qu'on peut adresser à cette œuvre, elle doit être appréciée comme un apport important à l'art musical de notre temps. C'est avec raison qu'on y découvre une profonde méditation sur les destinées du monde, les échos de la lutte de l'humanité progressiste contre les forces ténébreuses de la réaction qui préparent la perte de millions d'hommes.

"La 10ème Symphonie de D. Chostakovitch est empreinte d'un souffle tragique, mais on n'y voit aucune ombre d'abattement, de résignation. Angoisse pour le sort de l'humanité, tristesse provoquée par le souvenir des victimes, protestation véhémente, tout cela résonne dans la musique dramatique et enflammée de la symphonie qui fait penser aux paroles du poète révolutionnaire russe Ryléev: "Je ne sais pas pardonner aux ennemis."

"L'extraordinaire fécondité de son génie musical, qui le classe comme l'un des plus grands musiciens de notre époque, n'a pas empêché Chostakovitch de mener une activité sociale intense qui a fait de lui l'un des citoyens les plus éminents de l'Union Soviétique et qui lui a gagné l'affection de tous les hommes et de toutes les femmes qui dans le monde entier désirent la paix et recherchent l'amitié entre les peuples."

C'est encore Danilevitch qui résume ainsi l'activité publique du grand compositeur soviétique:

"D. Chostakovitch est député au Soviet Suprême de la RSFSR. Il est membre du Comité soviétique pour la défense de la paix. Il a beaucoup fait pour l'affermissement de l'unité et de l'amitié des peuples. En 1947 il a visité la Tchécoslovaquie et y a participé au Festival "Le printemps de Prague". D. Chostakovitch fut membre de la délégation qui prit part au Congrès américain des partisans de la paix (1949). Un grand meeting eut lieu alors à Maddison Square Garden; sur la demande de la foule, Chostakovitch dirigea l'exécution de sa 5ème Symphonie. Le compositeur a participé également aux congrès mondiaux des combattants de la paix à Varsovie (1950) et à Vienne (1952). En qualité de représentant des milieux musicaux de l'URSS, D. Chostakovitch a participé aux festivals Bach et Beethoven dans la République Démocratique Allemande.

"Nombreuses ont été les interventions de Chostakovitch dans la presse. Beaucoup de journaux soviétiques, "La revue", "Musique Soviétique," ainsi que nombre de journaux étrangers ont publié ses articles. L'œuvre de D. Chostakovitch a été cinq fois couronnée du Prix Staline. Il a reçu cette haute récompense pour son quintette, sa 7ème Symphonie, son trio, son oratorio "Le Chant des Forêts", et ses dix chants pour chœur dont les paroles sont de poètes révolutionnaires russes."

La remise du Prix à Chaplin

En application de la décision prise par le Jury des Prix Internationaux de la Paix, le Prix International de la Paix 1953 a été remis, le 3 juin, à l'éminent artiste britannique Charles Chaplin en sa résidence du Manoir de Ban, à Vevey (Suisse).

Le Conseil Mondial de la Paix était représenté à cette cérémonie par le docteur Synge (Grande-Bretagne) et par l'illustre helleniste André Bonnard (Suisse). Le Jury des Prix Internationaux de la Paix s'était fait représenter par MM. Vercors (France), Sergueï Guerassimov (URSS) et Jorge Zalamea (Colombie).

DISCOURS DE CHAPLIN

"Charlot soldat"

Le désir de paix est universel. Formuler une demande de paix, qu'on la fasse à l'Est ou à l'Ouest, je crois fermement que c'est là un pas dans la bonne direction.

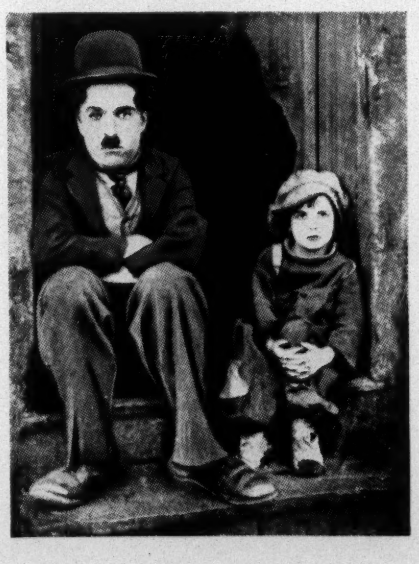
C'est pourquoi je suis honoré et très heureux de recevoir cette récompense. Je ne prétendrai pas connaître les réponses aux problèmes qui menacent la paix, mais ce que je sais, c'est que les nations ne les résoudront jamais dans une atmosphère de haine et de méfiance. Et ce n'est pas non plus les menaces de jeter les bombes atomiques qui les résoudront. Le secret de fabrication de ces armes d'épouvante sera bientôt connu de tous et bientôt toutes les nations, petites ou grandes, les possèderont.

Dans notre ère de science atomique, les nations devraient songer à des choses moins démodées et plus constructives que le recours à la violence pour résoudre les différends. Les tristes efforts pour accoutumer les peuples à accepter la guerre de la bombe à hydrogène avec toutes les horreurs qu'elle comporte, sont un crime contre l'esprit humain et un ferment de folie universelle.

Eloignons de nous cette atmosphère désespérante et délétère, efforçons-nous de comprendre réciproquement nos problèmes car, dans une guerre mondiale, il n'y aura de victoire pour personne.

C'est pourquoi nous devons nous engager à revenir à ce qui est naturel et sain dans l'homme, à l'esprit de bonne volonté qui est la base de toute inspiration, de tout ce qui est créateur, bon et noble dans la vie.

Déployons tous nos efforts dans ce sens pour atteindre une ère glorieuse de paix dans laquelle toutes les nations prospèreront.



"Le Gosse"

Discours de VERCORS

Au nom du Conseil Mondial de la Paix et des membres du Jury des Prix Internationaux de la Paix, j'ai l'insigne honneur de vous remettre le diplôme de lauréat pour l'année 1953.

Ce n'est pas seulement un honneur pour moi d'avoir été désigné pour vous le remettre, c'est aussi une joie très grande. Il n'y a pas loin de quarante ans que je vous aime et vous admire comme un homme de la paix; peut-être êtes-vous le premier homme qui m'ait fait comprendre la criminelle bêtise de la guerre. J'étais un enfant lors de la première guerre mondiale. Et la guerre me paraissait une glorieuse aventure, qui excitait mon imagination enfantine dans la mesure même où ce n'était pas moi qui étais appelé à payer le prix de cette gloire ni les souffrances de cette aventure, mais des hommes dans la peur et la boue et que je ne connaissais pas. Et puis un jour, en pleine guerre, un film extraordinaire est venu déchirer en morceaux, par l'extraordinaire puissance du rire, les sanglants oripeaux de la gloire militaire. Depuis ce jour, je n'ai plus cessé de voir la guerre sous le visage même que vous nous aviez montré: une ignoble entreprise d'écrasement de l'homme dissimulée sous l'hypocrisie mystifiante d'une gloire inventée par les mystificateurs.

"Le Dictateur"

Ensuite, pendant quarante ans, vous nous avez obstinément montré ce que l'homme est réellement, petite lumière écrasée sous les puissances aveugles de la nature, et qui tire sa seule dignité, sa seule grandeur à refuser de s'y soumettre comme le fait l'animal, et même s'il est vaincu d'avance à se relever après chaque défaite pour reprendre une lutte sans fin. Et ceux qui, au lieu de l'aider, se mettent du côté du bourreau pour profiter de sa défaite, vous nous avez montré combien ils sont aveugles eux-mêmes et imbéciles, puisqu'ils ne voient pas que le bourreau a déjà la hache levée sur leur propre tête. Ainsi, depuis quarante ans, vous nous montrez qu'il n'y a pas d'autre chemin raisonnable pour tous les hommes que la paix, que leur coalition fraternelle contre ces puissances aveugles, dans l'amour réciproque et l'entr'aide.

C'est pourquoi, ayant moi-même essayé à votre suite de montrer dans mes livres ce que vous avez magistralement montré dans vos films, je ressens comme une merveilleuse récompense à mes propres efforts de remettre aujourd'hui ce diplôme entre vos mains.

Discours du Dr. SYNGE

Je viens ici en tant que membre britannique du Conseil Mondial de la Paix, et suis profondément conscient de l'honneur et de la chance que constitue pour moi le fait d'avoir été choisi pour vous saluer aujourd'hui.

Je suppose que, de tous temps, les hommes ont compris qu'ils sont responsables, au véritable sens du terme, de leurs enfants et donc de l'avenir de l'humanité, et se sont demandés s'ils s'acquittaient bien de cette responsabilité. Mais jamais certainement

"Limelight"

cette interrogation n'a été aussi anxieuse qu'aujourd'hui. Le Conseil Mondial de la Paix a pour seule raison d'être de rassembler les millions d'hommes de toutes les nations du monde, afin qu'ils puissent traduire dans la réalité leur désir de vivre ensemble dans la paix, de mener leur vie à leur propre manière et de l'enrichir par leur propre contribution à l'industrie, à la science et à l'art.

Vous êtes l'un de ceux qui ont compris cela depuis toujours, mais ce n'est pas tout. Vous avez réussi, par votre œuvre, à transmettre cette conscience à des millions d'autres hommes dans le monde entier, et à fortifier en eux la volonté de défendre l'avenir qui leur est confié. Bien que nous ayons tous su ce que vous diriez quand vous vous décideriez à sortir de votre silence, nul autre que vous n'aurait pu le faire si bien, ni si clairement. Vous avez aidé deux, peut-être trois générations à mener leur vie avec une conscience plus claire. Le Prix que vous venez de recevoir n'est que la reconnaissance de cette œuvre. Nous sommes fiers, en Grande-Bretagne, que cette œuvre soit celle d'un compatriote.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Everybody's life is at stake in an atomic war.

There must be a world-wide ban on the H-Bomb!

NAME

ADDRESS

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

The White House

Washington, D. C.

ILYA EHRENBURG

SPEECH

DELIVERED TO THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

VIENNA SESSION, NOVEMBER 23rd-28th, 1953

A year ago, in this city, a Congress of the Peoples took place. Much has changed since that time. The forces of Peace have grown but it is too early to celebrate victory; the threat of war has not yet disappeared.

The voices of those who call for another blood-bath have not yet fallen silent. Mr. Dean, the former Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in a statement which the *Daily Herald* described as a piece of criminal folly, proposed to use the atomic weapon against the Soviet Union. The "Commonwealth Club," which is an organisation of American businessmen, approved the idea of "preventive war" and Mr. Wiley, President of the Senate Commission for Foreign Affairs, confirmed that similar views are held by business circles in his country. I wouldn't stress this if Mr. Dean and

these war-minded businessmen were only a small group of fanatics. However, mass circulation newspapers not only publish calls for war but often accompany them with favourable comments. Responsible persons in the USA do not condemn the declarations of Mr. Dean and his ilk; the only reproach they have to make is that these declarations are too vehement. When we compare the behaviour of responsible people in certain States with the seemingly irresponsible appeals to which I have just referred, we have every right to say that here we have a difference of temperament rather than a difference of intention. There is a Russian proverb which says: "*What a wise man keeps in his head, the drunkard has on his tongue.*" I fear that Mr. Dean's militant calls will not hurt Mr. Dulles' feelings.

There is no doubt that of late Mr. Dulles himself and other statesmen have altered their tone. They must have remembered that the English language is rightly considered to be one of the richest and that, as well as the words in which they have too freely indulged such as "containment," "ousting," "cold war," "preventive war," "crusade," atomic bomb and hydrogen bomb, there exist more pleasant ones such as "proposal," "conference" and "negotiation."

How are we to explain such a change of vocabulary? Above all it is due to our joint efforts. The appeal launched at the Budapest session of the World Council of Peace has found support throughout the world and this has caused certain statesmen to alter their tone. Mr. Hamilton writes in the *New York Times*, and I quote: "*The growing neutralism in Western Europe and the demands in the United States for lower taxes, that come very near to being the same thing, seem to leave no alternative but to negotiate with both of the Communist giants.*" This changed tone on the part of certain statesmen would have brought us relief if it had indicated a change in their approach to the problem of Peace and war. However, the New York Times journalist didn't think it necessary to say that those statesmen who, without giving up their former views, are nowadays forced to take public opinion into account, have found another way out by saying one thing and doing another.

Of course we prefer people to be polite and the word "negotiations" sounds much more decent than misplaced praise of different types of bombs. As a writer I am very strict about style but I am not a pedant where words are concerned. Pondering over the chances of war and Peace I take into consider-

ation not only the declaration of this or that statesman, but also the actions that accompany these declarations.

What, then, are the aims of the statesmen who, while extending preparations for another war, setting up new military bases and enlarging their armies, repeat again and again the words: "proposal," "conference," "negotiation," "guarantee?"

In Perrault's fairy tale, known to every child, the wolf, eager to devour the little girl, puts on her grandmother's bonnet. Everyone knows that the Soviet people, although very fond of the colour red, are not at all like the naive Little Red Riding Hood. It is not for the purpose of deceiving the Soviet Union that certain statesmen deliver peaceful tirades—their aim is to calm their own citizens, to prove to the people of Western Europe and America that the increase in taxes, the arms drive and the various military pacts are necessary because of the unwillingness of the other side to respond to their friendly overtures. In other words there is no wolf at all; there is only a patient, kind grandmother and a very naughty Red Riding Hood.

The fact that certain statesmen must now resort to camouflage is eloquent testimony to the strength of the defenders of Peace. But it

would be a great tragedy for all peoples if this camouflage were to weaken their vigilance.

We have in the past supported, and we continue to support the idea of negotiation, for without negotiation no agreement is possible. But if there cannot be agreement without negotiation there can, on the other hand, be negotiation without agreement; there can be proposals for negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of agreement; there can be talks on negotiation the aim of which is to compromise the very idea of negotiation. We are now confronted with desperate attempts to deceive millions of Peace-loving people and to veil the feverish preparation for a terrible war with words dear to all friends of Peace.

Everyone agrees that it is necessary to lessen international tension and that there is only one way to do it: negotiations between the Great Powers. Everyone knows, too, that according to the charter of UNO these Great Powers are the United States of America, the USSR, Great Britain, China and France. Who is it then, whilst saying that negotiations are necessary, makes negotiations impossible? Let us take a calm look at the situation. One of the Great Powers, I mean the United States, refuses to negotiate with another Great Power, China. How do American statesmen, who,

while extolling the principle of negotiation, refuse to talk with the Government of the People's Republic of China, justify their position? They say that when the United Nations was founded there was a different Government in China. But can it be said that China has become a less important country than it was under Chiang Kai-shek? No, no one says so. The Americans say that they do not like the Government of Mao Tse Tung, and that's why a conference of the Five Great Powers is impossible. Does the Chinese Government refuse to negotiate, saying that Eisenhower's Government is not to their liking? The Americans say that, since the San Francisco Conference, there has been a change of Government in China. That is true. But do the Chinese refuse to negotiate on the pretext that the Republicans have replaced the Democrats? The Americans stress the fact that the new regime in China was born in battle. But was it not out of battle that the United States itself was born? The Americans refuse to negotiate with the Government of the People's Republic of China, calling it aggressive! As far as I can remember US bombs have often fallen on Chinese towns, but not a single Chinese bomb has fallen upon American towns. Let us however suppose that for many Americans the Chinese

are aggressors. For many others—among them the fairly large population of China—it is the Americans who are the aggressors. Nevertheless the Chinese people do not say that they refuse to negotiate with US representatives because they are aggressors.

Perhaps I shall be accused of being biased. I should like to quote statements emanating from circles which no one could suspect of sympathy for the Soviet Union or for Communism. I shall start with the French Press. "*L'Aurore*" writes: "*Can one speak seriously of peace in Asia without listening to the voice of China?*" "*Paris-Presse l'Intransigeant*" and "*La Croix*" also declare themselves in favour of the participation of the People's Republic of China in negotiations. Several Labour M.P.s, criticising the Government in the House of Commons, stated that without China it would be difficult to lessen international tension. Krishna Menon, India's delegate to the United Nations, has said: "*We must recognise that the Peking Government represents China. It is the real Government of China whether we like it or not. If you want to open talks on disarmament it is no good talking to the Taiwan people. We must talk with people whose words carry weight.*"*

* Retranslation.

Mr. Hatsiro Arita, for
ter for Foreign Affairs,
wants Peace in Asia, she
attitude to the real Gover

Similar views are exp
people in the USA itsel
Hamilton writes in the *N*
Western Powers can no l
tions with Communist Ch

Nevertheless, the stat
though they ceaselessly t
intentions and declare
settle all questions at iss
tiation, obstinately refu
ions between the Five
over, these statesmen use
disposal to prevent the l
of China from taking the
Nations and hinder the es
ful relations between Ch
of Europe, America and

Let us take another qu
ment of which Four Gr
responsibility: the USA
Great Britain and Fran
stands how important i
question be settled if we

* Retranslation.

rmer Japanese Minis-
says that if the USA
e must reconsider her
ernment of China.

pressed by reasonable
lf. For example, Mr.
New York Times: "The
longer put off negotia-
China." *

tesmen of the US, al-
talk of their peaceful
themselves ready to
sue by means of nego-
use to open negotiat-
Great Powers. More-
e all the means at their
lawful representatives
eir place in the United
establishment of peace-
hina and the countries
d Asia.

question, for the settle-
Great Powers bear the
A, the Soviet Union,
nce. Everyone under-
it is that the German
e are to establish a last-

ing Peace. Everyone know
there exists in the heart o
people split in two—a peop
tributed much to civilisatio
several times fallen under
warlike ideologies—so long
exists there can be no guar
either for Germany's neigh
world as a whole. Everyon
united, democratic and Peac
must be created. The defend
said so many times. Nowad
by statesmen who try to pose
otiation. Well, what prevent
otiating? Perhaps they wa
turesque setting for negotia
once more to protest their lo
where between Greece and S
something else in question; t
agreement. You cannot spe
and at the same time commi
der negotiation barren and e
meaning. You cannot at one
propose agreement on the u
many and then do everythi
division in the country and e

I ask this authoritative ga
ine impartially the events o
The Soviet Union has conclu

with the Government of the German Democratic Republic directed against the security of France, Great Britain or the USA. There is no military agreement between the Soviet Union and the Government of the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet Union has not revived a German Army to increase its power, nor has it used German territory to instal either atomic or other types of aggressive bases. For its part, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has carried out a series of political and economic measures which can facilitate the unification of Germany. This Government has never declared that its aim is to liberate the people of Frankfurt-on-Main or of Munich. Its Ministers do not say that they want to change the political or social systems of Denmark or Belgium and that when such changes have taken place they will be ready to discuss the question of the joint administration of the Danish part of Schleswig or the district of Malmédy.

What has the behaviour of the other side been like? It has in every way supported the revenge-seeking elements in Western Germany. It has helped to revive military and paramilitary organisations run by Nazis. It proposed that the Government of West Germany conclude a military treaty directed against one of

the Great Powers which, together with other Great Powers, won the victory over fascism. This other side has turned the territory of Western Germany into an aggressive bridgehead, into an arsenal of atomic and other weapons. The Government of Western Germany, for its part, has openly launched slogans of revenge. It has laid down claims to the territories of States who were allies of the USA, Great Britain and France. The leader of the West German Government has rejected the idea of negotiating with the Government of the German Democratic Republic and has declared that one of his aims is the "*Liberation of the inhabitants of Dresden and of Weimar.*" The Ministers of this Government speak of the need to change the political system of Poland and Czechoslovakia. With the tacit approval of the representatives of Great Britain and France, they call upon the citizens of West Germany to recreate divisions which will make it possible to alter existing frontiers. Yet agreements exist between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and between France and the Soviet Union, which can prevent any possible repetition of German aggression. The three occupying Powers and the Government of West Germany are striving to deepen the division between the two parts of Germany thereby mak-

ing impossible the unification of the country.

I shall quote politicians and newspapers whose views usually differ greatly from those of the Soviet Union. The Labour M. P., Gordon Walker, says: "*To persist in organising the European Community and rearming Germany while trying simultaneously to organise talks with Russia is the gravest of errors.*"* A similar declaration was recently made by Edouard Herriot, the eminent French statesman. Another French politician, M. Daladier, declared that to propose to the Russians the unification of Germany together with the formation of the European Army, means asking them to forget the sacrifices they made in the struggle against invasion. In the United States itself, many people feel embarrassed by this crude camouflage. "*The Wall Street Journal*" writes: "*The creation of the European Army is incompatible with the reunification of Germany. The last thing the Russians would agree to would be the inclusion of East Germany, as well, in a defensive alliance directed against the Soviet Union.*"*

I shall also quote the words of Mr. Warberg, an American banker, as given in the "*New York Times.*" He declared: "*It is quite useless saying that we want to unite Germany while at*

* Retranslation.

*the same time we insist on a German military contribution to Western defence . . . It is absurd to believe that Russia would give up East Germany only to see it swallowed up in the Western Alliance."**

Thus the duplicity of certain statesmen who propose negotiations on the German question, while insisting on the speedy ratification of the Bonn and Paris Agreements, is clear to everyone.

I want to dwell on another question, that of disarmament and the prohibition of those weapons which represent the greatest threat to civilian populations. As is known the Soviet Union has submitted to the United Nations a proposal for a reduction of armaments by the Great Powers, for the prohibition of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons and for the creation of a system of international control to ensure the application of these agreements. By refusing to examine this problem—the most important for all peoples—the representatives of the United States not only oppose public opinion in Western Europe, but also in their own country. When, contrary to what they have been told by their leaders, the citizens of the United States learned that their country did not have a monopoly of the hydrogen

* Retranslation.

bomb, more and more insistent became the voices raised in favour of negotiation with the Soviet Union to ban this weapon of mass extermination. This issue, says the *New York Times*, has become critical since the discovery that the Soviet Union has broken the US monopoly on the production of the atomic and hydrogen bombs. Mr. Walter Lippmann wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune* that the resistance of the countries of Western Europe to United States policy is completely justified because Europeans fear atomic war, while Washington does nothing to avoid it. "*There*," says Mr. Lippmann, "*is the main reason for the continual growth of anti-American feeling in the world.*"*

Now look at Korea. Here we find the same statesmen using the word negotiation on every occasion, while themselves putting obstacles in the way of negotiations. After having concluded a military treaty with Syngman Rhee on the eve of the armistice they did, and continue to do, everything to prevent the armistice from becoming Peace. They refuse to allow the presence at the Political Conference of a State which has done so much to stop the bloodshed, I mean India, that great Asian State which is directly interested in a peaceful solution of the Korean problem.

* Retranslation.

At the beginning of my speech I pointed out that many statesmen have changed their vocabulary and have begun to speak as if they had studied, or even learned by heart, the Budapest Appeal issued by the World Council of Peace. Since our last Session these statesmen have made a whole series of declarations on the need to lessen international tension. During the same period, however, they have taken measures that can only aggravate international tension. They declared that the time was ripe to conclude agreements but the one they concluded was with the spiritual heir and former ally of Hitler, making of unhappy Spain an armed base for future aggression. They spoke of the need for negotiation while negotiating the transformation into military bases of Scandinavia and various countries of the Near and Middle East. They declared that they were animated by a sincere desire for Peace while they revived the Wehrmacht and brought very strong pressure to bear on the States of Western Europe in order to accelerate the creation of the "European Army."

The British people do not approve of the support given to the revenge-seeking elements of Western Germany nor the conclusion of military agreements with Chiang Kai-shek or

Syngman Rhee. Taking the aspirations of their people into account, certain British statesmen have tried to put forward conciliatory proposals. The leaders of the United States have done everything to prevent these overtures from being followed up and have put forth all their strength to contradict the calendar so that the month of May should usher in Winter instead of Summer. Furthermore, the US leaders constrain their British partners to support the idea of the "European Army." We have even heard a responsible representative of Great Britain trying to convince the French that they should put their faith in the Generals of the Wehrmacht. Certain British Conservatives probably still put their faith in the Channel and while they ask the French to open their door to German divisions, they prefer to keep the Channel to themselves. I must not omit the following avowal made by the *Daily Express:*

"If the French want to ratify the Agreement on the rearmament of Germany, it is their business. It will probably be their funeral too. As for Great Britain, she must not take part in such a mad adventure." * Yet the existence of the Channel is not enough to calm the fears of all the British. *The Evening Standard* writes:

* Retranslation.

*"There are many people in France, in Great Britain and other countries, who think with horror of the day when the desire to reconquer the lost territories in the East will become so strong in Germany as to provoke war."**

In France, the movement of opposition to the ratification of the Agreement, which would mean suicide for the country, has become so broad that we can really call it a national movement. It embraces all social strata and all political groups.

Allow me to make a brief digression of a personal nature. I have lived in France for many years and I love the country. I love her people, her traditions, her literature and her art. She is a country dear to me, and I share her fears. Have I not twice lived through the hours of invasion with her? That is why I would like to remind all Frenchmen—not only those in our movement but all who are haunted by the thought of the ratification of documents which would have terrible consequences for their country—that the history, the traditions and the geographical location of my people have twice brought them to fight alongside the French people against the armies which had invaded our countries. I would also

* Retranslation.

like to remind them that the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, which was concluded to prevent a third invasion from ever happening, was ratified in the blood of the best sons of our two countries who fell in the struggle for independance and Peace. I listened with great attention to M. de Chambrun's speech and I can make him the reply that the Soviet people are not in the habit of going back on engagements to which they have pledged themselves. If the Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance is observed by the two parties it can become a guarantee of security for our two countries and for the whole of Europe.

The States with an interest in the preservation of Peace are today much stronger than they were nine years ago. They can cause revenge-seekers and aggressors to think again. I believe in France. The people who fought at Valmy and Verdun, the people of the Maquis, will find a way out which is consonant with their traditions and their good sense. Let my words be understood aright; they have their source not in political considerations but in the heart.

Five years ago, a certain French newspaper put the following questions to a number of public figures:

"*What will you do when the Red Army occupies Paris?*" Nowadays some of them who, at that time, took this frivolous question seriously, ask themselves in horror: "*What shall we do when the Wehrmacht occupies Paris again?*" No one, either in France or in the other countries of Western Europe, dares any longer speak of a Soviet threat. Even the US General Gruenther, Commander-in-Chief of the NATO Forces, publicly admitted that, in his opinion, a Soviet attack on Western Europe or on America had no basis in reality. It is a curious admission because General Gruenther's Army was created solely because certain statesmen are, day in and day out, frightening the citizens of many countries by talk of an imminent "Red" attack. Now, all of a sudden, the Supreme Commander of this allegedly defensive army no longer knows against what enemy he is supposed to be defending himself. "Why then," the Italians, the Norwegians, the Icelanders and the Greeks will ask, "must our cities be used as bases by a foreign Power?" "Why then," the French will ask, "must we put ourselves at the mercy of the gentlemen of the Oberkommando?" "Why then," the British will say with a sigh, "should we deprive ourselves of everything

in order to spend our money on Atlantic defence?"

Certain statesmen say that increasing armaments consolidates Peace. But the peoples are not scatter-brained; they have a memory. They know that an armaments drive, the monstrous stock-piling of lethal devices, and sabre rattling have invariably led to catastrophe. Every country still has its eye-witnesses of the First World War, that deadly apotheosis of the "Armed Peace." The number of simpletons is decreasing as rapidly as armaments are increasing. The American paper, the "*Christian Science Monitor*," admits: "*There is a tendency in Europe to explain America's lack of enthusiasm for negotiation by her desire to unleash war.*"*

That is why certain statesmen hypocritically declare their desire for talks while they go on increasing armaments. That is why the wolf in Perrault's tale starches up Granny's bonnet every day.

Realising the need of reassuring public opinion, certain statesmen have begun to speak of "guarantees". One of them had recourse to history and declared himself in favour of "a

* Retranslation.

new Locarno." Locarno is a picturesque place and many tourists retain pleasant memories of it. But the pacts concluded at Locarno have not left happy memories in the minds of the peoples of Europe. Indeed, they helped the German revenge-seekers to rearm, to violate existing agreements with impunity, to annex neighbouring States and to unleash the Second World War.

Can the Atlantic Military bloc guarantee the security of Europe? Would not the renunciation of all military blocs provide a more real guarantee of the security of Europe? Can the European Army guarantee the security of Europe? Would not a Great Power agreement on progressive disarmament provide a more real guarantee of security? Can a European Community, one of whose members is to be a rearmed Western Germany, openly declaring its aims of revenge, give a guarantee of security? Would not the creation of a Government for a united Germany so that there might be no revival of militarism in the country and so that it could not enter into any military coalition—would not this provide a more real guarantee of the security of Europe? Lastly, has a State which has set up a number of military bases in foreign countries and on distant continents,

any right to speak of guarantees of security? Would not an end of the Cold War and the opening of negotiations between the Five Great Powers, sincerely desirous of reaching, on every point, a solution acceptable to all—and without this there can be no settlement of differences, either between individuals or between States—would not this provide a more real guarantee of the security of the whole world? The Soviet Union is ready to open negotiations between the Five Great Powers immediately and to discuss any question whatsoever, raised by any one of the participants in the conference.

We consider that the best guarantee of the security of all States is honest adherence to the principle and the spirit of the United Nations and its Charter. The Soviet Union will do all in its power to diminish international tension.

It is because our task is noble and arduous that I have taken the liberty of claiming so much of this authoritative assembly's time. We are witnessing an attempt to deceive the peoples, to increase international tension once again under cover of the word "negotiation." Once, when we spoke of Peace, the enemies of Peace spoke of war. When we demanded the

prohibition of atomic weapons, they extolled them. When we emphasised the necessity of putting an end to the war in Korea, they replied that they would fight it to the end. When we proposed a pact of Peace, they rejected any suggestion of negotiation. At that time they had as yet no need of camouflage. Now, they speak of negotiation. They hope to gain time, to lull public opinion and then, at the desired moment, breaking off a tirade on Peace in the middle of a word, to recommence openly their Atom Bomb diplomacy and their Hydrogen Bomb policy. They have learned nothing—and forgotten nothing. They have admitted that in the peaceful Isles of Bermuda they will discuss new methods of conducting the Cold War. This will not, of course, prevent them from speaking warmly of Peace. It will not prevent the Three Occupying Powers, who intend to settle the question of Germany's future over the head of the fourth, from still speaking of the unification of that country. It will not prevent the rulers of the USA, who are busy extending their military power and transporting atomic weapons to other continents, from swearing that no one desires Peace as much as they.

The decisions that this Council will take must

shed clarity on the problem of negotiations and agreements. They must contribute to the easing of international tension and must be acceptable to all Peace-loving men whatever their views, to the patriots of all nations, be they American or Chinese, British or Russian, German or French. The peoples await our decisions; they know that to-day the statesmen of all countries must reckon with us.

We have already caused many of them to alter their talk and to speak of Peace. We shall likewise cause them to act in a new way —to make Peace.

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

CONFERENCE IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

(Documents)

BEIRUT, DECEMBER 17th - 19th, 1953

THE CONFERENCE IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

*

(Beirut)

PUBLISHED BY THE CONFERENCE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

THE BEIRUT CONFERENCE

Following a call made by prominent figures in Iran, the "Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East" was held in Beirut, December 17th-19th, 1953.

Many delegates from Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the principality of Hadramaut took part and unanimously and enthusiastically adopted the Declaration and the Resolution.

It was the first time that representatives of this group of countries with a total population of more than 60 millions had met at a conference of such importance.

These men and women were the delegates of the various nations of a region where Africa, Europe and Asia meet. It is one of the richest in the world, thanks to its important natural resources, especially oil, and in the past it had a flourishing civilisation.

But for hundreds of years these countries have suffered enslavement and exploitation.

Today, all the countries of the Middle East are, politically and economically, under a foreign yoke and some of them are still occupied by British troops.

So, for several years, this part of the world has seen the growth of powerful action by the people against aggressive military pacts and the setting up of strategic bases; to win national sovereignty and the evacuation of foreign troops; for the nationalisation of the natural wealth; and for the relaxation of international tension and the establishment of lasting Peace.

These struggles, in which men of the most varied political, religious and philosophical views are taking part, are winning important victories. They were able to prevent the signing of the Middle East Pact which the United States wanted to force through.

But the imperialists, have not yet disarmed.

They are camouflaging their war preparations under the pretext of an alleged "danger from without." Under cover of Point Four of the Truman Plan and "technical aid", they are interfering in the internal affairs of the countries of the Middle East.

They still hope, by devious means, to grab Iran's oil again and to perpetuate the occupation of the Suez Canal and neighbouring coun-

tries. The USA is striving to organise an aggressive military bloc with Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. They are also trying to conclude bilateral military treaties with other countries of the Middle East.

The vast popular movement for national independence — the strongest guarantee of Peace — is growing and bringing fresh forces into united action against US plans for war and the establishment of US hegemony.

The "Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East" was a reflection of this struggle. The representation at the Conference, the way in which it tackled its work, the support given to it by all sections of the peoples, by important public figures and the Press, are evidence of the popular will to put an end to foreign interference. This unity which is being achieved by the peoples of the Middle East opens further prospects for the defence of their rights and for the winning of a free life in a world at Peace.

APPEAL FOR THE CONVOCATION OF THE CONFERENCE IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

"The countries of the Middle East have lived for a long time in conditions of extreme poverty and ignorance, due in large measure to foreign interference in every sector of their national life.

"The sacred right of our peoples to decide their own destiny in sovereign independence is continually in jeopardy.

"This situation is marked by the presence of occupation troops and the setting up of military bases on most of our territories.

"Many and varied attempts have been made on our Governments to drag them — against the will of our peoples — into military pacts which are both a threat to our sovereignty and a danger to Peace.

"Our national wealth is pillaged and our national cultures are in danger of being stifled by oppression and the barriers raised against trade and cultural relations with other countries.

"These conditions can be found in each of our countries in various forms. Faced with this common danger, it is our duty to meet and together find ways to save them.

"We speak to every man, woman and national body, calling upon them to support and spread the idea of calling a conference to this end.

"The setting up of National Sponsoring Committees seems to us the best way of achieving success.

"We are convinced that at such a meeting the aspirations of our peoples for a free and happy life in Peace will receive fitting expression."

We give below the names of some of the prominent Iranians who called for the Conference and the personages in the various countries of the Middle East who subsequently supported their appeal.

IRAN

General Shafai, former Minister
Mohamed Wali Mirza Farmanfar Mayan, former Deputy and Minister
Abul Fadl Lissani, barrister and former Senator
Nabil Samii, former Deputy
Dr. Afdali Pur, Professor at the University of Teheran
Dr. Makarii, Professor at the University of Teheran
Dr. Hishmat, Doctor of Medicine
Murtada Sarmad, former Director General at the Ministry of Finance
Hassan Sadr, barrister and owner of the newspaper "Kiam Iran"

*

IRAQ

Masud Mohamed, Member of Parlament
Mohamed Ziad Aga, former Member of Parliament
Sheik Abdul Karim Mashta, Moslem religious dignitary; Member of the World Council of Peace
Lutfi Bakr Sedki, journalist
Anwar Jaf, former Member of Parliament
Tawfiq Munir, Vice-President of the Bar Association

*

JORDAN

Abdul Kader Al-Saleh, Member of Parliament
Rashad al Khatib, Member of Parliament
Said al Izza, Member of Parliament
Kadri Tukan, Member of Parliament
Rashad Massawdi, Member of Parliament
Yahia Hammudi, President of the Bar Association
Mahmud Metlek, barrister

*

THE LEBANON

Dr. Mohamed Khaled, President of the "National Association" Party
Kamal Jumblat, Deputy, former Minister and President of the Progressive Socialist Party

Adnan Hakim, President of the "Al Najad" Party
Dr. Hashem Husseini, Deputy
Edmon Kasbar, President of the Bar Association
Kamal Jabre, President of the Industrialists' Association
Jean Tayan, former President of the Bar Association
Jawdat al Hashem, President of the Union of Journalists
Afif Salman, Secretary of the Engineers' Union
Michel Akl, Secretary of the Bar Association
Wafiq Taibi, Secretary of the Union of Journalists
Dr Yakub Sarraf, former Deputy
Prince Suheil Shhab, former Deputy
Sheik Habib al Ibrahim, Shiite Moslem religious dignitary
Sheik Abdullah Alayli, religious dignitary
Sheik Ahmed al Ajuz, President of "The Blessings of Moral Conduct," a Moslem religious association

*

SYRIA

Mohamed Mobarak, Professor at the University of Damascus; former Minister, former Deputy; one of the leaders of the Moslem Brotherhood
Zafer al Kassimy, President of the Bar Association; member of the National Party
Mowafak al Mahainy, member of the Executive Committee of the People's Party
Abdel Halim Kaddur, one of the leaders of the Party of Arab Renaissance
Mohamed Sobhi Dakal-Bab, member of the Party of Arab Liberation
Dr. Mustapha Amin, member of the World Council of Peace
Ali Bozo, former Minister of Agriculture and Deputy
Rizkallah Antaky, former Minister and Deputy
Nassib Bakry, former Minister and Deputy
Dr. Farhan Jandaly, Doctor of Medicine; former Minister and Deputy
Habib Kahaleh, former National Party Deputy
Mohamed Akbik, former Deputy
Mohamed al Jeirudi, former Deputy
Rashad Barmada, barrister; former Minister and Deputy
Hamed Naji, former Judge, leader of the People's Party
Jibrael Gazal, barrister; former National Party Deputy
Ahmed Allush, owner of the review, "Al Sarkha"
Hassan Shaabani, owner of the newspaper, "Al Hawadess"

CONFERENCE IN DEFENCE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

DECLARATION

The peoples of the Middle East live in similar conditions and suffer from similar difficulties and dangers. This makes it necessary that they unite their forces in the struggle for the fulfilment of their aspirations and the attainment of their national aims.

While this conference is being held, the peoples of the Middle East are being aggressively attacked by imperialism and their national, political, economic and cultural welfare is in jeopardy. The British imperialists, with the support of international imperialism, are adopting an aggressive attitude to the people of Egypt.

In the Arab countries, Iran and North Africa, imperialism is a united front to destroy the liberation movements of the people of these countries.

Groups with various leanings and national standpoints participated in the discussions that took place in the course of the preliminary contacts and broad meetings and also during the conference itself. These discussions showed that our peoples are threatened by more or less identical imperialist plans aimed at dragging them into adventures which are not in their interest; these plans are also helping to aggravate international tension and are a danger to the Peace of the world.

At the top of the list are the projected system of joint defence, the Pakistan-Iran-Turkey-Iraq-USA pact and other open or concealed imperialist plans, such as Point Four, the Johnston plan etc.

Certain of our peoples are still held down by oppressive treaties which prevent them from enjoying their national independence and sovereignty.

Foreign troops - a threat to the security of the Middle East - still occupy military bases in North Africa, Libya, Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Arab peninsula. The imperialists are exerting increasing pressure on our peoples in order to force them to accept unequal, bilateral treaties, to extort economic concessions by which to exploit them, to intensify imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of our countries, to hamper our free trade relations, to paralyse

our independent economic development and to pillage our natural resources to an even greater extent. All this has resulted in an increase of poverty, ignorance and disease in our countries and has made them the victims of imperialist competition.

These actions of the imperialists are accompanied by a campaign of misleading propaganda and by trends of thought which lead to despair and resignation; of attempts to distort, weaken and suppress our national cultures and to stifle everything in them which is favourable to progress and freedom.

The delegates agreed that the Palestine problem was created by imperialist domination and that its solution is bound up with the elimination of this domination.

The delegates of Jordan, Iran, Hadramaut, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Lebanon and Egypt, with the support of the peoples of North Africa and the Persian Gulf, decided to strengthen their solidarity in the struggle by a united front in order to attain their common desires, as expressed in the following Resolution.

RESOLUTION

The delegates from the Middle East present at the Conference unanimously adopted the following programme:

1. Non-participation in any treaty or military pact, with any State or group of States, likely to infringe on our sovereignty or to drag us into warlike adventures. Resistance to the setting up of any imperialist bloc which is a threat to Peace and the security of our peoples.
2. The annulment of all military, political, economic and cultural treaties or agreements which are harmful to our national sovereignty and independence and prevent us from exploiting the natural resources and riches of our countries.
3. The evacuation of all foreign troops from our territories and the absolute prohibition of their return.
4. Support and help for the Egyptian people in their struggle to expel the British troops from the Suez Canal. These troops are a threat not only to the Egyptian people, but to all the peoples of the Middle East and to world Peace and security.
5. Put an end to imperialist domination of our economies. Free our natural resources and riches, and our public services, in order to raise our peoples' standard of living. Refuse to allow our countries to be exploited by foreign imperialist capital.
6. Support and assistance for the people of Iran in their struggle against imperialist plots to re-establish the exploitation of their oil resources and to abrogate the nationalisation decree.
7. Liquidation of Point Four of the American Aid Programme and similar programmes aimed at exploitation; they have proved to be integral parts of the imperialist plans for the creation of military bases and aggressive blocs. Refusal of all American aid or any other imperialist aid.
8. Call for non-co-operation between the Arab Governments and peoples and the imperialist Powers in order to bring about the solution of the Palestine question and related issues; for joint action by all Arabs to recover the annexed part of their homeland, together with the affirmation that the final solution of the Palestine question is closely bound up with the fight to destroy imperialism.

9. Support and assistance for the peoples of the Arab Magreb *(North Africa - translator's note)* and for the Southern part of the Arab peninsula in their struggle against imperialism.
10. Establishment and expansion of commercial relations with all countries, on a footing of equality and reciprocal advantage and irrespective of their internal regimes.
11. The strengthening of our national cultures and help for the development of cultural relations and exchange between our countries and the other countries of the world without discrimination. Care for our national languages as fundamental elements of our intellectual heritage and our cultures. Struggle to liberate and protect our cultures from imperialist pressure.
12. Associate our peoples' national struggle with that of all peoples fighting against imperialism in Africa, Asia and throughout the world, and with anti-imperialist trends in all countries. Demand of the United Nations respect for the independence and security of nations and their right to self-determination. All States to be admitted to UNO - represented by their real Governments.
13. Action to lessen international tension by peaceful means such as negotiation and to solve international differences on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and independence of the peoples.
14. Conference to set up an Executive Committee whose task shall be to disseminate and apply the conference Resolution and to prepare for the convening of large, popular conferences to carry further the action begun here.

Our demands are legitimate, vital rights. Our peoples, with their glorious history, rich cultural heritage and ancient civilisations, are sure of victory in the fight for liberty, independence and the freeing of their natural resources and wealth from imperialist domination.

There is no doubt that by seeking a relaxation of international tension by peaceful means - such as the negotiated settlement of international differences on the basis of respect for the sovereignty and independence of the peoples - the realisation of our national aspirations will be facilitated and the excuses advanced by imperialism for occupying our countries will be weakened.

These demands will have the support of all honest people throughout the world, for national independence is the greatest guarantee of Peace. It is cherished by our peoples and by the peoples the world over.

STATEMENT OF WRITERS, POETS AND MEN OF LETTERS PRESENT AT THE CONFERENCE

The Arab and Iranian writers, poets and men of letters present at the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East are aware of the important role they play in the struggle of the peoples of the Middle East for their national independence and of their great responsibility for the defence of human values, above all the ideals of liberty, civilisation and Peace.

We have seen in this Conference, which has received the heartfelt support of the peoples, an opportunity to declare our unanimity in the effort to further our national struggles and destroy the false conceptions fabricated by the imperialists in order to weaken them.

Dr. Georges Hanna (The Lebanon)
Abdul Rahman al Sharkawi (Egypt)
Adel Tabet (Egypt)
Mawaheb Kayali (Syria)
Nasuh Fakhury (Syria)
Wasfi Bunni (Syria)
Sobhi Zeid Keilani (Jordan)
Ramadan Lawand (The Lebanon)
Hilmi Labib (Egypt)
Dr. Osman Amin (Egypt)
Hussein Mruwé (The Lebanon)
Kazem Samawi (Iraq)
Salah Dehny (Syria)
Saad Tayeh (Egypt)
Mohamed Dakrup (The Lebanon)
Ibrahim Amer (Egypt)
Tafazolly (Iran)

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRINCIPAL SPEECHES

Doctor Georges Hanna
(The Lebanon)

After greeting the delegates on behalf of the Lebanese Preparatory Comittee, Dr. Hanna explained the meaning of the heroic struggles of the peoples of the Middle East:

"The battle imperialism is undertaking is a decisive one and our peoples have decided to face up to it. We shall enter it united and confident and there is no doubt that we shall come out victorious, no matter what difficulties we may come up against and what sacrifices we may have to make. This is so because our battle is that of faith and right, while that of imperialism is a battle of force and tyranny. There has never been in history a tyranny that lasted more than a certain time or that did not recoil on its creators in curses and maledictions..."

Then Dr. Hanna drew a picture of the present struggles of the peoples of the Middle East:

"It is obvious to an attentive observer that, after the last war, that part of the world called the Middle East became a target for imperialism.

"However, the desired awakening is growing and is known to all. Thus, Egypt will not cease her struggle till the day when her aspirations are realised, when foreign armies evacuate her territory and she becomes mistress of her destiny...

"The Arab Magreb is also writing one of the most glorious pages in its history. The people are fighting heroically for freedom and independence in spite of the atrocious crimes imperialism is committing in their countries and which put the civilised world to shame...

"The Three Power Declaration, which our peoples opposed and on which our Governments made no comment, was one of the traps imperialism is always trying to lay for us.

"Their plans for defence, trade and charity are nothing but traps aimed at worsening our position, exploiting our resources and dragging

us into military, aggressive plans which they are keeping up their sleeve for the day of general mobilisation now being prepared...

"As to the tragedy now being played out in Iran, it is a living picture of the colonisation of the East by the West...

"The sorry tale begun in Iran has not yet ended; it can only end in a victory for Iran as long as there exists an enraged people who will not yield..."

Dr. Hanna ended with a description of the prospects opening out before the peoples of this region:

"Allow me to say, too, that the East has never had a better opportunity of freeing itself from imperialism than that which exists today. On the one hand, there is an ever-growing understanding; while, on the other, there is a conflict of interests between the various imperialist States and a great number of conferences being held by their leaders to try and solve the disputes arising between them. They go into conferences divided and come out of them with even greater disagreements. Lastly, there are the victories won up till now by the popular forces of liberation and Peace and which they will go on winning on an even greater scale. All this, Gentlemen, is the harbinger of certain, inevitable victory if we continue our struggle without counting the cost.

"If there is a call to be made to the Governments of the East it should be to invite them to take up the struggle of the peoples, and to draw inspiration from this struggle in all their actions; not to be taken in by lying promises, to abandon the policy of submission and not to act in opposition to the popular will. The will of the people is more imperious than any other. Woe betide the man who bars the way when the tocsin sounds, for he is digging his own grave!"

*

Professor Said Nafisy
(Iran)

Professor Nafisy gave many examples of the imperialist Powers' aims in Iran:

"It is superfluous to point out that everywhere and all the time the imperialists are united and help each other whenever it is a question of smashing the peoples' drive for liberation...

"In Iran the imperialists, although divided over the sharing out of our wealth, are united and act in concert on the following points:

— Smashing the Iranian people's national movement for liberation.
— Exerting pressure on Governments to ensure their joint interests.

— Solving the oil problem to their advantage and in opposition to the interests of the people of Iran.

— Dragging our country into bilateral and multilateral military pacts.

— Constructing aggressive strategic bases in Iran.

"Already, during the Second World War, the imperialists tried to strike a blow at our national independence and territorial integrity by a secret treaty aimed at dividing Iran into zones of influence. It was to have been put into operation in 1945 through the medium of the 'Hakimi' Cabinet. It was brought to nought by the categorical refusal of the Soviet Union to whom the treaty had been submitted. At that time newspapers of all tendencies demonstrated their gratitude for this noble gesture...

"According to information frequently printed in the Iranian and foreign Press, the Americans, in agreement with their associates, have often advised the Iranian Government to take more drastic action to crush the popular movement in Iran. They carried their intervention to such lengths that Mr. Henderson, the US ambassador, stated that, if the Iranian Government wanted to benefit from American 'aid', it would have to take more savage action against the so-called Communist elements. This story was even printed by the Teheran newspaper '*Ettelaat*'. The Americans always speak officially of 'military aid', to hide their strategic plans which are detrimental to the people of Iran. In the same way, they subsidise parties and groups subservient to them through the intermediary of the bodies administering Point Four of the American Aid Programme. These latter are veritable nests of espionage in the countries where they operate and tools for planting US intervention in the economic, political and cultural affairs of the country..."

Then, after giving a picture of the Iranian people's struggles, Professor Nafisy pointed out the prospects opening before them:

"But the people continue on their glorious way and carry on their struggle; they are withstanding all these ephemeral events like a block of granite. The world Press tells of their ever more valiant and victorious struggle.

"The people of Iran are thus certain of final victory in this fight for freedom and national independence which is also a guarantee of Peace.

"They are sure that they will be supported in their patriotic struggle by the peoples of the world fighting for Peace and liberty, as they are supported by the peoples of the Middle East who share a common destiny with the people of Iran, both in their political and geographic situation and from the cultural point of view..."

*

Dr. Ibrahim Rashad
(Egypt)

"This Conference — the first to be held in the Middle East which authentically represents the national interests of the peoples of this region and their need to organise and unite their struggle against imperialism in all its forms, to link this fight with the movements for national liberation in Africa and Asia and with all anti-imperialist trends throughout the world — is a faithful reflection of the duties of the peoples to whom we belong and a sincere attempt to fulfil their aspirations..."

Dr. Rashad then detailed the questions considered most important by the Egyptian delegation. He quoted the situation in the Suez Canal base, taking into consideration the continual threat to the national movements in the Middle East and to world peace and security; the growing menace of the Point Four programme to national independence as a result of the modifications recently made in it; the importance of expanding free trade relations with all countries, irrespective of their internal situation, with particular reference to strengthening the industrial and agricultural renaissance and to gradual liberation from the imperialist grip on the national economy. Dr. Rashad then analysed each of these questions. Dealing with the use being made of the Suez Canal base, he said:

"The Suez Canal base is not only a threat to Egyptians but also to all who are fighting imperialism in the Middle East and Africa...

"It becomes clear that the base is a threat to the security of the world when we consider that it is not for defence but for attack, as the British leaders themselves admit..."

Dr. Rashad continued:

"The Point Four programme, which used to be described as a programme of assistance to under-developed countries, does not seem to have produced the desired results. So the USA decided to bring it into what is today called the US Foreign Operations Administration, directed by Mr. Harold Stassen, who visited the Middle East during Dulles' tour last May. This means that Point Four has become an integral part of imperialism's plans to make treaties, obtain bases for aggression, use its investments to dominate our economy and intervene in the most private political, economic, social and cultural questions affecting our internal affairs..."

He then dealt with the question of trade relations:

"The extension of commercial relations with all countries, irrespective of the kind of Government they have, is closely linked with our fight

for liberation from imperialism... The Egyptian Government has felt this need and has concluded commercial agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic. It is now negotiating a similar agreement with Rumania. These agreements are made in order to free our country from the necessity of always relying on the imperialist States for her supplies of oil and oil products... Since trade has no homeland, it would be good commercial policy to establish friendly political and diplomatic relations with countries which want to expand their trade relations with us, on the basis of equality, mutual interest and respect for the political situation in each country..."

In conclusion Dr. Rashad stressed his delegation's solidarity with the other peoples of the Middle East in their struggle:

"The Egyptian delegation especially supports the demand of our brothers in Palestine that the decisions of UNO should be applied... Similarly, it gives its full support to the struggle its brothers in Iran are conducting against imperialist plans to deprive them of their former gains... The delegation affirms its support for its brothers fighting French imperialism and the new US imperialism in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria; for our brothers in Libya resisting the last British treaty; for our brothers in Iraq opposing the Anglo-Iraqi treaty; and for our brothers in Jordan who are not afraid of imperialism. It declares its support for all peoples who, like us, are fighting imperialism..."

*

Munir Rayes
(Syria)

The Syrian delegate pointed out how the Conference could help to unite the peoples of the Middle East in their struggle for freedom.

"It is a happy occasion that brings us together in the pursuit of common national objectives. Could there be a happier one than this meeting between the best representatives of the peoples of the Middle East, in order to reach a union of hearts and minds corresponding to the determination of the peoples of this region to defend their life, liberty, independence and happiness...

"What happier occasion could there be than this expression of the understanding of peoples who have suffered for so long in their struggle against the colonialists and their plans. This understanding is made

concrete in the decisions taken by the delegations of these peoples. They are the beginning of a movement towards unity in their battle to win freedom...

"We realise how serious is the danger hidden behind the plans for military, defensive and economic treaties and the technical and material aid. We see that the path we have laid down for ourselves and that we have followed — that of combining the efforts of the peoples to meet the danger to which they are directly exposed — can protect us from the misfortunes of the war for which the imperialists are preparing and can guarantee our peoples an honourable life...

"The voice of the peoples will ring until they have won their right to life."

*

Kazim al Samawi
(Iraq)

The Iraqui delegate greeted the delegations from brother countries present at the Congress. He then said:

"The main problem confronting us, Gentlemen, is based on the mad desire dominating the imperialist countries to subjugate and humiliate the peoples and rob them of their wealth.

"The duty of solving these vital problems devolves in the first place on the peoples who are suffering from the evils of imperialism.

We consider it a sacred duty to eliminate these evils and free our countries from the claws of imperialism, with its plans and plots."

Mr. Samawi described the difficult living conditions of the 5,000,000 people of Iraq; this in spite of the wealth and resources of the country. He then explained the causes of this situation:

"Iraq's wealth is kept from the people and is stolen by the colonialists. Foreigners own our soil, our foreign trade is hampered by imperialist restrictions and colonial monopolies dominate the market for Iraq's agricultural produce."

After speaking of the incidence of contagious diseases, diseases of malnutrition and the high rate of infant mortality, the Iraqi delegate described the extent of illiteracy in the country. He said that 98 per cent of the population in the countryside is illiterate and that only 20 per cent of children of school age are accepted in the primary schools.

In conclusion he said:

"Like other oppressed peoples, the people of Iraq are well aware that imperialism is the only reason for the continuation of the present state

of affairs. They have fought and continue to fight heroically to expel British colonialism, for the evacuation of the military bases of Shu'aiba, Al Habbaniyah and other secret bases, for the abrogation of the unequal Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1930, for the nationalisation of their natural resources and for the rejection of all Anglo-American imperialist plots, such as the plan for joint defence and Point Four of the American Aid Programme. They are also fighting for the closing of the American offices belonging to the latter...

"The people of Iraq stand by the side of the peoples of the Middle East fighting for liberation and a decent life. They will fight with them for the application of the conference Resolution."

*

Abdul Kader Bey Al-Saleh (Jordan)

The delegate from Jordan began by showing that the many trials undergone by the Arab peoples and all the other peoples of the Middle East during their long struggle have taught them that they cannot solve their national problems by collaborating with imperialism.

The free people of Jordan have fought and continue to fight to destroy imperialism root and branch. They draw ever-growing faith and confidence from the fact that they are not alone in the battle, that they have allies in the other Arab and Eastern peoples and all others fighting against imperialism.

The evil of imperialism which is crushing Jordan is a general evil from which all the Arab peoples and the peoples of the Middle East are suffering. To fight this common enemy it is urgently necessary to form a vast common front.

For this reason the free peoples of Jordan welcomed the news of the holding of this Congress, in the hope that it will give rise to similar congresses in the future which will unite the efforts of the peoples of the Middle East and consolidate their general front of struggle for independence and sovereignty and to raise the flag of liberty over their countries.

He stated finally that the people of Jordan, in their unceasing flght against imperialism, know that the peoples' struggle against their oppressors, against imperialism, its agents and lackeys, will be victorious in the last resort.

The peoples of Jordan reach out a hand to free militants in every country in the world who are resisting imperialism and the exploitation of man by man.

Thus Jordan's slogan is: The fight against imperialism and solidarity with all peoples in their fight against the common enemy.

*

Dr. Osman Amin
(Egypt)

Dr. Amin brought the greetings of Egyptian university men and intellectuals o this popular conference, the first of its kind in the history of the Middle East. He then decribed the part played by Egyptian intellectuals in the people's struggle.

"The role of academic people in Egypt's struggle against imperialism has been positive and vital. It has been closely bound up with the battle for freedom and democracy, especially since the Egyptian people proclaimed their revolution in 1919...

"Egyptian university men know the reasons for imperialism's opposition to the extension of education, its attempts to destroy Egypt's culture and her true national heritage. Imperialism knows that science and culture heighten the people's awareness and their understanding of the true political, economic and social problems of the nation; and cause them to heighten the struggle for the defeat of imperialism and all its works, especially the reactionary laws which limit freedom of thought.

"Egypt's university teachers know that Egyptian educational programmes still bear the marks of imperialism. Indeed, many branches of learning, including medicine and the sciences, are still taught in foreign languages.

"In the same way, imperialism's attempts to destroy our national economy and our young industry have prevented the University and scientific research in general from playing their part in the elevation of our country's economy.

"Further, we are faced with grave threats to our culture. For we still remember Mr. Dulles' statement saying that it was necessary for the USA to get a grip on the culture of the Middle East to facilitate the setting up of strategic bases... This recommendation is now being put into operation and we are faced with a vast campaign of printed propaganda given away free on a large scale. The US Franklin Institute translates vulgar American books and sells them at ridiculous prices, very much lower than cost. This seriously endangers the diffusion of our national culture.

"We must not forget to mention the Fullbright Institute's plan. The least that can be said of it is that it is an attempt to buy over intellectuals into the service of US imperialism and its agents and also to injure university life and scientific research by putting in professors who are devoted to the Americans and act as their spies. These are a few of the dangers threatening our University and our national culture. Hence the need to expand education, to create universities and faculties to strengthen

and defend our culture and our contact with modern ideas in the world, as a means of combatting imperialism."

*

Abdel Hadji Saleh
(Saudi Arabia)

After greeting the conference and noting that it was being held at a grave moment in the history of the Arab peoples, the delegate from Saudi Arabia went on:

"The various Arab countries are faced with many social, political and economic problems. There is poverty and famine, disease and misery, and also the continual struggle for freedom and independence..."

The Saudi Arabian delegate then went on to speak of the growing awakening of the people in Saudi Arabia and the national, democratic struggle. He alluded to the glorious strike of the oil workers against the US company, "Aramco." He said that today the oppressed peoples, in order to live in happiness, relied on their own struggle to expel the imperialists who were stealing their national wealth and using their territories as military bases. This threatened their countries with destruction and their sons with death.

Abdel Hadji Saleh expressed his confidence in the future struggle of the Arab peoples and stated that the Conference Resolution would have the full support of the people of Saudi Arabia.

PUBLIC FIGURES WHO TOOK PART IN THE CONFERENCE

EGYPT:

Dr. Ibrahim Rashad, former First Secretary of the Ministry of Social Affairs and former Professor at the University of Cairo. President of the National Peace Committee and of the Co-operative Movement.

Dr. Osman Amin, President of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Cairo and author of several works on philosophy.

Abdel Rahman al Sharkawi, writer and poet. Member of the Peace Movement.

Hussein Arafa, member of the "Rally of Liberation."

Dr. Hussein Kamal Eddin, Professor of Science at the University of Cairo.

Dr. Atiyah Ashur, Professor at the University of Cairo.

Ibrahim Amer, Editor of the newspaper, "Al Gumhuriyat."

Hilmi Labib, engineer.

Mrs. Nahed Shata, representative of the women's movement.

*

IRAN:

Professor Said Nafisy, Member of the Iranian Academy.

Tafazolly, writer.

*

SYRIA:

Said Haidar, former President of the Council of State and former Vice-President of the Chamber.

Zeki al Khatib, former Prime Minister.

Sheik Mohamed al Ashmar, one of the leaders of the Syrian Revolution of 1925. Member of the World Council of Peace.

Munir Rayes, owner of the newspaper, "Al Liwaa." Nationalist.

Subhi al Khatib, President of the Syrian Federation of Trade Unions.

Dr. Nasuh Gafari, member of the Bar Association and member of the Syrian Peace Movement.

Sami Kabbara, former Minister.

Mme Malak Kabbara, barrister.

Maurice Salibi, barrister.

THE LEBANON:

Dr. Georges Hanna, former Secretary of the Lebanese National Congress and Member of the World Council of Peace.

Fuad Rizk, lawyer, Vice-President of the Progressive Socialist Party.

Abdul Wahab Rifai, merchant; General Secretary of the Lebanese National Association.

Ramadan Lawand, representative of the "National Appeal" Party.

Antoine Tabet, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Hussein Sejaan, member of the World Council of Peace; President of the Moslem Youth.

Abdullah Adra, Secretary of the Industrialists' Association.

Dr. Rashid Maatuk, Doctor of Medicine; member of the World Council of Peace.

Sheik Ahmed Arif al Zein, religious dignitary and writer; member of the World Council of Peace.

Shefiq Tabbara, Secretary of the Merchants' Association.

Maruf Saad, notability.

Salim Dabliz, merchant.

Abdul-Salam Adhami, writer.

*

JORDAN:

Soleiman Pasha Sweidy, former Deputy.

Sheik Turky Bey al Kayed, tribal chief.

Sheik Jablan Sayel al Shahwan, tribal chief.

Kadry Bey Tukan, Deputy and scientist.

Abdel Kader Bey Al-Saleh, Deputy.

Sheik Achmed Bay al Hamud, tribal chief.

Dr. Abderrahim Badr, Doctor of Medicine.

Dr. Abdel Rahman Shkeir, Doctor of Medicine.

Abdel Majid Abuhajali, former Deputy.

Abdullah al Majali, notability.

Fadlallah Attaher, notability.

*

IRAQ:

Kazim al Samawi, poet.

LETTERS, MESSAGES AND TELEGRAMS SENT TO THE CONFERENCE

EGYPT:

A letter from Mr. Abderrahman Azzam, *former Secretary General of the Arab League, says that "Western imperialism is a social disease which is bound to disappear."*

The letter continues: "Our present battle against imperialism is the final stage on the road to deliverance from these ills.

Wherever there is a people desiring liberation from this tyranny, we must help them..."

*

His Eminence, Ibrahim Hamroosh, *former first Sheik of Islam and former President of the Azhar Mosque, Cairo, the biggest Moslem University in the world, said in his message:*

"I support this Congress with all my heart and I ask God to make it a success, so that it may result in the unity of the peoples of the East in their resistance to Western imperialism and their efforts to rid themselves of aerodromes and military bases. And though, through ill health, I cannot take part in the Conference in person, I shall pray and my colleagues and I shall read Al Fatiha *(introductory prayer to the Koran)* after Friday's prayers, asking God to guide the conference, to crown the efforts of the peoples with success and to bless their struggle against imperialism."

*

Letter from His Excellency Bayumi Radwan, *leader of the Union of Ulemas of Egyptian mosques.*

"Illness has prevented me from playing my part in this splendid Conference which aims to discuss the problems common to all the peoples of the Middle East.

"On behalf of a number of Moslem religious leaders in Egypt, I wish

that God, Blessed and All Powerful, may bring you success in your action to unite the ranks of all the sons of the Orient, regardless of their religious and communal views or their race, in the struggle to expel the hated imperialists from our countries. Thus will we win our right to govern ourselves and our freedom to establish friendly relations, on a basis of equality, with all the peoples of the world, as our interests, our hopes and aspirations demand. Thus will we resist the hypocritical plots woven by imperialism with the aim of dragging us along with it into wars of aggression which are not in our interest. All this will be our contribution, together with all other peoples, to the enormous efforts that have been made for many years to prevent the outbreak of another world war, to establish Peace and protect humanity and civilisation from destruction and ruin..."

*

Message from Hussein Fahmy, *writer and Editor of the newspaper "Al Gumhuriya," organ of the Rally for National Liberation.*

"The newspaper 'Al Gumhuriya' believes in right, justice and liberty. All who believe in and work for liberty in any part of the world are its brothers, whatever their nationality, colour or religion.

" 'Al Gumhuriya' greets the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East because it supports all movements for liberation throughout the world...

"Therefore 'Al Gumhuriya' supports your efforts to unmask imperialism's plans in the Middle East and to organise action to bring them to nought..."

*

Hafez Mahmud, *Secretary of the Egyptian Union of Journalists, sent a letter to the conference in which he declared his support for it and said that the Arab peoples want liberation politically, economically, culturally and in all fields of social life. He hoped that the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Midde East would be successful.*

*

Message from young Egyptian Doctors:

"We support your recommendation that we resist the imperialists and the stationing of foreign troops on our territory. We are amazed that these troops are still here; we do not accept them and we do not want them. They are allegedly here to defend us... We reply: Who asked to be defended? We strongly declare that we do not want any defence from them...

"Foreign troops are kept on our territory with the aim of setting up strategic military bases for the war for which the imperialists are working out the details and the starting-point. They are thus creating an atmosphere of widespread political tension and are making concrete preparations for a world war which will destroy modern civilisation and the human race. Shall we sit back and fold our arms with this prospect before us? We must expel the imperialists in order to protect our peoples and the whole of humanity. That is the noble aim for which the Conference was held."

*

The Conference received many other telegrams from Egypt — from Abdelhamid Waly, *barrister,* Dr. Said Zeky, *and so on.*

*

SYRIA:

Abdul Wahab Homad, *former Minister of Education and one of the leaders of the People's Party, sent a letter in which he said:*

"It is with pleasure that I greet your Conference in Beirut. I wish you the success the nobility of your aim and the greatness of your objective deserve...

"The imperialists have directly occupied our countries, or indirectly, as in the case of the countries from which they have evacuated their troops but where they have made a comeback by means of their local agents. They attack our peoples' right to a happy life, seek to drag them into a complex of problems which are foreign to us and which would have dire consequences for us.

"Arabs have no interest in any war and it is our duty to see to it that our countries resist those who call for war and aggresion, so that we may not become the victims of their greed."

*

Muzaffar el Jabiry, *a big landed proprietor in the Alep region, made a statement greeting and supporting the Conference and all movements based on the sound principle of struggle against imperialism and its plans of occupation.*

He said: "War is threatening the world; it threatens with destruction our fields and our means of production. The problems of the world are in need of a solution; their examination in big conferences, their elucidation for the benefit of the public and also negotiation for their solution

are the best means of warding off the catastrophes threatening humanity."

*

Nadim Istambuliyeh, *President of the Defence Committee of the region of Alexandretta, sent a letter welcoming the Congress and wishing it success in its work to eliminate the poverty, ignorance and flagrant imperialist intervention from which the countries of the Middle East are suffering.*

Mr. Istambuliyeh then castigated imperialist war policy which makes a gift of whole regions taken from countries under its yoke to certain Governments which are being towed in the wake of imperialism.

*

His Eminence Sheik Mohamed Said al Naasan, *Mufti of Hama, declared his support for the Conference and welcomed the contribution it made to the struggle for the liberation of the Arab countries from imperialism.*

*

THE LEBANON:

Nassuh Agha Al Fadel, *Deputy in the Lebanese Chamber.*

"I believe it is urgently necessary to hold this Congress at which the delegates will be able to exchange views on questions affecting the Lebanon and the other Arab countries, in order find the means of solving the problems confronting these peoples and to safeguard their national sovereignty and independence against the various attempts of imperialism to implicate them in plans which are a threat to their peace and security.

"I agree with the idea of the Congress because it is noble, patriotic and useful."

*

Statement by His Eminence, Abdel Hussein Sharaffeddin, *the Grand Mujtahed (religious and theological head) of the Shiites:*

"Greetings to all believers, our brothers and children, may the grace and blessing of God go with them.

"I warn you and all the peoples of the Middle East against enslaving, foreign imperialism and the deadly danger of its intervention in all fields of our life. This has gone to such an extent that it has robbed us of our right to self-determination.

"This has resulted in the creation of military bases in most of our countries. Ward off this danger to the East by holding a general Congress

the aim of which would be to rid our lands of these dangers! Work, because God and his prophet and all believers will see your action!"

*

The religious leaders, Hashem Maaruf and Khalil Yassin, *said in their statement:*

"In the name of Almighty God!

"We men of religion of South Jebel Amel give our consent to the holding of a Congress of qualified men and patriots to study the questions of full independence and the rejection of foreign interference in national affairs in the Middle East. This interference is seen in the existence of foreign occupation troops and the creation of military bases in most of our countries; it also consists in attempts to conclude military alliances which are a danger to our sovereignty and security.

"His Exellency the Imam Said Hussein Sharaffeddin has already given his support to this noble idea.

"May God bring success to those who work for the good of the nation and who unfailingly seek to create a united will and firm ranks. God is the guarantee of victory."

*

Forty public figures of Baldeck, including doctors, barristers, chemists, engineers, regional representatives and notable people who took part in the armed struggle against foreign occupation, greeted the Conference in the following words:

"The peoples of the Middle East are all suffering the same pressure from the imperialist States with the USA at their head. It is only through the co-operation of the various strata of our peoples and our various political parties that we shall finish once for all with imperialist slavery and build a happy life."

*

Sheik Habib al Ibrahim, *the Mufti of Balbeck, greeted the Conference and wished it every success. He said:* "It is the first move which gives us a hope of life in the Orient."

*

Other religious leaders, such as Sheik Kassem al Shamai al Rifai *and* Bishop Georges al Dibs, *also greeted the Conference.*

*

ALGERIA:

Telegram from Abderaman Bouchama

(The French authorities prevented the Algerian delegation from going to the Conference.)

"We warmly welcome the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East and from the bottom of our hearts we wish it every success in its work."

*

Telegram from M. Bourghida

"On behalf of the defenders of Peace of Constantine we greet you and wish every success to the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East."

*

JORDAN:

Telegram from Kadri Hafez Tukan, *Member of Parliament for Nabloss*

"Special circumstances have kept me from being present. I hope that the Conference will result in resolutions which will press the Arab Governments to follow the true path in the struggle. I hope, too, that you will make the peoples understand that imperialism is the cause of the East's backwardness and the source of all the ills from which Arabs suffer; and that it is the fight against imperialism which will put an end to this backwardness and enable us to advance towards liberty and progress. I support the protest of those present at the conference, their opposition to imperialism's economic and military plans in the Arab countries and their support for Egypt, Jordan and the Magreb in their struggle against imperialism...."

MIDDLE EASTERN PRESS COMMENTS ON THE CONFERENCE

EGYPT:

"Al Gumhuriya," *the organ of the Government Party in Egypt, printed a series of articles on the Conference under the headings:* "The First Popular Conference against Imperialism," "The occupation of the Canal is a threat to the freedom of the peoples and to world peace." *The Resolution and extracts from messages were also given.*

"Al Ahram" *printed the call for the Conference. In its number of December 23rd it gave statements by Syrian public figures on the importance of the Conference and the programme of action adopted by it, especially solidarity to bring about the evacuation of the troops from the Suez Canal. Their presence there is a threat to the whole world.*

The review, "Rose el Yussef," *gave five columns to the Conference proceedings and the Resolution.*

The weekly, "Aljumhur al Misri," *gave the Resolution and detailed information on the Conference.*

*

SYRIA:

Five numbers of the national newspaper, "Al Liwaa," *gave detailed information, comment, the full text of the Resolution and the statement of the Executive Committee. It said:* "The will of the peoples was reflected in the Beirut Conference and its Resolution. It will be further reflected in the other popular conferences that will be held, now that the Beirut Conference has shown the way. This conference shows that the peoples' delegates can meet and really express the popular will".

"Al Anbaa," *of Damascus, gave the Resolution of the Conference with the comment:* "This Conference is a turning point in the history of the peoples of the Middle East."

"Al Yom," *too, gave the full text of the Resolution.*

"Al Tahrir el Arabi," *printed the Declaration and Resolution of the conference under the headline:* "The Threat of Imperialism to the Peoples of the East."

The Syrian weekly review, "Al Sarka," *printed an article entitled* "When the Peoples Rise up." *It speaks of the importance of the Conference and the co-operation* "of the peoples of the Middle East in order to force the evacuation of British troops from the Canal and other countries; to avoid being embroiled in any military pact with any imperialist State whatsoever; and to render null and void the military, political, economic and cultural treaties which imperialism uses to dominate this region — Point Four of the American Aid Programme, for example."

The article continues: "The Conference has strengthened the spirit of brotherhood between the peoples of the Middle East and all other peoples fighting to frustrate the manoeuvres of imperialism and its preparations for another aggressive world war."

*

THE LEBANON:

The Lebanese Press gave whole pages to the procedure of the Conference. "Al Telegraph" *printed the Resolution, extracts from speeches, the Declaration of the Conference and photographs.*

"Al Hadaf" *and* "Al Tayar" *gave information, favourable comment and the text of the Resolution.*

Two numbers of "Al Shark" *gave the Resolution, an appraisal, extracts from messages and photographs.*

Under the headlines "Support the people of Egypt and Iran, oppose all attempts to bind the East to military pacts", "Al Yom" *printed an article on the Conference together with the Resolution.*

"Al Sakafa Al Wataniyah" *devoted two pages to the cultural aspects of the Conference. It published the writers' appeal and the speech of Dr. Osman Amin, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Cairo. The speech was dedicated to Gamal El Din Afgani.*

"Al Sarka" *printed the Resolution, messages, speeches and the names of the signatories to the appeal. It is still giving information on the campaign of popular support for the Conference. In an editorial dealing with the question of the bilateral treaties with the USA and the peoples' struggle against them, it says:* "The Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East has clearly demonstrated the growing strength of the peoples' national struggle against the attempts to shackle them by bilateral agreements which at best are only different roads to the same catastrophe — occupation, war and destruction."

IRAQ:

"Saut Al Ahali", *organ of the National Democratic Party, devoted three columns of its front page to the Resolution of the Conference. It continues to print statements and information on the campaign of popular support which is being conducted everywhere in Iraq.*

"Al Hiyad", a *newspaper belonging to the former Minister, Sadek al Bassam, gave the full text of the Resolution.*

*

JORDAN:

The delegate, Subhi Zeid al Keilani, *described the proceedings of the Conference in his review,* Haoul al Alam:

"We discussed the opinions of all in detail and with sincerity until we reached the point of passing the Resolution unanimously. We did our work with the desire to achieve the liberation of the peoples of the Middle East and abolish every trace of imperialism."

The article was followed by the full text of the Declaration and the Resolution.

PROFESSOR
FREDERIC
JOLIOT-CURIE

OPENING ADDRESS

VIENNA SESSION OF THE WORLD
COUNCIL OF PEACE
NOVEMBER 23rd-28th, 1953

I should like to begin by thanking President Brandweiner for his greetings addressed to us on behalf of the Austrian Peace Committee, and I also take this occasion to thank our Austrian friends and the staff of the World Council who have again zealously devoted themselves to the technical preparation of our work.

I greet the personalities who have responded to our invitation as well as all the World Council members who have come from so many countries to take part in the work of this session. I would also like to thank the many gentlemen of the Press who have come here.

***

Friends, we are met once again to examine the development of the struggle for Peace in all countries and to find, by a study of the pre-

sent situation, new means of making this struggle still more successful and unanimous.

In opening this session I am profoundly conscious of the value of the ties uniting us, ties which have their origin in a unanimous desire for Peace and which are being constantly strengthened in the course of a struggle which is often hard but always inspiring. We have always striven, with a deep sense of our responsibilities to the noblest aspirations of the peoples, to develop, by correct and effective action, a great world movement to ensure Peace.

The hopes for Peace of the most diverse social strata throughout the world are expressed in all sincerity and with all clarity from the platform of the World Council and from that of the great congresses called by the Council. Thus we become acquainted with the difficulties encountered and the victories won in each country by all those who fight for Peace, and it is during these meetings that the close relationship which exists between the problems peculiar to the nations and to the great regions of the world appears most clearly. During these meetings the exact line of action emerges, a realistic line evolving in relation to present world conditions.

All peoples are faced with common responsibilities for changing the trend of international events in a direction favourable to Peace, while certain peoples are faced with particular responsibilities. These common responsibilities lead to common action, the purpose of which is to tackle the general causes of the situation which are the link between the specific problems confronting various parts of the world.

Our great campaigns around the Stockholm Appeal, the Appeal for negotiation between the Five Great Powers, our resolution on disarmament and, most recently, around the Budapest Appeal for settling differences by genuine negotiation, are actions of this kind. The international situation, following upon the events of the past few months, has made it plain that in addition to common responsibilities certain nations and their national movements have special responsibilities of great importance. These require immediate action, the success of which can be decisive for the maintenance and consolidation of Peace. The activity of the countries bordering on Germany against the European Defence Community or any other method of rearming a militarist Germany, the activity in the countries of Asia and lands that have an interest in the solution of

the Korean problem, the end of the war in Viet-Nam, all these are activities which, in the struggle for Peace, place special national responsibilities in the forefront of the situation. But how encouraging it is for those who thus find themselves at the crucial points of the struggle to have the knowledge that they are not alone and that their efforts are followed and supported by all who fight in the same great cause in every country in the world. This solidarity, which we have cemented between men and women of widely differing opinions and which we must continually strengthen, is the guarantee of our success.

We have in the past co-operated—and we intend to continue in this way—with all organised forces working for Peace. We want to extend our activity and multiply our contacts. The vital importance of the problems at stake demands that we do not go into the struggle with our ranks thinned.

***

It is a fact recognised by everyone today that public opinion is a dominant factor in the conduct of international affairs. This extremely important fact is, for the most part, the result of our action. Has not the aim of this

action been, since the inception of the World Peace Movement, to arouse in every human being a keener and more effective realisation of the problems of Peace? This in order to create a universal awareness powerful enough to put up a vigorous opposition to war.

This places a great responsibility upon us because as soon as public opinion becomes a dominant factor it is besieged from all quarters—sometimes with the object of dragging it along the most dangerous courses. Indeed, it is often difficult for many honest people—engrossed in the work and worry of daily life—to make a correct analysis of the international situation, to see where the responsibility lies and to work out their own line of action. Those seeking to carry out a policy of strength exploit these difficulties in order to mislead the public. One of our principal tasks is to enlighten opinion by correct and convincing arguments based on an objective study of the facts.

We have to deal with a strong opponent, with the perfected weapons of the cold war of the kind used with consummate skill by the "Psychological Strategic Office." We must erect a permanent wall against the lies and the manoeuvres.

Recent events provide good examples of the

nature and variety of the manoeuvres set afoot to delay and prevent negotiation. They enable us to perceive that certain proposals for negotiation can be put forward with aims that are very different from those which the peoples so ardently desire—that is to say, a sincere search for agreed solutions acceptable to all. As we see it, the only successful negotiation is that which achieves Peace.

The aim of dividing the world permanently into two hostile blocs tied to the arms race which is ruining the peoples, is today clashing with the desire for negotiation. It is therefore convenient for those who find the fulfilment of their ambition to dominate obstructed by this desire for negotiation, not to make a frontal attack but, by exploiting this desire, to try and show that negotiation is impossible. They claim that they want to negotiate, but do not wish to carry this negotiation through except under conditions which make failure inevitable, thereby creating a situation more conducive to the use of force. The peoples see in negotiation a means of reducing and, later, of eliminating international tension, a means of stopping armed conflicts, of settling differences and of making possible the organisation of disarmament. There are others who wish,

through negotiations undertaken with the deliberate intention of wrecking them, to dash the hopes of the peoples and remove the last obstacles which prevent them from cutting the world in two and thereby engendering war.

The main object of the manoeuvres carried out over the last months is to create utter disillusionment among the people who, since the Korean armistice, placed such high hopes on the success of future negotiation. Furthermore, knowing and fearing the great forces which the Budapest Appeal can bring into action, those who oppose an easing of international tension aimed at making the disillusioned public place responsibility for the failure. These manœuvres, which are—to put it briefly—intended to gain wide support for a tough policy, will disappoint those who instigated them. The hopes born of the successful action to stop the war in Korea cannot easily be destroyed. Aware of the dangers, have we not already put people on their guard against such manoeuvres by making known the resolution passed by our Bureau here in Vienna last September? By perservering in this way, so that none may fall into the dangerous traps which have in the past been set and which will continue to be set for the people, we shall succeed

in making this great hope—honest negotiation—a reality. Negotiation undertaken in good faith should permit successful settlement of the main differences. All the problems cannot be studied simultaneously, but it must be clearly understood that the solutions adopted for each one of them are not independent of each other and that, in consequence, it is inadmissible that, prior to the consideration of a question, a predetermined solution to another question should have been arrived at by an intransigent group of Powers.

It is nevertheless in such a manner that we have seen the Western Powers proposing a Conference for the solution of the German problem after prior tri-partite conferences had laid down conditions accepted by Chancellor Adenauer and which envisaged, in one way or another, a rearmed Germany which would be drawn into the Atlantic coalition.

The problems of the Political Conference in Korea and those relative to the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and disarmament are the object of similar manoeuvres.

A menace well-known to Germany's neighbours is reappearing in Central Europe, the menace of German militarism.

All the renewed assertions of the "defens-

ive" character of the coalition in which they want the German militarists to participate, crumble before the fact that the present rulers of Bonn Germany, upheld and encouraged by the US Government, have already put forward territorial claims. The Bonn Parliament, on December 6th 1952, passed the following resolution:

"The Government is instructed to inform the parties to the European Army Treaty that the present frontiers of Germany, both in the East and in the West, in no way satisfy the Federal Republic."

Shortly after the elections, Chancellor Adenauer stated:

"This Europe will come about. When we have achieved it, then we shall give our young people what they need—more room for their expansion."

It is clear that the rearmament of militarist Germany is a part of the United States' policy of peripheral strategy. A rearmed Western Germany, out for revenge, is regarded as a first class strategic base. It becomes increasingly evident to the people of the Western countries bordering on Germany, that their own safety will be jeopardised if these projects are carried through, for such a Germany may well

be tempted, as in the past, to start expanding in their direction. This whole aggressive policy is put forward under the cover of defence, whereas actually it compromises the security of the world. It attempts to ignore the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet Treaties. It wipes out the Potsdam Agreement of which the fundamental principles would permit the conclusion of a treaty between the Four Great Powers creating a united, democratic and peaceful Germany. All peoples have some responsibility for eliminating the danger of a rearmed, militarist Germany, but Germany's neighbour States bear a particularly heavy responsibility.

Never, perhaps, have so many dishonest tricks been employed to sow confusion in the minds of the people. For example, relative to the proposal of the Soviet Union for a Four Power Conference, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, addressing the Council of the Republic on October 29th 1953, declared:

"*We are still hoping for this Conference in which the Soviet Union can raise all the problems she wishes, in particular, the question of security. She will speak of hers. We shall speak of ours.*"

We should agree if, in the sentence just before, he had not spoilt in advance all the hopes

placed in such a conference, by declaring emphatically:

"*The European Defence Community and the Big Four Conference are complementary.*"

How can one qualify as complementary a Conference in which everyone may raise all the problems they wish, and a Treaty which sets up an armed force which cannot but be aggressive since it has already, in advance, been associated with territorial demands which, as everyone knows, can only be met through war —a Treaty rendering impossible the unification of Germany?

Addressing my fellow-countrymen, as President of the World Council of Peace, during the session of the National Council of the French Peace Movement, and sure that I was expressing your sentiments, I declared:

"*At the present time, it is within the power of the French people to change the course of events in favour of Peace. And this is understood in all countries. The campaign which you are undertaking will be followed throughout the world with interest and hope . . . Be confident, we are not alone—the peoples of all countries expect much from the French people and are putting their confidence in us.*"

I have dealt at length with the rôle of

France because circumstances, recent history and treaties in force place her in a strong position to put a decisive check on the race to war. But a great responsibility in this matter is also borne by the other neighbours of Germany; we follow their activities with the same attention and support them with the same strength and confidence.

***

The events in Asia, and particularly those in Korea, are a source of deep concern to the people of the whole world. An analysis of these events since hostilities broke out reveals that those who deemed it necessary to intervene in the internal affairs of the Korean people, believed themselves strong enough to impose victory by force of arms.

First of all they opposed the ending of hostilities and refused to allow the United Nations to examine the situation with the two Korean sides present. It was a great victory for the forces of Peace that they succeeded at last in bringing hostilities to an end by making the spirit of negotiation prevail.

Negotiation between Americans, Chinese and Koreans was proved to be possible and resulted in an armistice agreement. This is a fact

of very great significance and it made a big contribution to the relaxation of international tension. But other facts—such as the behaviour of Syngman Rhee during the armistice talks and the conclusion of separate agreements between him and the United States and the sixteen Powers who took part in the Korean war under US Command—were fraught with future difficulties. These acts could only impede the future negotiations and in point of fact we have since seen manoeuvres similar to those we condemned in relation to the German problem.

The forces that fear the relaxation of international tension use the most diverse methods to prevent the holding of the Political Conference. The preliminary conference is continually coming up against difficulties.

The Korean and Chinese delegates have just proposed a new plan which tends to avoid "tough" policies at the conference table by bringing into the Political Conference neutral countries like the Soviet Union, India, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma. This plan corresponds to the peoples' conception of negotiations and should be accepted by all the parties; pressure is being exerted to wreck it.

Does not Dulles threaten to disregard the

armistice agreements regarding the liberation of prisoners if, after a certain date, the proposals of the mechanical majority at UNO for the composition of the Political Conference are not accepted as they stand by the Koreans and Chinese?

Those opposed to the relaxation of international tension act in a similar way wherever there is a question of negotiation involved. Though they are in a minority, they are still supported by many honest people and manage, what is more, to create confusion in others, thus rendering them powerless to act. It is all these honest people that we must convince. It would be vain to approach the minority directing this policy.

It is in striving to convince the honest people who support this "tough" policy, that we shall help to throw it overboard. Our immediate task is to call on the people to be vigilant so that hostilities may not be renewed in Korea and that the Political Conference may find a peaceful solution of the Korean problem.

***

There is another problem, of vital importance for the whole of humanity. It is the prob-

lem of the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, and disarmament. Few questions have been the subject of so much discussion and negotiation since the end of the Second World War.

On each occasion the World Council has considered the problem with the greatest attention and we know the impressive demonstration of approval given to the Stockholm Appeal by the people of the whole world. The desire to ban weapons of mass extermination has become even stronger since then.

We know the great response that was given by public opinion to our proposals on the disarmament problem, and also by certain delegations to the General Assembly of UNO in 1950 and 1951.

While certain progress has been made towards the solution of this problem it must be recognised that today there is still a clash of ideas and that no effective decision has been reached up to now by the UN Disarmament Commission.

The same arguments are always put forward in order to make banning of atomic weapons impossible. In the most recent proposals put forward at UNO—those of the former French

Minister Jules Moch—is repeated the fundamental contradiction of the Baruch Plan which stipulates that agreement on the ban should be preceded by a disclosure of all military forces and all atomic installations.

How can we believe in the sincerity of those who ask nations to reveal their defences and industrial structure in their entirety, without the others and themselves having first renounced the use of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons? The only measure of this kind put forward in the French representative's plan is the prior banning of the use of chemical and biological weapons, though this ban, as laid down in the Geneva Protocol, has already been accepted by all the Powers, so far as chemical weapons are concerned, and by all the Powers except the United States, in the case of biological weapons.

Why not put forward the same proposal of prior banning in the case of atomic weapons? At the time of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace, I tried to give an argument for it derived from the United States' stubborness in upholding the article in the Baruch plan which provides for the creation of an international authority which would own uranium deposits and atomic installations.

Confident of a mechanical majority in their favour, the proponents of this plan insist that the decisions of this authority be taken by a simple majority vote; this would mean giving them a *de facto* monopoly of all atomic, industrial and economic activity in the world. Opposed to these designs are the proposals which demand a convention forbidding the use of these weapons and enjoining the organisation of an efficient system of control.

To object to these latter proposals would mean supposing that the signatories to the convention are not sincere in their desire to prohibit these weapons.

It would amount to an *a priori* decision that the signatures of States are worthless. So why should we attach so much importance to the signature by States of agreements, protocols or treaties?

The Baruch Plan or any similar plan, when dealing both with weapons of mass destruction and disarmament, provides, as I have just said, for a prior census and control without the nations pledging to reduce their armaments. Let us take a census, let us control, and then we shall see! That is the meaning of this plan. It is clear that in this taut international situation such a disclosure, without any other undertak-

ing, is unacceptable, as it might increase the feeling of insecurity and would, in any case, be an encouragement for the policy of strength.

In this matter, I am, unfortunately, not sure that sufficient men and women are aware of the dangers threatening them. How can one be indifferent to the dangers of the atom bomb and the H-bomb? How can one work peacefully and draw up plans for the future without anxiety when around us pile up weapons capable of killing scores of millions of people in a few hours? I whole-heartedly support the proposal made to you to re-examine this problem, largely perhaps, because I am a scientist and realise the terrible dangers threatening humanity.

It is because, like most of my colleagues, I love science and know that it may bring happiness to mankind, that I would like, as soon as possible, to abolish the saying—"Science is leading us to destruction with its A-bombs and H-bombs"—so that we may work without fear and regain the pleasure of giving the world the inestimable benefits of science. I shall never weary of repeating it.

An analysis of the principal events characterising the world situation tends to show how difficult it is to obtain solutions to particular

problems in an atmosphere of great international tension.

There are a number of reasons for this tension. I will raise here one which is I think important and which is the result of the frequently incorrect ideas held by certain people concerning the intentions of those whom they call "the enemy."

In order to carry out a policy which will protect their privileges, they deliberately attribute to this "enemy" intentions which they know to be false, in the hope that they will be accepted as true by many honest people. This policy leads large sections of the peoples to permit manoeuvres which, by all the evidence, cannot lead to any peaceful solution but will only increase international tension.

We must make it understood that it is as vain and dangerous to base judgements on intentions which are usually imaginary as it is wise to base them on facts. The scattering of strategic bases throughout the world, the supremacy which has been given back to the most aggressive forces in Germany and Japan, the support given to adventurers like Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek, are facts which enable all honest, sensible men to judge and decide on the proper course to take.

For decades people have been kept in a state of confusion and there is a danger that they may allow themselves to be carried away by the "crusading spirit." I should like to be able to speak directly to all these people and to say to them: "*You support such and such a regime; you believe—so often has it been dinned into you—that someone wants to conquer you and force you to give up your way of life; that negotiation with the Russians will only be possible if they change their regime; and with the Chinese, only if they call back the Marshal of Formosa.*"

Do you think it would be reasonable to say that there can be no negotiation with the Americans unless they abolish capitalism? Do you think that Peace will only be established when all men have adopted your convictions? If this is not so, then should we not seek the means of bringing about a relaxation of international tension together with people as they are and in the world as it is today?

Is not a meeting between the representatives of the Five Great Powers (USA, USSR, Great Britain, People's Republic of China and France), since they bear the heaviest responsibility for the maintenance and consolidation

of Peace, the best way of bringing about an easing of international tension?

Let the representatives of the Great Powers meet, let them exchange views on their interests, their fears and the problems which divide the world in general, thereby dispelling mistrust and clearing the atmosphere.

Though such a meeting might not necessarily reach definite solutions on any particular problem, it would have the great advantage of creating conditions favourable to successful negotiations on particular problems. Seen in this light, a meeting between the Five Great Powers would have, as we know, the support of many millions of men. It would restore to UNO the possibility of fulfilling its mission and of successfully bringing about disarmament.

In my opinion one of the essential tasks of our session will be to find the best way of bringing about this very necessary meeting.

In this *exposé* I have tried, by an examination of the most important immediate problems, to show that the objective we must attain in order to solve these and many other problems is the relaxation of international tension.

Further, do you not think that during the

Session we should examine the best way of bringing about a world gathering for Peace in 1954 and the measures and steps to be taken? It would bring together qualified representatives of the most diverse political trends and religious creeds, from all walks of life and from every country. This gathering should have a single aim and, for myself, I would propose that it should be the relaxation of international tension.

We are aware that at this point in the evolution of the international situation the present session of the World Council of Peace assumes especially great importance. I am certain that our work and the conclusions we shall reach will have outstanding results commensurate with the events preoccupying the whole of mankind.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PRINTED MATTER 1954 12/17

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Nº 5 JANUARY 1954

World tension can be eased in 1954

The information reaching us at the beginning of the new year and which we are passing on to National Committees in this Bulletin, shows that the campaign launched in response to the appeal of the World Council is at a new stage of development, particularly in the countries of Western Europe, South-East Asia, the Middle East and Latin America.

This campaign for peaceful objectives, closely related to the national interests of each people, is stimulating the great movement of opinion for solutions which will relax tension; this movement is continuing everywhere.

The new factors that have appeared during these last few weeks spotlight the need to pursue energetically the activity already begun. The most important of these events are: the pressure being brought to bear to accelerate the ratification and application of documents which would sanction the rearmament of West Germany; the opposition kept up to delay the settlement of the Korean question; the refusal to negotiate an end of the war in Viet-Nam; and the setting-up of foreign military bases in various parts of the world.

However, important victories have just been won through the pressure of public opinion. The USA and the Soviet Union have started preliminary talks on the question of atomic energy and the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers is being held in Berlin.

The announcement of this Conference raised a great hope in the hearts of all men and women. It is the first of its kind to be held for three years. By clearing the way to a peaceful settlement of the German question, it can take a first step towards eliminating the present international tension; it can also hasten the holding of a further meeting, this time of the Five Great Powers, in conformity with the wishes of all people.

But the hope awakened by the prospect of this meeting must, if it is not to be disappointed, be accompanied by great vigilance. We have heard certain intentions voiced which would create a deadlock at the meeting, as was the case at the preceding Conference held at the Palais Rose in Paris in 1951. Failure engineered in this way would prolong the Cold War and enable its protagonists to claim that direct negotiation between the Great Powers is useless and can be of no help in the easing of international tension.

Thus an attempt would be made to confuse the public and deflect it from the action necessary to bring about an eventual meeting of the Five Great Powers.

The Appeal to the Peoples, issued by the World Council at its Budapest session calling upon them to foil the manœuvres of those who wish to prevent or delay agreement, assumes its full meaning today because the success of all current negotiations as well as those about to begin are absolutely dependent on the action of the peoples.

Efforts to speed the peaceful settlement of the major international issues are today being made by the Peace Movement and by important groups of personalities and organisations who believe it is possible and necessary to reach agreements acceptable to all. These efforts have one and the same goal—to achieve a real lessening of tension.

In the months to come the International Meeting proposed by the World Council can and must become an important factor for a *détente*. The activities developing on the national level and the convergence of views resulting therefrom make possible the joint preparation of this great Meeting. They are preparing the ground for a victory whereby world tension can be eased in 1954.

IN THIS BULLETIN

Great and growing movement in France against ratification of Bonn and Paris agreements and for an immediate end to the war in Viet-Nam.

Make the Four-power Talks succeed—statement of British Peace Committee.

Pastor Niemoller takes part in important West Berlin demonstration.

Italian people's struggle against EDC, for an easing of tension and Peace.

Strong opposition in countries of South-east Asia and Middle East to US-Pakistan military pact.

Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East. Information on the movement for an easing of tension in Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Japan, Brazil, Uruguay, Canada, Sweden and Indonesia.

GREAT & GROWING MOVEMENT

The campaign launched by the National Peace Movement in France is developing around the following objectives:

The rejection of the Bonn and Paris Agreements or any other form of the revival of German militarism and the victory of a negotiated solution of the German question by an agreement between the Four Powers.

An end to the war in Viet-Nam by opening negotiations with the Government of Ho Chi Minh.

French moves to get the Powers to settle their differences by agreements acceptable to all, thus bringing about a real easing of international tension.

This campaign has stimulated a great movement of opinion, as reflected in the ever more frequent declarations by elected bodies, big national organisations and various public figures.

Municipal councils and mayors

Hundreds of Municipal Councils of all political compositions have taken a stand on one or more of the three objectives of the Movement; they include those of big cities and towns like Paris, Nice, Cannes, Carcassonne, Narbonne, Belfort, Valence, Montélimar, Brest, Quimper, Saint-Etienne, Evian and so on.

Hundreds of mayors (50 in the Department of Loir-et-Cher, 30 in the Landes, 60 in Charente-Maritime, 53 in Lot-et-Garonne, etc.) and municipal councillors of all political opinions (485 in the Department of Seine-et-Marne, 105 in Lot-et-Garonne, etc.) have also expressed their agreement with these points.

General councils

Many General Councils—these are Departmental councils, also composed of members of all Parties—have spoken along the same lines. They include those of the Seine, Aisne, Alpes-Maritimes, Aude, Cher and Drôme Departments.

Big national organisations

The French Union of Ex-servicemen's Associations (UFAC), which has two million members, and 34 of its Departmental sections have announced their opposition to any revival of German militarism.

Many Congresses of ex-POWs have also taken this position. The recent Congress of the League for Human Rights declared its opposition to the European Defence Community and demanded the immediate opening of negotiations with President Ho Chi Minh.

Universities

80 famous university people, men of Science, the Arts and Law, Professors at the Sorbonne, at the Collège de France and at the Museum, including some of the most famous intellectuals in France, have just signed a Manifesto against German rearmament. More and more people are signing it every day.

Engineers and jurists

French engineers and technicians, including M. Bernard Lafaille, Jean Dourgnon, J. Dumas-Primbault and John Nicoletis have launched an Appeal for a National Conference against the EDC to be held in January 1954. It is gaining support every day. At a recent meeting in Paris eminent jurists gave the reasons for their opposition to the treaty setting up the EDC. Among them were M. Viraut, former member of the Bar Association; Professor Pinto of the Faculty of Law in the University of Lille; M. Auburtin, Vice-President of the Paris Municipal Council; and M. Moro Giafferi and M. Michel Bruguier.

Politicians

At the great rallies organised by the Peace Movement last Autumn politicians and Deputies of all Parties made a public declaration of their opposition to the Bonn and Paris agreements. They included M. Daladier, President of the Rally of Left Republicans (R.G.R.); M. Fromet, Secretary of the Radical Party; Messrs. Béné and Gaspard of the Radical Party; Messrs. Hamon and André Denis of the Popular Republican Movement (MRP); Messrs. Louis Marin, Moynet and Maupoil (Independents); Messrs. Michelet, Deliaune, Milh, Lyautey, Bignon, Brusset and Léon Noel of the Republican Union for Social Action (URAS); Messrs. Briffold and Gregory of the Socialist Party; and Dr. Rousseau of the Rally of the French People (RPF).

M. Edouard Herriot, President of the Radical and Radical-Socialist Party, was represented at one of these Rallies by M. Vienney, his Assistant, as Mayor of Lyons.

(The President of the Popular Republican Movement is M. Georges Bidault and that of the Rally of the French People [RPF] is General De Gaulle. The Republican Union for Social Action is composed of former members of the Rally of the French People. The Independents are conservative in their views.)

Among the peasants

On the initiative of the Peasants' National Committee for the Defence of Peace and Agriculture it was planned to hold 41 Departmental Congresses between November 1953 and March 1954. Some have already been held and others are in preparation. These events are prepared for by regional appeals from peasant leaders of all tendencies. For example, the Appeal launched for the Lot-et-Garonne Rally received the public support of 200 personalities, including 60 presidents of agricultural trade unions and co-operatives, 53 Mayors of rural communes and 105 Municipal Councillors.

Opening of signature campaign

A signature campaign against the Bonn and Paris agreements is going on at the present time in 70 out of the 89 Departments of France. Two million signatures had already been collected by the end of last year, while certain Departments—those of the Nord, Pas-de-Calais and Seine, for example—have set themselves a target of a million signatures by the end of January.

This campaign is being taken into the factories where it is receiving the almost unanimous support of the workers, whatever their trade union and even if they are unorganised. For example, between 90 and 100 per cent of the workers of 53 factories in the city of Marseilles have signed.

IN FRANCE

against ratification of Bonn and Paris agreements

for an immediate end to war in Viet-Nam

Public figures of all opinions declare their joint opposition to Bonn and Paris agreements

The National Conference on the German Problem, held in Paris on November 8th last, called for "a great national awakening" against the Bonn and Paris agreements and resolutely condemned "a surrender which would have terrible consequences for Peace and for the country."

In addition to the personalities already mentioned, this Conference was attended by M. Etienne Nouveau, Vice-President of the French Union of Ex-servicemen (UFAC); M. Henri Bouret, MRP Deputy; M. Gilbert de Chambrun, a progressive Deputy; Professor Bernard Lavergne; M. Riès, Secretary of the Seine District of the League of Human Rights; General Le Corguillé; M. René Capitant, former Minister and member of the RPF; M. Pierre Villon, Communist Deputy; M. Charles Hernu, President of the Jacobin Club; Father Jutet; Professor Jacques Madaule; M. Jean-Marie Domenach, Editor of the review "Esprit," and so on.

Others demand end to war in Viet-Nam

The National Conference for Negotiation in Indo-China, held in Paris on November 22nd, adopted a resolution stating that negotiation between the French Government and the Government of Ho Chi Minh is necessary and possible. This resolution rejects any attempt to internationalise the war and "demands that the Government undertake the negotiations necessary to establish Peace and obtain an immediate ceasefire and armistice."

Besides the many people already mentioned, the following took part in the Conference: M. Maurice Lacroix, President of the "Young Republic"; M. Kriegel-Valrimont, Communist Deputy; M. Gilles Martinet, Editor of the "Observateur"; M. Jacques Mitterand, Counsellor of the French Union; M. Jacques Nantet, member of the Committee of Left Independents; Professor Marcel Ner, former Director of Education in Indo-China; M. Jean Pouillon, from the Editorial Board of the review, "Temps Modernes"; Pastor Francis Bosc, from the National Executive Committee of the Peace Movement; M. Louis Barin, Professor at the School of Oriental Languages; M. Belorgey, representing the Socialist Students, and so on.

National unity is being realised around a single objective

Two particularly significant examples show that France is on the way to achieving national unity in opposition to the Bonn and Paris agreements.

In the Department of Dordogne, where more than 100 meetings were held in preparation for a Rally which took place on November 22nd, an appeal to the people has just been issued for the collection of 120,000 signatures against the Bonn and Paris Agreements by March 1st. This Appeal was jointly issued by the Departmental Secretary of the Peace Movement, the District Secretary of the Communist Party, the District Secretary of the Popular Republican Movement (MRP), the Departmental Delegate of the Rally of the French People (RPF) and the Socialist mayor of an important town in the Department.

In Vendée, a Rally held in the administrative centre elected a Standing Committee to co-ordinate the activity of more than 200 localities against the Bonn and Paris agreements. It is composed of members of the Socialist, Communist, Radical and Popular Republican Parties, of the General Confederation of Agriculture and Associations of Ex-servicemen, POWs, etc....

Basing itself on these various activities and expressions of opinion, the French Peace Movement is now preparing to hold big regional assemblies in every Department. They will lead up to a great national demonstration to be held on April 24th and 25th.

The breadth of the movement of opinion around the various objectives for which action has been started assures us that there will be a broad French delegation at the great International Meeting proposed by the World Council of Peace.

Belgian people's opposition to EDC reflected in all political circles

The Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace is continuing its referendum on the question of EDC. It is being carried out in certain factories and districts, in many places in the form of a secret ballot.

The latest results come from 63 localities. Out of 30,871 voters 23,965 or 77.5 per cent voted against EDC. Only 698 voted for; the others abstained.

As part of this campaign demonstrations and meetings were held at which M. Charles Hernu (France) and Sgr. Giuseppe Nitti and Sgr. Giacometti (Italy) spoke. This shows the possibility of co-operation between the Peace Movements of the different countries of Europe.

When the vote on the ratification of the Paris Treaty was taken in the Chamber, 49 Deputies voted against and three abstained. They included Communist Deputies, half of the Socialist Group and Deputies of all parties.

The present President of the Senate, M. Paul Struye (Social Christian Party), has also stated his opposition to the ratification of EDC.

These facts are a reflection of the Belgian people's opposition to the plans for the remilitarisation of Germany. M. Henri Rolin, former President of the Senate, Socialist Senator and Belgian delegate to the Strasbourg Assembly, defined the reasons for this opposition in an interview given to the review *"Defense de la Paix."*

"Personally, I am opposed to the ratification of the EDC treaty. I can see in it both a terrible aggravation of the danger of war and a weakening of our means of defence...

"If the EDC were to come into force it would shut the door for a long time to any rapprochement between East and West."

M. Rolin then went on to show that the ratification of EDC would lead the German Federal Republic to try and win its territorial demands by force. He said:

"Already there are many statements by Americans and Germans proclaiming this aim. Such a situation would very likely lead to war in a very short time...

"The stationing on French, Belgian or Dutch soil, less than ten years after the occupation, of big German units and the welcome they would get from former collaborators can only arouse the hostility of public opinion."

"OUR TASK IS TO MAKE THE FOUR POWER TALKS SUCCEED"

Statement issued by the Executive of the British Peace Committee

The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers in Berlin on January 25th is a further, big victory of the Peace forces which ceaselessly demand the easing of international tension and the solution of differences by negotiation and agreement.

In an important statement which it has just issued, the British Peace Committee points out that this Conference is a tribute to the demand of the peoples and calls on the latter not to relax their vigilance in order that the meeting may reach a peaceful solution of the German question, thereby bringing about a real easing of international tension.

Here is the complete text of this important document:

"The agreement reached to begin the meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers in Berlin on January 25th brings new hope for Peace to the people of the world.

"The decision to hold this conference is a triumph for all those who have been working for better relations between the Powers.

"It is a tribute to the strength of the mounting public demand for Negotiation and Agreement between the Nations to which the work of the Peace Movement has made so great a contribution.

"Now the task is to make the talks succeed. Again the success will depend on public opinion.

"The main obstacle is the openly declared intention, of the Government of the USA with British support to bring Germany into a Military Alliance with the West. This means reviving German Militarism.

"To seek to impose this policy against the wishes of the great majority of the people will endanger the success of this Conference. We must guard against attempts to poison the atmosphere by 'incidents' or the spreading of highly coloured stories in the newspapers of one side about the other.

"Britain's future demands an agreed peaceful solution to the German problem and the unification of Germany in a way acceptable to all Germany's neighbours and to the German people.

"This will open the way to Four Power Agreement and to a future of Peace for the people of Germany, of Europe and of the world.

"It can be achieved only by preventing a revival of German Militarism in any form.

"The Four Power Conference on Germany can lead to a meeting of the Five Great Powers including the People's Republic of China at which wider questions causing International Tension can be discussed.

"We call on all organisations and on every man and woman to take part in the greatest campaign the country has ever witnessed in defence of Britain's future and Peace.

"Pour in a flood of resolutions, postcards and telegrams to the Foreign Secretary and every Member of Parliament.

"Insist that the Foreign Secretary goes to the Meeting with the firm intention to reach agreement.

"Insist that the treaties setting up a European Army and reviving German militarism are scrapped."

PASTOR NIEMOLLER TAKES PART IN IMPORTANT WEST BERLIN DEMONSTRATION FOR SUCCESS OF FOUR POWER CONFERENCE

A meeting of importance for the success of the Four Power Conference and the peaceful solution of the German problem was held in West Berlin on January 7th. It took place in the Great Hall of the Prelates in Schöneberg in the American sector and because of the great crowd the police had the doors shut half-an-hour before the beginning.

During the meeting Pastor Niemoller spoke on the theme: "The Four Power Conference and the Future of Germany." After pointing out the threat to Peace of German militarism and the great anxiety that the remilitarisation of West Germany is causing to Germany's neighbours and to the world, Pastor Niemoller declared:

"The incorporation of West Germany in the Western world is not being carried out for love of the Federal Republic but because they need German soldiers.

"The aim of the Four Power Conference should be to eliminate this source of danger in the heart of Europe. Public opinion, which enforced the armistice in Korea, demands that the politicians make some progress at this meeting in Berlin. The common interest of the Soviet Union and France in preventing a German aggression is a factor of importance for the success of the Conference."

"It is important," Pastor Niemoller concluded, *"to create, throughout Germany, an atmosphere which will facilitate agreement between the Great Powers on the unity of Germany."*

The speech of the President of the Church of Hesse was warmly applauded by the audience. During the discussion which followed many Berliners, including young people, Churchmen and artists, voiced the opinion of the people which is that everything must be done to safeguard Peace and ensure the success of the Four Power Conference.

"THE FIGHT AGAINST THE BONN AND PARIS AGREEMENTS IS A COMMON FIGHT"

says message from the German Peace Rally to Germany's neighbours

The above declaration was made in a message from the German Peace Rally to the countries bordering on Germany.

More than 1,200 delegates from all over East and West Germany attended the German Peace Rally held in Weimar from December 10th to 12th last, at which representatives of the National Peace Movements of 15 countries were also present. They included Belgium, France, Britain, the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Finland, Denmark and Sweden.

In a message adopted at this important meeting the German Peace Rally expresses its gratitude for the efforts of the Peace forces in the neighbouring countries to bring about a peaceful settlement of the German question. It says:

"We German men and women at this meeting in Weimar understand the grave anxiety of Germany's neighbours at the revival of German militarism. We share their anxiety. The fight against the Bonn and Paris agreements, which are a threat to the German people, their neighbours and world Peace, is our common fight.

"It is our duty to let the forthcoming Four Power Conference in Berlin know that the whole German people ardently desire the re-establishment of German unity and a Peace treaty to ensure the peaceful and democratic development of our country. Such a Germany will serve the cause of Peace, eliminate tension in Europe and guarantee the security of the neighbouring peoples.

"We therefore ask the Peace-loving forces of all neighbouring countries to support this legitimate demand of our people."

Luxembourg - National Conference of Peace Movement decides to hold

REFERENDUM ON EDC

The National Conference of the Luxembourg Peace Movement, held in Luxembourg on December 12th, passed a resolution protesting against the EDC and Luxembourg's incorporation in it. It noted that the Council of State had declared the treaty to be contrary to Luxembourg's Constitution.

The conference called for a campaign of referenda to be held in the factories and the big parishes during the month of January, in order to let the Deputies know the opposition of the people of Luxembourg to the EDC treaty. *"This treaty,"* the resolution points out, *"would seriously endanger our country, not only from the national standpoint but also on the economic, social and cultural planes."*

In an interview with the Secretary of the Luxembourg Peace Movement, which was subsequently published in the Movement's bulletin, the great Luxembourg writer, Marcel Noppeney, takes a clear stand on the danger of the remilitarisation of Germany.

The author of *"Against Them"* believes that the EDC agreements would hurl the world into another war and states that he would, "before dying," like to warn his contemporaries of "the great German threat."

In the call issued for this campaign the Swiss Peace Movement declares:

"In our country's interest, in the interest of the German people themselves, we call upon all Swiss to exercise the greatest vigilance in order to prevent the return of disaster. United, they can frustate the plans of German militarism—by signing the petition we are issuing and in asking our authorities by this means to do nothing which might directly or indirectly help the remilitarisation of Western Germany (by the delivery of armaments, for example, or the investment in the German arms industry). They can do so by asking the authorities to place all our country's moral authority behind any effort to reach a peaceful settlement of the German question."

SWISS PETITION AGAINST REMILITARISATION OF WEST GERMANY

At the present time a petition campaign against the rearmament of West Germany is being carried on throughout Switzerland. The Swiss Peace Movement has made a pledge to collect 20,000 signatures by the time of the National Conference organised by the Swiss Peace Parliament. It will be held in Basle at the end of January on the subject:

"The German Question and Swiss Security."

THE STRUGGLE OF THE ITALIAN PEOPLE

against the European Defence Community

FOR AN EASING OF TENSION AND PEACE

Regional meetings for the easing of tension and Peace have been held in Milan, Bologna, Florence, Ancona, Genoa, Turin and Perugia. Among those taking part, in addition to the top leaders of the Peace Movement, were well-known people of various views and delegates from organisations and mass associations. They discussed the principles of an Italian policy for the easing of tension—peaceful trade relations with all countries; opposition to EDC and to US interference in Italian affairs. These meetings showed that the movement for the easing of tension and Peace is growing on the basis of the Italian people's desire for a peaceful life. We quote, as an example, an extract from the resolution passed unanimously by the Emilia and Romagna Meeting which was held in Bologna on December 20th:

"At a time when the World Council of Peace announces the holding, in 1954, of a world meeting of the representatives of all trends of opinion desiring Peace, we pledge that we, in our region, will strive for calm discussion and friendly agreement with all who sincerely want the principle of honest negotiation to prevail, while respecting absolutely the opinion of each."

Similar meetings will now be held in other provinces and districts of Italy.

❋

The real cause of the Government crisis in Italy is the problem of the ratification of EDC. Therefore the Italian Peace Movement has decided to launch a broad campaign to warn the public of the danger to the country represented by the EDC agreements and to demand a solution of the crisis in line with the Italian people's desire for Peace.

In all the towns and even in the villages, the Peace Movement's speakers are holding meetings and taking part in big mass demonstrations from one end of the country to the other. This campaign led by the Peace Movement is everywhere meeting with the warm support of all sections of society and meetings, whether in town or country, factory or office, are adopting agendas and resolutions calling for a Government which will do something to ease tension and bring about Peace and demanding that Parliament reject the EDC treaties. Such resolutions are being sent in their hundreds to the President of the Republic, the Presidents of the Chamber and the Senate and the leaders of the various political parties. The wave of protest is increasing every day.

❋

Another aspect of the Peace Movement's campaign in Italy is the struggle against military bases. In different parts of the country there are already naval and air bases in US hands. The recent decision to construct a huge military aerodrome near Ravenna in Romagna has met with the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the people. It is considered as a direct threat to this historic town which suffered so much in the last war. Its citizens and the peasants of the surrounding district have several times protested at the construction of this aerodrome for the US forces. At a big demonstration on January 3rd, Senator Emilio Sereni had this to say on the project:

"Our internal social conflicts are not so serious as to bring about the destruction of our country and civilisation. What really threatens our life and traditions is foreign military occupation, and this would be the natural consequence of the erection of this NATO air base and the creation of the European Army. The latter would deprive us of our national army. Now, US foreign policy consists in sending occupation troops to other countries. We must fear this policy and fight it because sooner or later it would plunge us back into the harsh experiences we went through in the past."

In his speech Senator Sereni showed the relation between the construction of the Ravenna air base and the vaster US plans for another war. At the heart of this policy of war preparation lies EDC and the consequent rearmament of Germany.

"Recent events in Korea have shown that the strength of the Peace Movement lies in our great numbers. We must be as strong in the coming weeks," M. Sereni concluded, to loud and long applause, *"when the notorious EDC treaty is brought up for discussion in Parliament."*

STRONG OPPOSITION TO US-PAKISTAN MILITARY PACT OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE

"Colleagues, friends and friendship with other countries not foreign armies" *says Pandit Nehru*

In the course of a speech in the Lower Chamber of the Indian Parliament in which he criticised any proposed military pact between the USA and Pakistan, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had this to say:

"The first thing that occurs to me when I think of any military aid freely given from a country of the West to any country of the East, is the past history of Asia—history of the past 3-400 years—the history of colonial domination gradually coming in here and establishing itself. Then I see after these 3-400 years the dominated countries of Asia becoming independent. Then I see some development which seems to me to reverse this process of freedom, which again brings to my mind the period when foreign armies came to Asia.

"I react very strongly against anything that brings back that process, even though it may be in a small measure. I do not want protection from others. I want colleagues, friends, and we have sought them, and we have worked for the friendship of other countries.

"We do not want any people to protect us with their armies, navies and air-forces, because we know by long and bitter experience that such protection becomes something else. Because, even the act of asking for protection—seeking it—makes us dependent. We seek goodwill and we shall continue to seek the goodwill of others, but we are not going to ask any country to defend us with its armies . . ."

The Premier of Kashmir

The Premier of Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, stated at a public meeting in Bhadarwah (120 miles North of Srinagar), on December 15th:

"The United States is much mistaken if she thinks she will get a Formosa on the Indian sub-continent." The pending US-Pakistan military alliance *"only confirms the US conspiracy in Kashmir which was exposed and nullified by the people here last August,"* he said and warned the USA that its *"fresh attempt to grab Kashmir will meet the same fate as did the first one."*

The Premier of Afghanistan

The Premier of Afghanistan, Sardar Mohammad Khan, said on December 31st that he considered the proposed US-Pakistan pact to be *"a grave danger to the security and Peace of Afghanistan."*

The C-in-C of the Egyptian Army

The Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army, Major-General Abdel Hakim Amer, writing in the newspaper, *"Al Goumhouria,"* recently, said:

"As to Pakistan, I believe no Islamic State would do something which might affect all other Islamic nations before measuring the extent of the harm and benefit which this act might bring to the Islamic peoples in general.

"Moreover, I am strongly of the opinion that co-ordination of policies of the Arab-Islamic nations is absolutely necessary if the honour and dignity of the Arab peoples are to be maintained. Any agreement or commitment not based on this principle will prejudice all these nations."

A great Arab poet

The great Arab poet, Mahdi Al Jawahiri from Iraq, a member of the World Council of Peace, in a signed editorial in the Baghdad daily, *"Al Raie Al Am"*, on December 27th, wrote:

"...The nations such as Free India, which have tasted emancipation from the yoke of imperialism, will not submit to new military commitments nor allow themselves to be dismembered or destroyed by military rings approaching their frontiers."

Press reactions

Press criticism and downright condemnation of the projected military pact has been manifested, not only in newspapers of various political complexions throughout South-east Asia but also in those of the Middle East. For example, the following newspapers have condemned the proposed pact editorially:

PAKISTAN: *"Pakistan Times."*

INDIA: *"Bombay Blitz"; "National Herald"* and *"Nay Zamana".*

CEYLON: "Ceylon Times"; "Ceylon Observer" and *"Thinakaran"* (Tamil daily).

BURMA: *"Burman"* of Rangoon.

INDONESIA: *"Abadi"* (organ of the Indonesian Muslim Masjumi Party) and *"Pamadangan".*

SINGAPORE: *"Singapore Standard"* (influencial Chinese-owned daily).

AFGHANISTAN: *"Anis."*

IRAQ: *"Al Ittihad"; "Al Akhbar"; "Alizza"; "Saut Al Ahali"* and *"Al Shaad".*

TURKEY: *"Yeni Ullus."*

EGYPT: *"Al Kahira"; "Il Mussawar"* and *"Al Tahrir".*

Protests by various public figures and bodies

In India

At a meeting presided over by *Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew* in New Delhi, on December 24th, any US-Pakistan military alliance was condemned in a statement which said that it would be *"a flagrant violation of the UN Charter, would bring the Cold War right up to our borders and jeopardise Peace and stability in Asia."*

Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey said that this project *"has brought the Cold War to our very door and is fraught with great danger to the whole of South-east Asia including Pakistan herself."*

Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, world renowned author and Vice-President of the All-India Peace Council, stated at a Press Conference in Nagpur, earlier in the month:

"The proposed US-Pakistan military alliance is a new threat to world Peace and a menace to India's sovereignty. We must work hard to foil this threat."

Statements have been issued by prominent local figures and large protest meetings held in Mandyi, Cutch District (North-west coast of India); Indore (central India) and in Pagwara in the Punjab.

In Kashmir

Mr. Sadiq, President of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly, stated on December 19th that such a pact would *"compromise our liberty"* and he called upon his people to be on their guard against *"the new situation which would thus be created."*

In Nepal

Grave concern has been expressed over the projected pact by the leaders of several political parties:

D. R. Regmi, President of the Nepali National Congress has declared:

"The US attempt to gain a foothold in Pakistan through military aid to that country does surely threaten the freedom of the entire South-east Asia and it will bring Nepal into the potential war zone . . . Pakistan's frontier is almost contiguous with Nepal's at one place. Nepal cannot sit by indifferent to these undesirable developments in Pakistan . . ."

Mahendra Bikram Shah, Vice-president of the National Democratic Party and *Tanka Prasad Acharya,* General Secretary of Nepal Praja Parishan (People's Assembly), has also expressed concern over the pact.

In Sind

Altaf Hussain, a trade union leader, has declared that the alliance would be a serious menace to the Peace and prosperity of Pakistan.

IN COUNTRIES MIDDLE EAST

Numerous protests in Eastern Pakistan

Meanwhile, throughout Pakistan itself the protests are increasing following the lead given by the Pakistan Peace Committee. *Sahibzadi Mahmuda Decum,* Chairman of the Pakistani Women's Peace Organisation called upon the women of Pakistan to oppose the pact, in a statement issued on December 14th. It was an attempt to *"make Asians fight Asians,"* she said. The women of Pakistan must unite and oppose any attempt to turn their country into a battlefield or to pressgang their sons and brothers into the army to fight on behalf of foreign interests.

In *East Bengal* a number of well-known political leaders in Dacca, the capital of the province, sent a declaration to the Press calling upon the Pakistan Government not to conclude any military alliance with the USA as this would imperil the sovereignty and independence of the country.

"Such an alliance will entangle Pakistan in a devastating war," says the statement. *"It will endanger Peace and prosperity and create serious obstacles in the nation-building works of our new State."*

Among those who signed were:

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani, President of the East Pakistan Awami Muslim League; Professor *Haji Muhammad Danesh,* President of the Peasants' Association of East Bengal and *Muhammad Shahidulla,* Organising Secretary of the Peasants' and Workers' Party of Pakistan.

Early in December, a mass rally was held in Dacca demanding peaceful co-existence with other countries and no military alliance with any country.

A resolution was recently adopted by the Peace Committee of Barisal (at the mouth of the Ganges) protesting against any military alliance and calling upon the East Pakistan Peace Committee to organise a signature campaign in support of a Five Power Pact and the settlement of international issues through negotiation.

"WHOEVER AGREES WITH A SINGLE POINT OF OUR PROGRAMME CAN CO-OPERATE WITH US"

Statement of Japanese Peace Movement at its December Congress

The National Congress of the Japanese Peace Movement was held in Tokio on December 14th and 15th, 1953. It was attended by 740 delegates from all parts of Japan and all walks of life—workers, peasants, students, intellectuals, businessmen and industrialists. The various political trends were also widely represented; there were members of the Worker-Farmer Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and well-known Conservatives like Mr. *Akasi Kazama.*

After Mr. *Ikuo Oyama* had presented a report on his several months of travel to various countries, Mr. *Tokasaburo Dan* reported on the work of the Vienna session of the World Council of Peace.

Many delegates spoke during the discussion, in particular Mr. *Kihashiro Kimura,* a Worker-Farmer Party M.P., Mr. *Toshio Kuroda* and *Kozo Inomata,* a Left-wing Socialist M.P.

The Congress adopted an important resolution opposing Prime Minister Yoshida's plan. It stressed the following three points:

Improvement of living-standards and transformation of the war economy into a peacetime economy.

Opposition to the policy of strength.

Solution of international differences by negotiation.

"We realise," the resolution declares, *"that our present difficulties, the poor health standards of our people and the deterioration of our public education are the direct results of rearmament, the creation of mercenary armed forces, the increase in the number of military bases, the stationing of foreign troops in our country and the restrictions imposed on trade with the Soviet Union and China. It is in obedience to US demands that the rearmament of our country is growing daily, that the young people are drawn into the army and that there is an openly expressed intention to modify our Constitution in the only remaining articles safeguarding Peace.*

"We know, too, that if war broke out, our country would be reduced to ashes by atom and hydrogen bombs and most of our families would be slain by them. We do not intend to await this event. We see the international horizon clearing. The war in Korea was ended by negotiations. The possibility of putting an end to the war in Viet Nam is growing as a result of President Ho Chi Minh's statements and public support for the ending of the war. These facts and the increasing number of voices demanding the solution of international differences by negotiation demonstrate the increasing power of the movement against the policy of strength.

"If we replace the policy of strength by negotiation, any country can live in friendship with other countries. Let us tomorrow start spreading this conviction among the masses of the people, calling on them to safeguard our peaceful life which is guaranteed by the Constitution, to resist the policy of military bases and the setting up of mercenary armed forces.

"The forces of Peace pledge that they will only cease their struggle when friendly co-operation between all countries has been attained. We call upon all Peace-loving people in our country to take up this struggle, whatever their political views, their profession or their religious beliefs, and to unite their efforts in the cause of Peace."

After elaborating the three main points emphasised by the Congress and stating that they *"must be solved by negotiation,"* the resolution of the National Congress of the Japanese Peace Movement ends with these words:

"We are ready to co-operate with anyone who agrees with us on any of these points.

"Unite to prevent another war!"

National Congress for Safeguarding "Peace Constitution" opens February 15th in Japan

On December 19th, a few days after the Congress of the Japanese Peace Movement, 130 prominent citizens met to organise "A National Meeting for the Safeguarding of the 'Peace Constitution'" and adopted a resolution opposing any amendment of the constitution and thereby the Yoshida Government's plan for re-armament.

A preparatory committee presided over by a former Prime Minister, Mr. *Tetsu Katayama,* was elected to prepare for the holding on February 15th, of a "National Congress for the Protection and Safeguarding of the 'Peace Constitution'" at which the various ideologies will be represented and in which people of all political and social backgrounds will take part.

THE CONFERENCE IN DEFENCE OF THE

The first Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East took place in Beirut on December 18th and 19th. The peoples of Iran, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and the Hadhramaut sent a hundred delegates from all walks of life—workers, peasants, students, women, intellectuals and scientists.

Public figures representing various trends of opinion—former Prime Ministers, former Ministers, Members of Parliament, religious leaders, tribal chiefs, delegates from the Nationalist, Progressive and Communist Parties, the Moslem Brotherhood and the Peace Movement—took part in the Conference which was called by a group of well-known Iranian citizens.

Peoples of Middle East forge united front to strengthen their co-operation

The Conference set up an Executive Committee to put into operation the decisions taken and issued a Manifesto which was unanimously adopted. The latter stressed the fact that, although the delegates held very different political views, they nevertheless reached the same conclusion, namely, that all the nations of the Middle East:

"are threatened by the same imperialist plans aimed at dragging our countries into adventures which are not in their interest. These plans are aggravating international tension and are a danger to the Peace of the world. The most dangerous are those for the creation of a system of joint defence and for an alliance between Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Iraq and the USA, along with similar plans, open or concealed, like Truman's 'Point 4' and Johnston's scheme. The iniquitous agreements forced on certain of our peoples are still in existence and are throttling their national independence and sovereignty. There are still military bases and occupation troops in North Africa, Libya, Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and other parts of the Arab peninsula. They are a threat to the security of the Middle East."

"It is universally believed," the Manifesto continues, "that the Palestine problem is the result of imperialist domination and its solution is bound up with the elimination of this domination.

"The delegates of Transjordan, Iran, Hadhramaut, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the Lebanon and Egypt, with the support of the peoples of North Africa and the Persian Gulf, have reached complete agreement on the need to strengthen their co-operation in the struggle by forging a united front."

A common programme for Independence and Peace

The 14 points of the common programme adopted include:

The rejection of any treaty, pact or military bloc which would threaten the Peace and security of the countries of the Middle East.

The annulment of military, economic or cultural pacts and treaties which are an infringement of the sovereignty and independence of these peoples.

The evacuation of foreign troops from the Arab countries.

The solution of all international conflicts and differences by peaceful methods and based on respect for the independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

The establishment of commercial and cultural relations with all countries irrespective of regime and on a footing of reciprocal advantage.

The solidarity of all the peoples of the Middle East for the successful realisation of this programme, and so on.

The Manifesto ends with the following words:

"These demands will have the support of all honest people in the world because national independence is a guarantee of Peace which is longed for by our peoples and by all other peoples."

The writers present at the Conference issued a statement emphasising their role in the battle for the independence of the peoples of the Middle East and their Executive Committee decided to commemorate, on March 9th, the 70th anniversary of the death of the great Middle East writer, Jamal el Dinh Afgani, one of the pioneers in the struggle for liberation from Ottoman domination.

Eminent figures called the Conference

The call for the Conference was made at Teheran, on August 14th, by a group of Iranian notabilities which included General *Shafai,* a former Minister, Mr. *Abul Fadl Lissani,* a former Senator, Mr. *Mortada Sarmad,* former Director General of Finance, and Dr. *Sohrab,* Professor at the University of Teheran.

The call met with a great response in the Arab countries and a number of prominent people of widely varying political, philosophic and religious views supported it.

IN SYRIA

More than 250 distinguished personages supported the Conference, including Mr. *Said Heidar,* former President of the Council of State, former Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies; Mr. *Mohamed Moubarek,* former Minister and one of the leaders of the Moslem Brotherhood; Mr. *Abdul Wahab Homad,* Deputy and former Minister; Mr. *Mohamed Al-Achmar,* one of the leaders of the 1925 Liberation Movement; Mr. *Mazhar Kouatli,* Vice-President of the Democratic Republican Party, Mr. *Abdul Halim Kaddour,* one of the leaders of the Party for Arab Renaissance, Mr. *Nassib Al-Assali,* barrister and member of the Party of Arab Liberation.

IN THE LEBANON

More than 50 politicians, religious leaders, barristers, journalists, economists and doctors, including Dr. *Mohamed Khaled,* President of the Lebanese National Association; M. *Kamal Jumblat,* Deputy and former Minister, President of the Progressive Socialist Party; Dr. *Machem Husseini,* Deputy and Sheik *Habid Al-Ibrahim,* Grand Mufti of the Shiites of the region of Bokaa.

OF THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES

MIDDLE EAST

IN IRAQ

Hussein Jamil, Deputy, former Minister and President of the Bar Association; *Massud Mohamed,* Deputy; *Mohamed Ziad Aga,* former Deputy; Sheik *Abdul Karim Machta,* prominent religious leader and Member of the World Council of Peace; *Taufit Munir,* Vice-President of the Bar Association; and Lutfi Bakr Sidki, journalist, etc.

IN TRANSJORDAN

The list of signatories included five Deputies among whom were: *Rashad Massawdeh, Abdul Kader Al-Saleh* and *Kadri Toukane,* Deputies in the Transjordan Chamber; and *Yahia Hammud,* President of the Bar Association.

Others took part in its work...

In addition to many of those who signed the Call for the Conference, the following people, among others, were present.

In the Egyptian delegation: Dr. *Ibrahim Rashad,* former First Secretary of the Ministry of Social Affairs; Dr. *Osman Amin,* President of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Cairo, who spoke on behalf of Egyptian University men; *Abdel Rahman Al-Sharkawi,* writer, *Hussein Arafa,* member of the Rally of National Liberation (General Neguib's Party), *Hussein Kamal El Din* and *Atia Ashur,* Professors at the University, etc.

In the Transjordan delegation: Soleiman Pasha Soweidy, former Deputy; tribal chiefs Sheik *Turky Bey Al-Kayed,* Sheik *Jablan Sayel Al-Shahwan,* Sheik *Ahmed Bey Hahmud; Abdel Bey Assaleh,* Deputy, etc.

In the Iranian delegation: Professor *Said Naficy,* Member of the Iranian Academy.

In the Lebanese delegation: Antoine Tabet, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace; *Georges Hanna,* member of the World Council of Peace; *Fuad Rizk,* Vice-President of the Progressive Socialist Party; *Ramadan Lawand,* member of the Party of the National Appeal, etc.

In the Syrian delegation: Zeki Khatib, Deputy and former Prime Minister; *Sami Kabbara,* Deputy and former Minister; *Munir Rayes,* journalist, who made a speech on behalf of the delegation; *Sobhi Khatib,* President of the Federation of Syrian Trade Unions, etc.

Great response to the Conference

This Conference—the first of its kind to be held in the Middle East—met with a great response in the Arab countries and had many messages of greetings sent to it.

His Eminence the Grand Sheik *Ibrahim Hamrouche,* first Sheik of Islam and former President of the Azhar Mosque, the most important University of the Moslem religion, sent a message expressing his regret at being unable to attend because of poor health.

"I support this Congress," read the message, *"with all my heart and I ask God to make it a success, so that it may result in the unity of the peoples of the East in their resistance to Western imperialism and their efforts to free themselves from aerodromes and military bases."*

Another eminent religious leader, Sheik *Bayomi* of the Al-Azhar Mosque said:

"On behalf of a number of Moslem religious leaders in Egypt, I wish that God, the blessed and All-powerful, may lead you to victory in your attempts to unite the ranks of all the sons of the East, irrespective of religious, communal or racial differences... This will be our contribution, together with the other peoples of the world, to the great efforts which for many years have been made to prevent the outbreak of another world war, to establish Peace and protect mankind and civilisation from destruction and ruin."

Messages were also sent by *Abdul Rahman Azzam,* former General Secretary of the Arab League, *Hussein Fahmy,* writer and Editor of the newspaper *"Al Gumhuriyat,"* organ of General Neguib's Rally of National Liberation, and Secretary of the Egyptian journalists' union.

A letter from M. *Abdel Wahab Homad,* former Syrian Minister of Education, greeted the Congress in these words:

"I have pleasure in greeting your Congress at Beirut and in wishing you the success merited by its great and noble aims...

"The imperialists... seek to drag our countries into conflicts which have nothing to do with them and the disastrous consequences of which they would have to suffer.

"Arabs have no interest in any war and it is our duty to see to it that our countries resist those who call for aggression and war so that we may not become the victims of their greed and their acts of aggression."

MESSAGE FROM YOUNG EGYPTIAN DOCTORS.

The Egyptian association of young doctors sent a message in which it is stated:

"By setting up military bases in our countries, the imperialists have created an atmosphere of widespread political tension and are really preparing for world war which would annihilate modern civilisation and the human race. Shall we be content to look on with this threat hanging over us?"

Before and during the Conference, several prominent Lebanese citizens expressed their approval of its aims. M. *Nassouh Agha Al Fadel,* Deputy, said: *"I support the idea of the Conference because it is lofty, patriotic and practical."* His Eminence *Abdel Hussein Sharafeddin,* Grand Moujtahed (religious and theological head) of the Shiites, together with two other religious leaders, *Hashem Marouf* and *Khalil Yassine,* declared their agreement with the Conference.

The President of the Lebanese Chamber, *Adel Ousseiran,* and the Deputies, Dr. *Salim Haidar* and *Georges Hrawi,* remarked favourably on the Conference and its aims.

The Algerian observers who were to have attended the Conference were not able to come to Beirut since the French authorities refused to allow them to leave the country. *Abderrhaman Bouchama* and *Smaïl Bourguida* sent telegrams regretting their enforced absence and wishing the delegates every success.

Press support

Many newspapers of all shades of opinion in Egypt, the Lebanon, Syria and Iraq also had favourable remarks to make on the work and decisions of the Conference.

The important Egyptian review *"Rose Al Youssef"* devoted a special article to it and *"Al Gumhuriat"* sent a special correspondent to Beirut, where the Conference took place, and published many articles and commentaries. Two other important Egyptian newspapers, *"Al Misri"* and *"Al Ahram,"* also opened their columns to it.

Of Lebanese newspapers, *"Al Hadaf," "Al Shark," "Al Yom,"* and especially *"Al Telegraph"* and *"Al Farkah"* which devoted even more space to it, gave their readers favourable news on the Conference.

So also did *"Saut El Ahali,"* organ of the National Democratic Party in Iraq.

In Syria, *"Al Liwaa"* gave news and comment from which the following extract is taken:

"The will of the peoples was reflected in the Beirut Conference and its resolutions. It will be expressed again in the popular conferences which will be held, now that the Beirut Conference has shown the way. This Conference showed that the representatives of the peoples can meet and give a genuine expression of the popular will."

"Al Anbaa" of Damascus calls the Conference a "turning point in the history of the Middle East" and the review, *"Al Sarkah,"* speaks of an "awakening of the peoples." The newspaper, *"Al Tahrir Al-Arabi,"* organ of the party of the same name, which is now in power in Syria, printed the manifesto and the resolution in full. So did *"Al Yom."*

IN BRAZIL WIDE SECTIONS OF PUBLIC OPINION STAND FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES

The National Referendum which has been going on in Brazil since September 1953 has enabled wide sections of the Brazilian people to declare themselves in favour of agreement between States and for the peaceful settlement of international differences.

In the recent period more organisations and public figures have spoken in support of this campaign of the Brazilian Peace Movement or along similar lines.

Trade union leaders

Since the trade union leader, *Astrogildo Ramos,* said: *"It is a highly patriotic step. Every citizen who loves his country must support the Referendum for agreement between the nations and vote for Peace,"* the President of the Confederation of Workers, leaders of national trade unions and leaders of Rio de Janeiro trade unions as important as those of the City Transport Workers and of the Food Workers, have issued calls to the working class to take part in the Referendum. This has also been done by trade union leaders in Sao Paolo, as for instance by those of the Metalworkers' Union. The latest to do so are thirteen Trade Union leaders of the State of Espirito Santo, who have signed an appeal for the peaceful solution of international differences.

Churchmen and students

The Methodist Church, in the person of one of its prominent leaders, Bishop *Cesar Dacorso,* has already signified its approval of the Referendum. And from Sao Luiz, capital of the State of Maranhao, comes the voice of a Catholic priest, Father *Artur Lopez Goncalves: "I am in favour of peaceful agreements to settle international differences."*

Two important student organisations, the Metropolitan Union of Students of the Federal District and the Extraordinary Students' Congress of the State of Bahia, encouraged young students to take part in the Referendum.

Representatives of the People

Finally, the campaign has made itself felt in political circles. In a declaration of their own, the majority of Deputies of the Federal Chamber pointed out that *"there is no international issue in dispute which cannot be resolved by negotiation, understanding and agreement between the countries concerned."* The Deputies who signed this declaration belong both to the parties of the Government coalition—the Brazilian Labour Party (the party of General Vargas), and the Social-Democratic Party—and to the National Democratic Union.

Many members of State Legislative Assemblies and Municipal Councils have taken up a similar position. The majority of the Municipal Councillors of Anapolis and Recife, and the Deputies of the Legislative Assemblies of the States of Pernambuco and Espirito Santo had already voted in favour of the Referendum; and now, a short while ago, the Municipal Council of the important town of Petropolis voted in favour with only one vote against.

Deputies of President Vargas' Party in the Federal Assembly came in person to the headquarters of the Peace Movement to cast their vote on the Referendum.

For a revival of trade with all nations

There is also a strong trend of opinion in Brazil which favours the re-establishment of normal commercial relations with the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy.

All strata of the Brazilian people, who are finding the economic crisis becoming daily more intolerable, are interested in this demand which was put forward in the first place by the Brazilian Peace Movement. Today, politicians in Government circles, including certain Ministers, declare themselves in favour and Press organs of the Government majority have started a campaign along the same lines. For example, the newspaper, *"Ultima Hora,"* opened its columns to a group of Senators and Deputies to the Federal Assembly. Among the latter are *Nestor* and *Samuel Duarte,* both well known in Brazil; the former include the younger *Artur Bernardes, Kerginaldo Cavalcanti* and *Mozart Lago.* All support the re-establishment of commercial relations between Brazil and the Soviet Union.

The Bulletin of the Brazilian Peace Movement quotes other statements in support of this demand made by Members of Parliament and many prominent persons. They include the President and five Deputies of the Legislative Assembly of Parana; the Vice-Governor of the same State; the President of the Municipal Council of Curitiba; the Municipal Councillors of Nilopolis; the Director of the Commercial Association of Rio de Janeiro representing a big commercial firm and a group of Managing Directors of industrial and commercial businesses; and the President of the Rural Association of Saõ José do Rio Preto in the State of Saõ Paolo, etc.

In a Manifesto issued on December 31st 1953 and signed by its President, *Abel Chermont,* the Brazilian Peace Movement takes note of the wide support given to its campaigns by representative sections of public opinion.

The Manifesto sets the tasks for the Peace Movement and ends: *"The World Council of Peace proposes that an International Meeting be held in 1954 permitting the free confrontation of all view-points on the possibility of the peaceful settlement of international differences. All organisations and citizens, desiring an easing of international tension should take part in this meeting.*

"The Brazilian Peace Movement fully agrees with this proposal and will do all in its power to make the Meeting a success in Brazil."

Campaign in Uruguay for a negotiated solution of international differences

A campaign for the negotiated solution of international differences is now being conducted in Uruguay. It was launched by the National Peace Council with the support of the General Workers' Union.

Among the most recent organisations to join the campaign are the Housewives' Conference, called by the Women's Union, and the Leather Workers' Union. The Congress of Metal Workers and Engineers included in its programme the annulment of the Uruguay-USA bilateral military pact, the negotiated solutions of international differences and agreement between the Five Great Powers.

The football teams "Singer Athletics" and "Tiger Athletic" made a public announcement of their support for the National Peace Council's campaign before beginning a match.

Lastly, a great signature campaign has been launched by Peace Committees in the working class parts of Montevideo.

On his return from the Vienna Session of the World Council of Peace

Snr. Baltasar CASTRO

President of the Chamber of Deputies

IS RECEIVED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE

On returning from his travels in Europe, during which he took part in the Vienna Session of the World Council of Peace and visited the Soviet Union, Snr. *Baltasar Castro,* President of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies and member of the World Council of Peace, was received by the President of the Republic. He gave the leader of the Republic of Chile an account of the Vienna Session and of the possibilities of establishing trade relations between the Soviet Union and Chile.

At the headquarters of the Chilean Peace Movement he made a report on the work of the World Council to a big audience. He said that, there, "Chile spoke for America, strangled by foreign domination. We were listened to because the tradition of struggle of our miners, men of the pampas, peasants, women and students, has won great prestige for our country."

NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE IN SWEDEN CALLS ON ALL FRIENDS OF PEACE TO JOIN FORCES

The national conference of the Swedish Peace Committee opened in Stockholm on January 10th under the chairmanship of Mr. Hjalmar Wermer and Mr. Humbert Hammarberg.

In addition to the delegates from local committees all over Sweden, this important conference was attended by many personalities representing the many pacifist organisations of the country. The conference adopted a resolution greeting the World Council of Peace's decision "to launch an Appeal to all Organisations and Personalities Desiring A Relaxation of International Tension for the holding of a great International Meeting in the near future."

"Sweden and its Peace-loving people," the resolution goes on, *"could do great things for world Peace by maintaining a policy of absolute neutrality.*

"The Swedish Peace Committee would welcome the holding of the meeting in Sweden as far as conditions permit.

"In order that the Meeting may gain the maximum support in Sweden, the Swedish Peace Committee calls on all local Peace Committees and all organisations and friends of Peace to join forces in arousing a powerful trend of opinion for:

The banning of weapons of mass destruction.

The peaceful solution of the German problem to allow the creation of a united, independent and democratic Germany and guaranteeing the peoples of Europe against the revival of German militarism.

The admission of the People's Republic of China to UNO, the first step towards ensuring Peace through Five-Power negotiation.

The expansion of trade and cultural relations with other countries.

"In order to win the widest support, the conference recommends the organisation of public meetings and petitions, the obtaining of declarations of support and the adoption of any other form of action for a broad mobilisation of public opinion, taking local conditions into account.

"The conference also recommends the holding of regional Peace Conferences and expresses its hope for closer co-operation between the Peace Movements of the Nordic countries."

Among those who took part in the conference were: Mme. *Isabelle Blume,* Belgian Secretary of the World Council of Peace; Mme. *Andrea Andreen,* member of the World Council of Peace and *Bengt Gunnäs,* Secretary of the Swedish Peace Committee. The writers, *Sekel Nordenstrand* and *Peter Mathis,* Professor *Yngve Björnstam, Dr. Lars Ehrenberg* and Mr. *Torsten Lindqvist* were present as were also Mrs. *Greta Engkvist* who plays an eminent role in Swedish pacifist organisations and Mr. *Herman Backman,* Secretary of the Swedish Quakers.

FIFTY-FOUR PUBLIC FIGURES IN INDONESIA CALL NATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS

In Indonesia, a National Peace Congress was held in Djakarta on January 24th on the initiative of a sponsoring committee composed of 54 well known Indonesian public figures in politics, religion, culture, education, and in the peasant and trade union movements.

The Committee also included 13 Members of Parliament amongst whom were:

Arudji Kartawinata, second Vice-President of the Parliament and President of the "Sjarikat Islam Party of Indonesia;"

Dr. *Djody Gondokusumo,* Minister of Justice and member of the "National Rakjat Party;"

Professor *S. M. Abidin,* Minister of Labour, member of the "Buruh Party;"

Otto Rondonuwu, Deputy of the P.N.I.;

Mr. *Padang,* Independent Deputy;

Mrs. *Rasuna Said,* member of the Peace Liaison Committee for the Asian and Pacific Regions, PSII Deputy;

K. Werdojo, trade union leader and "Buruh Party" Deputy;

Sidik Kertapati, leader of the Sakti Peasants' United Front, and Deputy;

Professor *Prijono,* historian and professor in the Djakarta Arts' Faculty and Professor *Purbodiningrat,* economist and Professor at the Gadjah Faculty, were also members of the Sponsoring Committee.

The call for the Congress states:

"...The most recent events have given rise to hope and have shown the possibility of settling all differences between nations through peaceful negotiations based on justice, mutual respect and understanding of the opinions, beliefs and political ideas of others."

The Congress was preceded by local and regional Peace Conferences at Semarang, Pemalang, Tegal, Solo, Jogjakarta, Sumbaja, Lamongan, Malang and so on.

At Bandoeng, Djakarta and Belikpapan, the oil centre, these conferences were markedly successful. The local Peace Committees of the islands of Sumatra and Sulawesi were also very active in the preparation of the Congress.

Lastly, in addition to the Peace Committees, various trade unions and peasant, women's, youth, student and other cultural organisations carried out intense propaganda for the Congress. Of the big unions which declared support for the Congress at official meetings, we may mention the Agricultural Workers' Union (Serbuksi), the Oilworkers' Union (Perbum), the Sugar Workers' Union (SBG), the Tobacco Workers' Union (SBRI), the Coconut-oil workers' Union, the West Java district of the Public Servants' Union and the Autonomous Regional Trade Union (Sebda).

❊

Statements in favour of a Five Power Conference in Canada...

A resolution adopted by the 18th Congress of the Saskatchewan Branch of the "Canada Commonwealth Federation", which took place in mid-November, states that *"the Canadian Government should work hard for a Meeting of the Five Great Powers ..."*

"Lasting Peace and the end of the Cold War," the resolution continues, *"are essentially dependent on strict agreements between the Great Powers."*

The resolution also demands an agreement on the reduction of armaments and for the prohibition of rearmament in Germany and Japan.

In Calgary, the annual Congress of the Labour Federation of Alberta, which is affiliated to the Canadian Labour Party, made a similar call for a meeting of the Five Great Powers and, in another resolution, demanded that atom bombs be made illegal.

...and in Trinidad

The Peace Committees of Trinidad and Tobago and British Guiana have jointly issued an Appeal for a Pact of Peace between the Five Great Powers and the collection of signatures began immediately.

During a meeting held in the Town Hall of San Fernando (Trinidad), a number of citizens, including an Indian Municipal Councillor, a businessman, a trade union secretary, the Secretary of the Peace Committee and two leaders of the West Indian Independence Party, announced their support for the Trinidad and Tobago Peace Committee.

A MESSAGE FROM THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO ALL ORGANISATIONS AND PERSONALITIES DESIRING A RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

The armistice concluded in Korea has given an uneasy world the hope at last of seeing a decrease in tension between the Great Powers. But the negotiations have come up against fresh obstacles.

Agreement is proving difficult on other questions of vital importance to the Peace of the world.

Yet the peoples long for a relaxation of international tension. The economic shackles and political pressures accompanying this tension are becoming increasingly difficult to bear.

We believe it is possible to rescue the world from this condition.

Today, a wide range of political and social forces in all countries are working for an improvement in international relations.

New voices among eminent men of science, religion and politics are raised in condemnation of the use of weapons of mass extermination. Public opinion is becoming alarmed at the growing accumulation of armaments of all types.

All reasonable people appreciate that it is not possible to settle problems of world importance or guarantee implementation of any agreement made, without the participation of the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Responsible representatives of all political groups in most of the countries of Western Europe have made a public stand against the revival of German militarism in any form.

In these circumstances, we think an opportunity should be given for all organisations or personalities who are striving for the relaxation of international tension, to concentrate their efforts on this question. Our own viewpoint on the problem is set out in the resolution passed in Vienna by the World Council of Peace on November 28th, 1953.

Joint preparation for a meeting allowing the free exchange of all viewpoints and the study of possible solutions is now needed.

An international meeting of this nature, held as soon as possible, would in itself be an important factor in the relaxation of international tension.

(Vienna, November 23rd-28th 1953)

BULLETIN
OF THE WORLD COU
OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WOR

Nº 6

Public opinion supports the camp a relaxation of international t

The Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin is arousing great interest. The Press and radio are giving it wide daily coverage. From all over the world, messages are pouring in expressing the people's desire for Peace. It is the object of a real popular discussion.

These facts demonstrate the interest taken by the public in the present Four-Power Meeting and the important role they assign to it for the maintenance of Peace.

It is also worth noting that the Berlin Conference has had to discuss not only the peaceful solution of the German problem and European security, but the whole complex of problems on which world Peace depends and which are all tied to one problem—the easing of tension.

The World Peace Movement has done much to draw public attention to these problems.

The Stockholm campaign made plain the need to prohibit weapons of mass destruction and is echoed today in the opening of preliminary talks on atomic energy between the USA and the Soviet Union.

The world campaign for a Five-Power Meeting—and this is particularly evident at the Berlin Conference—shows clearly that it is impossible to solve major international issues (disarmament and international trade, for example) without the participation of the People's Republic of China.

The preparation and holding of the Congress of the Peoples on the initiative of the World Council of Peace demonstrated that it is possible to replace resort to force by negotiation.

To the Peace Movement's contribution must be added that of the other elements who have helped in their own way, to create an atmosphere favourable to negotiation between the Five Great Powers. Indeed, the salient feature of the current world campaign for an easing of tension is the growing unity of the efforts being made on the national level to attain the goal of Peace.

But, while there is a growing hope and better prospects for the easing of tension, there are still many difficulties and obstacles to be overcome. European security, far from being guaranteed, is gravely endangered by the persistent attempts to divide Europe and to rearm Germany; Peace has not yet been negotiated in Korea nor has there been any agreement on the composition of the Political Conference; hostilities are still going on in Viet-Nam.

This situation emphasises the importance of the World Council's proposal to hold, at an early date, an International Meeting of organisations and notabilities desiring a relaxation of world tension. It confirms the need for joint effort on a wor lessening who, up action fo

Every campaign affect th ing an e to the p attention and the by a wid public fig of makin

The p of views of effort ideas an aration from, lea as indeed al event ce for th in 1954.

IN THIS BULLE

✻

The German people make their opinion known to the Big Four.

Eighty prominent Americans call for "negotiations in the spirit of give and take."

Italian public opinion rejects the EDC Treaty.

National Peace Congresses in Canada and Indonesia.

The Greek Union of the Friends of Peace of Greec

"Excha ain and science o ent Brit writers.

News Czechosl an, Viet- guay, th countries

What the Press is saying ...

Public opinion is following with great attention the work of the Berlin Conference, as the following excerpts from the Press show.

If we compare the probable intentions of the Kremlin with the conditions which the British and American diplomats, at least, are bringing with them to Berlin, we may ask what exactly is the reason for a Four-Power Meeting at a time when Western Europe is much less integrated than Eastern Europe and when the Soviet Union does not yet consider itself in any way bound to withdraw from the heart of the Continent. The answer is, that Western statesmen, particularly those of France, Great Britain and Germany, have to take public opinion into account.

NEUE ZÜRCHER ZEITUNG,
January 14th.
(Switzerland)

Though Molotov said nothing new, he nevertheless stated the literal truth when, in his first statement on arriving in Berlin, he declared that millions of people throughout the world hoped that the forthcoming Conference would strengthen Peace and lessen the tension in international relations.

Editorial in IL MESSAGERO,
January 24th.
(Italy)

In all countries, and more especially in Germany, broad sections of public opinion are following the Berlin Conference with great attention. The peoples' desire to find a way of lessening international tension is so great that they are demanding unremittingly that all obstacles be overcome.

PRAVDA, February 1st.
(USSR)

The three Western Foreign Ministers are acting in perfect concert. Their experts, M. de Margerie, Mr. Douglas MacArthur and Sir Frank Roberts, work together every morning. The Ministers very often have lunch together. They assign the role to be played by each, while taking into account, as far as possible, the reactions of their respective peoples. Unfortunately the latter disagree on many points, thus obliging their representatives to indulge in a certain amount of acrobatics.

From André Fontaine,
LE MONDE's Special
Correspondent in Berlin.
January 30th. (France)

In the last few months, voices have been heard in France calling for a rapprochement with Russia. The French Parliament, beset with instability, has still not yet ratified the American-backed European Army plan for raising a large West-German military force. Many Frenchmen appeared to dislike the plan as much as the Russians do.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
article by Gaston Coblentz,
January 25th. (USA)

That the hopes of the British people accompanied Mr. Eden to Berlin cannot be doubted. Popular newspapers have this week found it profitable to sell Mr. Molotov as a sympathetic figure.

NEW STATESMAN AND NATION,
January 30th. (Britain)

Millions of men and women throughout the world, more especially the German people, expect the Berlin Meeting to contribute towards the consolidation of Peace, the relaxation of international tension, European security and the peaceful solution of the German question.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
(Germany)

As a propagandist, Dulles has much to learn from Molotov, who, never getting any replies to his embarrassing questions, finally brought out a new trump card—his proposal for a conference on disarmament at which the atomic pool would also be discussed.

The fact that this proposal was received with sneers is hardly likely to increase the confidence of the public ...

MORGEN-TIDNINGEN, January 29th.
(Sweden)

The Berlin Conference may pave the way for greater East-West trade because the US needs new markets and the Soviet seeks manufactured goods. It is possible that progress may be made in the Austrian Treaty. For reasons of propaganda it is unlikely that atomic negotiations will be suspended and, to avoid the onus of jingoism, each side will probably agree to meet with the other again.

C. L. Sulzberger, NEW YORK TIMES,
January 24th. (USA)

How many people in Paris would refuse to look twice at an offer to call off the war in Indo-China ...

ECONOMIST, January 30th.
(Britain)

The majority of the French Parliament wants Peace in Indo-China and would not forgive him (Bidault) *for having lost a chance of obtaining it.*

Retranslation from dispatch of
REUTER'S, January 29th.

The Western delegations ... bring forward the argument that Molotov's warning on the terrible dangers of German militarism has met with a response from public opinion.

Retranslation from dispatch of
ASSOCIATED PRESS,
February 5th. (USA)

How can one qualify the attitude of a French delegation which sets itself the task of defending a policy which is probably rejected by a majority of the Parliament and, further, of winning support for this policy from a nation, Russia, considered by this majority as being able to help France reject this policy?

L'INFORMATION, February 2nd.
(France)

I was made aware of a strong belief that, should the Four-Power Conference break down on this (the German) *issue, much of the Western diplomatic and propaganda initiative would be lost in Germany itself...*

From a letter of Viscount Hinchingbrooke
to the Editor of THE TIMES,
January 14th. (Britain)

Eden's argument—that Parliamentary elections already give the Germans sufficient opportunity to state their opinion on the Bonn and Paris Agreements—proves that the Western Powers do not desire a direct consultation of the Germans themselves. They fear that a united Germany would not support the 1952 Agreements (i.e. of Bonn and Paris).

DIE TAT (Switzerland)

Britain has a special part to play at the Berlin Conference. She should use her influence to bring China to the Conference table ... Settlement in the Far East cannot be reached without China.

DAILY EXPRESS, January 26th.
(Britain)

The London evening newspaper, the "Star," dealing with the question of a Five-Power Conference, asks the USA to recognise the Chinese Government. "This," it says, "is only common sense."

The Indian papers, the "Assam Tribune" and the "National Herald" pointed out that the idea of a Five-Power Conference, including the People's Republic of China, was well-founded.

By letters, telegrams, delegations and resolutions

THE GERMAN PEOPLE MAKE THEIR OPINION KNOWN TO THE BIG FOUR

In a great variety of ways—letters, telegrams, delegations, meetings and statements by public figures—the people of Germany have intimated to the four Foreign Ministers their keen desire to see the Conference reach an agreement on the peaceful unification of Germany.

Here are a few examples illustrating the many methods used to make known to the Foreign Ministers the German people's desire for Peace.

• In Amberg, Fürth, Wuppertal and Nuremberg there have been demonstrations demanding the peaceful unification of Germany and condemning remilitarisation. In a resolution, the people of Nuremberg stated: "The German people do not want the EDC Treaty which holds over them the menace of the atom bomb; they want a Peace Treaty and the withdrawal of all occupation troops."

The representatives of 1,500,000 unemployed

On behalf of the 1,500,000 people out of work in West Germany, the Committee of West German Unemployed asked to be received as a delegation by the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin.

This delegation was given the responsibility of describing to the Foreign Ministers "the results of Chancellor Adenauer's war policy on the situation of the unemployed in Western Germany," and of informing the Ministers of the hopes placed by the unemployed in the Foreign Ministers' talks.

• A demonstration took place in the "Casino am Funkturm" in West Berlin, on January 20th. People of all political views from East and West Berlin took part. They demanded a united Germany, condemned remilitarisation under EDC and called for the withdrawal of the motion on the Military Service Bill in the Bonn Parliament.

• Groups of young people in Munich, Hildesheim, Hamburg and the I. G. Holz of Wuppertal sent letters to the Berlin Conference informing the four Foreign Ministers of their opposition to remilitarisation and their great desire for a united, democratic and peaceful Germany.

• A letter from 60 West German intellectuals to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France asks that "the Conference recommend to the two German Governments that they now facilitate" cultural relations between the two zones "by mutual agreements."

The signatories to this letter include:

Dr. Ackerknecht, Professor at the University of Ludwigsburg; *Dr. Asam-Brückmüller,* Health Service Inspector in Ansbach; *Dr. Johann Aufhauser,* Professor at the University of Munich; *Dr. Johannes Hessen,* Dean of the University of Cologne; *Herr Eugen Kühlewein,* painter from Karlsruhe; *Herr Carlo Mense,* painter and teacher at Honnef-on-Rhine; *Pastor Herbert Mochalski,* Editor of the Confessional Church's bimonthly magazine, *"Die Stimme der Gemeinde,"* Darmstadt; *Dr. Friedrich Müller,* former Director of the Administrative Tribunal of Wiesbaden; *Herr Heinz von Rebeur-Paschwitz,* lawyer of Nuremberg; *Herr Georg Schwartz,* writer of Munich; *Herr Ludwig Zimmerer,* writer of Dusseldorf.

• Public figures in the German Federal Republic sent a message to the Foreign Ministers voicing the German people's desire to have a say in the Conference. "They rightly hope that it will result in an attenuation of international tension and efficacious preparations for the unification" of Germany. The signatories include the former Deputies, *Herr Herman Etzel* and *Frau Thea Arnold;* the publisher, *Herr Ernst Rowohlt;* the former infantry general, *Franz Beyer; Dr. Georg Groot,* Deputy in the Lower Saxony Parliament; the actor, *Herr Georg Wahl* and *Pastor Kurt Essen.*

• In an interview, *Herr Alois Körner,* Chairman of the Central Works' Council of the Saar Basin, declared: "The 58,000 miners of the Saar expect the Foreign Ministers' Conference to unite Germany, put an end to arbitrary imperialist policy and ensure the genuine sovereignty of the German people . . ."

Dr. Wehner, spokesman of the Social Democratic Party of Western Germany, declared, on February 5th, in Berlin where he is following the work of the Foreign Ministers' Conference: "By sticking dogmatically to the European Defence Community, the Western Powers are preventing a genuine discussion on the problem of European security and on Germany's position in a European system of collective security."

Religious authorities . . .

The Fraternal Council (Bruderrat) of the Evangelical Church has stated: "Millions of people look upon this Conference in hope and expectation. It can be decisive for the future of the peoples of the world and for our own future. We know the great responsibility incumbent upon the men meeting in this Conference. We therefore consider it our duty as Christians to pray for all those who are taking part in it."

The Federal Council of the Confessional Church of Germany, in a letter to sister Churches in France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, points out the decisive importance of the Four Power Conference and calls upon the leaders of these churches to impress upon their Governments the heavy responsibility which lies upon those taking part in it.

In a pastoral letter the Catholic Bishop of Fulda urges all the faithful in his diocese to pray for the success of the Conference, so that it may serve to bring about the unity of the German people and a lessening of tension and Peace between the nations.

The "National Front," on behalf of 9,000,000 GERMANS . . .

A delegation from the "National Front of the German Democratic Republic" has handed to the Foreign Ministers' Conference a letter asking that representatives of the German Democratic and of the Federal Republics should take part in the discussion on the German problem. Here is the text of the letter:

"The National Council of the 'National Front of the German Democratic Republic' has the honour to inform the Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the USSR, the USA, the UK and the French Republic that the request that representatives of the German Democratic Republic and of Western Germany take part in the discussion on the German problem during the Foreign Ministers' Conference, is supported by the majority of the German people.

"Workers and peasants, intellectuals and scientists and representatives of all sections of the population of the German Democratic Republic and of the democratic sector of the German capital have sent messages to this effect to the National Council of the 'National Front of the German Democratic Republic.' They bore the signatures of 9,275,028 Germans . . .

"Many letters from all over Western Germany, and bearing a great number of signatures, have also been sent to the National Council of the 'National Front of the German Democratic Republic' . . .

"In response to the wishes of the signatories of all these letters, the National Council of the 'National Front of the German Democratic Republic' considers that its national duty is to forward these letters to the Berlin Conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs."

UNITED STATES: 80 public figures call for

"Negotiations in the spirit of give and take"

EIGHTY prominent Americans issued a call for "negotiations in the spirit of give and take" on the eye of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin.

Announcing this, *Mr. Thomas Richardson,* national co-director of the American Peace Crusade, said that the US-Soviet talks on atomic energy and the Foreign Ministers' Conference were *"important steps toward the achievement of world Peace through negotiations.*

"Every thinking person welcomes these developments. We all hope for their success... An immediate step, pending the final solution of international control, should be agreement among all the Powers not to initiate atomic war. We should support our country's moves in such a direction."

Those who initiated the appeal were *Professor Robert Morss Lovett,* former Governor of the Virgin Islands; *Professor Philip Morrison,* nuclear physicist; *John Gojack,* President of the Michigan-Indiana district of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and the *Reverend Kenneth Forbes,* director of the Episcopal League for Social Action, Philadelphia.

Among the 80 signatories are: *Hon. Elmer Benson,* former Governor of Minnesota; *John T. Bernard* of Chicago, a former Congressman; *Russell N. Chase* of Cleveland, attorney; *Florence Converse* of Wellesley, Mass., author; *Dr. William W. Denton* of Tucson, Arizona, educator; *Fyke Farmer* of Nashville, Tennessee, leader of the World Government movement; *William Harrison,* editor of the *"Boston Chronicle;" Thomas F. Ogilvie,* publisher of the *"Jersey Times,"* Atlantic City, N. J.; *Theodore Rosebury,* bacteriologist and author of *"Peace or Pestilence?;" Dr. Alva W. Taylor,* theological professor of Nashville, Tennessee and *Abraham Welanko,* professor emeritus of psychology at Stanford University.

Holland: 1,500 delegates at National Congress for Vigilance against German Militarism

THE National Congress for Vigilance against the Revival of German Militarism took place in Amsterdam on Sunday, January 17th.

Nearly 1,500 delegates and visitors, representing the various political, religious and cultural organisations of Holland, took part in the Congress. An appeal was adopted calling on the Dutch people to unite in opposition to the revival of German militarism and the EDC.

"The EDC treaty violates the Dutch Constitution," says the Appeal, *"it sacrifices the country's sovereignty and independence, increases military expenditure to an intolerable extent and paves the way for the revival of German militarism—a grave threat to Holland."*

In her opening speech *Professor M. B. Minnaert-Coelingh* said:

"We expect the Four Power Meeting to put an end to German militarism once and for all."

During the discussion that followed, the representatives of the various trends of opinion put forward the reasons for their opposition to EDC from their point of view.

One speaker after another came up to the platform: Royalists, Christian pacifists, farm workers, housewives, representatives of the Dutch Teachers' Association, municipal councillors, trade unionists and members of the Labour Party, dockers, engineers, students, writers and artists.

France: The Berlin Conference must stimulate, not check, the national protest campaign

The Liaison Bureau of the "National Conference of November 8th, 1953" and the "French Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem" held a joint meeting on January 26th with Dr. Robert Monod, Professor of Medicine, in the chair, assisted by M. René Capitant, former Minister, and M. Michel Bruguier.

A unanimously adopted statement points out that M. Georges Bidault persists in presenting the EDC as an accomplished fact, and continues: "the opening of the Berlin Conference must stimulate, not check, our national protest campaign."

ITALIAN

European

THE Italian people's struggle is, above all, being waged in the form of conferences and explanations to the public. The most noteworthy of these was the debate on the EDC organised by the independent newspaper, *"Milano Sera."* The many public figures who, during the debate, denounced the EDC, included *Signor Ferrucio Parri,* former President of the Council of Ministers; Professors *Augusto Monti* and *Enzo Enriques Agnoletti;* Signor *Paolo Pavolini,* publisher, and the Deputy, *Signor Tristano Codignola.*

A debate on the EDC is being organised in **Naples** in which university students, journalists, lawyers and writers will take part. The best monographs on the EDC will receive prizes and their authors will read them in person at a public meeting.

In **Milan,** the Communist, Catholic, Social Democratic and Socialist workers of the "Tosi" factory united in commemorating the deportation of 4,000 workers to Germany. The workers gave to this ceremony the character of a demonstration against the EDC.

In **Venice,** a delegation from Western Germany presented gifts to the orphan children of people deported to Germany at the final demonstration of the "Week for the Relaxation of Tension and Peace."

The Association of Former Deportees to Germany is playing an important part in the campaign and has held meetings in **Bologna, Florenco** and **Modena.** It is planned to hold another in **Rovigo.**

In the province of Bologna, "Notebooks for Peace and National Independence" are at present being distributed. In them the people are writing down their experiences of and comments on the Nazi occupation in Italy—statements on the atrocities committed, the sufferings of the Italian people and their heroic fight for liberty. This campaign will be taken up in other provinces.

The latest demonstrations against the EDC are those that have just taken place in **Reggio nell' Emilia** and **Mantua.** *Sig. Emilio Sereni,* Senator and member of the World Council of Peace, was the principal speaker. He also spoke at **Sienna** at a demonstration which was preceded by 40 smaller meetings throughout the city.

Sig. Mario Berlinguer, Deputy, spoke at a public meeting in **Cagliari** and *Sig. Umberto Terracini* spoke at a meeting of the Peace Committee in **Rome.**

A delegation from the families of those slain in the Ardeatine massacre presented a petition rejecting the EDC to the two Houses of Parliament. It bore 45 fresh signatures of relatives of the victims.

The Peace Movement and the National Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem are leading this campaign.

During the campaign the Peace Movement is setting up new committees in the factories and localities, widening the influence and improving the organisation of those already in existence.

PUBLIC OPINION REJECTS Defence Community Treaty

The Italian people's struggle against the EDC and German rearmament is spreading to new sections and, as in France, is beginning to have strong repercussions in Parliament.

The Governmental programme presented by Signor Fanfani to solve the Parliamentary crisis included the early ratification of the EDC Treaty. Its rejection in Parliament was a defeat for the protagonists of a plan condemned by public opinion.

Unity At National Level

THE Peace Movement has made contact with various organisations fighting the EDC in order to co-ordinate all individual activities within a campaign of greater scope.

The Union of Italian Women, for example, decided that International Women's Day (March 8th) would be a day of opposition to the EDC in Italy.

It is the Peace Movement's intention to develop a campaign similar to those for the Stockholm and Berlin Appeals in its scope, continuity and strength.

At the same time, important declarations of opposition to the EDC have been obtained. That of *Sig. Ferruccio Parri* has already been mentioned. There were also those of *Sig. Ettore Viola,* Deputy, President of the Association of Italian Ex-Servicemen and Vice-President of the International Association of Ex-Servicemen, and of Social Democratic circles in the "Socialist Autonomy" group.

The Monarchist daily, *"Giornale d'Italia,"* printed an article by *General Vicenzo Petitti,* in which he says:

"... Of what use would be an EDC, born with the aid of forceps, mothered by a Parliamentary majority under compulsion, child of a loveless marriage which is already a source of division and conflict? How, in these circumstances, can one demand, in an era as fast-moving as our own, an irredeemable mortgage on the rights and duties of a nation until the year 2004?"

In Milan, young Catholics and the leaders and the whole Milan section of the Young European Federalists have declared their opposition to the EDC. The National Congress of the Young European Federalists, held in Leghorn in January, revealed that the movement is going through a deep crisis, precisely because there is a growing number of Federalists who believe that genuine European unity is incompatible with German rearmament.

The Tenth Anniversary of the Resistance

THE tenth anniversary of the beginning of the Italian people's struggle against German militarism and for national liberation is being enthusiastically commemorated throughout the country. At a demonstration which took place in Rome in mid-January, *Senator Emilio Sereni* sent a message of greetings to *Sig. Cervi,* the father of seven patriots killed by the Nazis. Sig. Sereni sent the message in the name of the National Peace Committee of which he is Vice-President.

The Peace Movement is represented at all the demonstrations held in honour of the tenth anniversary of the commencement of the resistance, in order to emphasise the close link between the Italian people's struggle for national liberation and their present opposition to German militarism.

Against Military Bases

AT the same time, a campaign of opposition to the US plan to set up an atomic base in Naples is being carried on there. It consists of meetings in the working-class quarters, delegations and petitions. An important protest meeting took place and the Trades Council asked Deputies of all parties to oppose the threat hanging over the city. The former Senator, *Sig. Arturo Labriola,* said: "The setting up of an atomic bomb depot in Naples is a crime against our city."

A similar campaign is taking place in the province of Leghorn. At Novara, *Senator Donini* spoke at a demonstration protesting against the plan to construct a US military aerodrome in the region.

Similar activity by the people of Ravenna to prevent the construction of a US aerodrome in the province was the occasion for great activity by the Peace Movement. Some 150 Peace Committees, representing the great majority of the population, were set up.

Trade With All Countries

THE campaign for trade with all countries has had a wide influence throughout Italy. Italian industrialists are very discontented at the restrictions imposed by the Battle Act. Now that big British and French delegations are going to the Soviet Union to conclude trade agreements, they are rightly afraid of once more being placed at a disadvantage *vis-à-vis* their British and French competitors.

For this reason the "Congress For Trade With The East," held in Genoa on January 30th and 31st, had a great success.

Representatives of 30 Italian business houses and trading organisations took part; this had wide repercussions. The R.I.V. ball-bearing factories in Turin, which employ 10,000 workers and are meeting with serious difficulties in their export trade, sent a representative.

The "Fiat" works were represented by *Sig. Giacomo Sosso.*

The Congress was supported by the Genoa Chambers of Commerce and by the following public figures:

Sig. Ferruccio Parri, former President of the Council of Ministers; *Senator Bertone* (Christian Democrat). Vice-President of the Senate and former Minister of Finance; *Dr. Carlo Bassi,* Secretary of the Genoa branch of the Bank of Italy; *Sig. Casella,* engineer, member of the Board of Directors of the C.G.E. concern; *Dr. Brumiati,* Counsellor of the Italian Chambers of Commerce for Foreign Trade; *Dr. Botti* from the Parma Chambers of Commerce; *Sig. Mario Cosulich,* from the Trieste Chambers of Commerce and Industry; *Dr. Stefano Luomi,* Director of the Genoa Banca del Lavoro, etc.

"Ratification would increase the danger of a third world war"

declares Senator Kluyskens of Belgium

Prominent Belgians, who had not yet made public their opinion on the Bonn and Paris Agreements, have just joined those who have already condemned the EDC.

Among these are *Professor Kluyskens* (Christian-Social Party) and *M. Vergeylen,* both Senators of Ghent. They stated to a delegation that they would vote against the ratification of the EDC Treaty.

In the opinion of Professor Kluyskens, the ratification of the EDC would greatly increase the danger of a third world war and would destroy any possibility of negotiations between East and West.

Senator Vergeylen gave it as his opinion that 99 per cent of Ghent Socialists were opposed to EDC.

The referendum against the European Army is being carried out successfully throughout the country.

THE JAPANESE PEOPLE OPPOSE REARMAMENT AND MILITARISATION

The Japanese people's struggle against rearmament and militarisation has grown greatly since the beginning of the year, especially in these last few weeks which have seen a great deal of activity.

A new programme launching a campaign against rearmament and in defence of the Constitution was adopted at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Japanese Peace Council on January 18th.

"The fight against rearmament is the present, central task of Japan's Peace Movement," it says. It calls for the restoration of diplomatic relations with China and the Soviet Union, the promotion of friendly relations and trade among all nations, the holding of a Five-Power Conference, arms reduction and the banning of atomic weapons.

It was decided to hold Peace Conferences from April 1st-22nd, in Tokio, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, Hiroshima, Kyoto, Kobe, Nagoya, Sendai and elsewhere.

Japanese Teachers Oppose Militarist Education

The struggle against the militarisation of Japan was also dealt with at the Third Educational Research Conference called by the 500,000-strong Japanese Teachers' Union which took place from January 25th-28th.

The 500 delegates present heard *Mr. Shigeru Nambara,* former Chancellor of Tokio University, condemn the attempt to revive militarist education as an adjunct of Japan's rearmament.

"Peace, not militarism, is the only way to guarantee Japan's security," he asserted.

Other Activities Against Rearmament

On January 30th and 31st, a National Assembly organised by the General Council of Trade Unions, took place to oppose the Government rearmament programme.

An inaugural meeting was held on January 15th of the "National Federation for the Protection of the Constitution," which has been joined by over 100 Japanese organisations and is presided over by a former Premier, *Mr. Tetsu Katayama.* As a result, a National Conference was held on February 15th to protect Japan's constitution against changes that would permit rearmament.

THE "GREEK UNION OF THE FRIENDS OF PEACE"

which has recently been made legal

LAUNCHES APPEAL TO PEOPLE OF GREECE

THE "Greek Union of the Friends of Peace," set up a few months ago, has just been made legal. Its leaders include *Nikos Bees,* Academician; *L. Manolides,* Colonel and Brigade leader; *Markos Avgheris,* writer; *Kostas Varnalis,* poet; *Ilias Bredimas,* journalist; *Kostas Sotiriu,* teacher; *Kostas Athanassiades,* barrister; *Assimakis Yalamas,* writer; *Felix Fikioris,* barrister; *St. Mastroyannakis,* trade unionist, and *J. Evangelidis,* barrister.

At the New Year the "Committee of the Friends of Peace," the Union's leading body, addressed a message to the Greek people:

"...We call upon the Greek people to strengthen the ranks of the Peace Movement, to join pacifist organisations and to struggle for the defence of Peace in our country.

"We call upon intellectuals and our cultural institutions to realise their responsibility for the protection and development of civilisation and progress and to use their moral and spiritual authority to become the apostles and defenders of Peace in Greece.

"We speak to our country's politicians with the certainty that they will understand how terrible the results of another war would be. We call upon them to give every support to the spirit of détente in international relations, to friendly discussions between the Great Powers and the peaceful settlement of differences, particularly with our neighbours, to the condemnation and prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction. We call on them to support the efforts being made to establish a lasting Peace in the world."

"Negotiations must lead to agreement"

Says Dr. Endicott at the Canadian "Congress For Negotiated Peace"

The Congress for Negotiated Peace was held in the Massey Hall, Toronto, on January 30th and 31st, and was attended by 1,500 delegates elected at meetings in nearly every province of Canada. In addition, 1,154 people sent subscriptions and letters asking the Congress to consider them as delegates.

During the first session, *Dr. Endicott* made a speech in which he developed the idea that negotiations must lead to agreement and described the great strength of the Peace Movement and the growth of a world-wide movement for Peace.

Giving the Congress the results of the referendum organised by the Canadian National Peace Congress, he stated that it can be said that more than 80 per cent of Canadians expressed the sensible opinion that the representatives of the Great Powers should meet in order to solve international issues by negotiation.

The Congress asked the Canadian Government and Parliament to declare that Canada will not be the first country to use atomic weapons and announce her readiness to join in a similar declaration with all countries.

"THE PEOPLE OF VIET-NAM WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT THE NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DIFFERENCES"—

General Secretary of Viet-Nam Peace Committee

At the extended session of the Viet-Nam Peace Committee on January 19th at which representatives of all the political parties and mass organisations were present, *M. Xuan Thuy,* General Secretary of the Committee, stated:

"We stand firmly on the side of the forces of Peace who have set themselves the task of reaching a peaceful, negotiated solution of international differences in order to lessen world tension."

Referring to the interview given by President *Ho Chi Minh* to the Swedish newspaper, *"Expressen,"* last November, *M. Xuan Thuy* pointed out that these proposals had met with the warm support of Peace-loving people the world over.

At the end of the session the Committee expressed its eagerness to take part in the international conferences which will be organised this year to achieve a lessening of international tension.

In Pakistan and India

FURTHER PROTESTS AGAINST PROPOSED MILITARY PACT WITH USA

THE proposed military alliance between Pakistan and the USA continues to arouse a wave of anxiety and protest in Pakistan and neighbouring countries.

A resolution adopted by the conference of the All Pakistan Jamit I Ulema I Islam (Organisation of Preachers of Islam), held recently, declared that Pakistan's religious, political and economic freedoms are more important than any military aid and that no steps should be taken that might jeopardise them.

The Eastern Pakistan Youth League passed a resolution calling upon the people to organise themselves in opposition to it.

In India, there is a growing number of demonstrations and meetings called either by the Peace Movement, as in Delhi on January 10th, or by all political parties, as in Bombay on January 24th. In Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, 10,000 followers of the Hindu religion held a mass meeting on the banks of the Ganges, on January 28th, at which similar protests were made. In Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, many political leaders expressed grave concern over the proposed pact at a meeting on January 21st. Students and teachers held demonstrations in Amritsar, Calcutta and Patiala (capital of Pepsu). In Bhatinda, the first Conference of the Pepsu Girl Students' Association condemned the pact.

Jagat Narain, Education Minister in the East Punjab Government, warned a meeting, 10,000-strong, in Ludhiana, that the establishment of military bases in Pakistan would be a danger to Peace. *Chandreshwar Prasad Narain Singh,* Governor of East Punjab, condemned the proposed military pact, at Chandigarh, on January 26th, maintaining that it would deprive Pakistan of its sovereignty.

"EXCHANGE OF IDEAS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND CHINA FRUITFUL FOR ART AND SCIENCE OF BOTH COUNTRIES"

Say eminent British scientists, artists and writers

Men and women prominent in the British arts and sciences are putting their signatures to a declaration which is to be sent to their colleagues in the People's Republic of China. The declaration says:

"...We believe that the exchange of ideas and information between Britain and China can be fruitful for the future development of art and science in both countries, as such exchanges have been in the past. We believe that close cultural relations can do much to foster mutual understanding and friendship between our two peoples. It is our earnest wish to see an end to all the dissensions which at present threaten to separate us.

"With these aims in view we are determined to work for the fullest scientific and cultural exchange between our two countries. We feel sure that we can look forward to your co-operation."

Among those who have already signed are:

Professor *Sir Patrick Abercrombie* (Professor Emeritus of Town Planning in the University of London and President of the International Union of Architects); *Lord Boyd-Orr,* F.R.S. (former Director-General of the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation and Nobel Peace Prize-winner, 1949); *Lord Chorley* (jurist); *Professor C. A. Coulson,* F.R.S. (Professor of Applied Mathematics at Oxford University); *Mr. Christopher Fry* (dramatist); *Mr. Laurence Housman* (author and artist); *Mr. Augustus John,* O.M., R.A. (painter); *Professor Kathleen Lonsdale,* F.R.S. (Professor of Chemistry and Head of the Department of Crystallography, University College, London); *Sir Compton MacKenzie* O.B.E. (author); *Mr. Henry Moore* (sculptor); *Mr. Stanley Spencer,* C.B.E., R.A. (painter); *Miss Moira Shearer* (ballerina); *Dr. Arthur Waley* F.B.A. (poet and Orientalist).

First Indonesian Peace Congress in Djakarta

A reception given for the delegates by the President of the Indonesian Republic, *Dr. Achmed Soekarno,* on January 29th, closed the first Indonesian National Peace Congress which had opened in Djakarta five days before. Dr. Soekarno assured the delegates that he would study the Congress resolutions with great attention.

The Congress sent a message to the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin urging that a Five-Power Conference be held. Such a meeting, the Message said, *"would facilitate the speedy solution of international issues on a sound basis."*

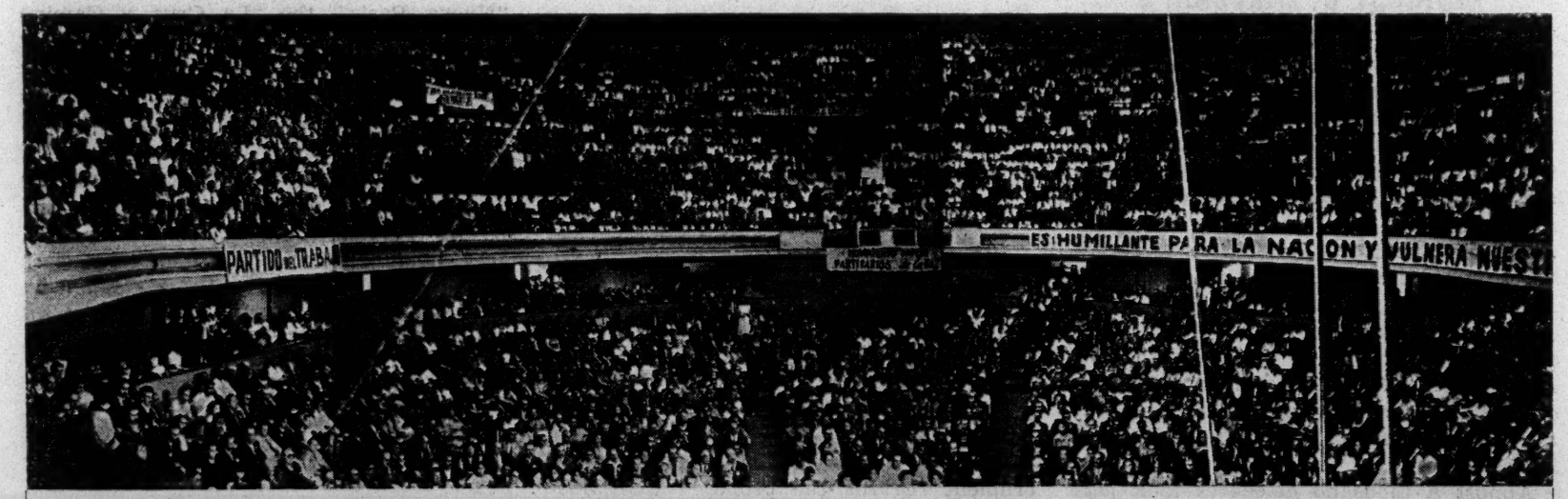
In a Message to the United Nations, the Congress called for an early meeting of the Political Conference on Korea, the admission of the People's Republic of China to UNO and respect for the right of self-determination of the peoples of Viet-Nam and Malaya.

At the end of the proceedings—on which a fuller report will be given in the next Bulletin—the Congress elected an Executive Committee of 56 members, including Professor *S. M. Abidin,* Minister of Labour; *Professor Ir. Roosene,* Minister of Transport; *Mr. Djody Gondokusumo,* Minister of Justice; *Mr. Sadjarwo,* Minister of Agriculture; *Mr. Arudji Kartawinata,* second Vice-President of the Parliament and many Members of Parliament, university professors, political leaders and leaders of workers' and peasants' movements, and so on.

Other public figures, such as the Mayor of Djakarta, attended the Congress or, as did *Mr. Sartono,* President of the Constituent Assembly, spoke in praise of the peoples' fight for Peace, freedom and independence.

Baltasar Castro reports back on World Council Vienna Session to

10,000 People in Santiago de Chile



In Santiago de Chile, on January 17th, 10,000 people crowded into the "Caupolican," the biggest theatre in the Chilean capital, to hear Señor Baltasar Castro, President of the Chamber of Deputies, give a report on the last session of the World Council of Peace.

Around the World

"We are here as businessmen..."

The growing trend of opinion for negotiation and Peace can have beneficial results for trade. It creates considerable possibilities for expansion.

This has just been stressed by Mr. J. B. Scott, sales director of Crompton Parkinson Ltd., who, after the great success of the recent Anglo-Soviet trade negotiations in Moscow, said that they were there as businessmen. They believed in the expansion of Anglo-Soviet trade and in Peace and saw no reason why the flags of the two countries should not fly together in the future.

USA

Dr. Kingsbury, President of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, stated to the Press:

"Our thoughts and hopes are at present centred on the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Berlin. We like to believe that, bearing in mind the true meaning of Stalingrad—its victory in war and its reconstruction in Peace—these statesmen will find the way to agreement that will realise the yearning of mankind for a world at Peace."

Britain

The British organisation, "Teachers for Peace," called a Conference in London on the theme—International Tension and Problems of Education.

Two hundred people took part, some of whom were from the Dominions and Colonies. They adopted a statement welcoming "the recent exchange of views between the Governments of the USA and the Soviet Union on the use of atomic energy" and "the coming Four-Power talks in Berlin."

France

The Executive Committee of the French Union of Ex-Servicemen's Associations, which has a membership of 3,000,000, urges the Four Foreign Ministers to put an end, once and for all, to the danger of German militarism and hopes that broader conferences will permit the foundations to be laid for a just, humane and lasting Peace.

According to a list drawn up on January 15th by the Peace Council of the Seine Department in France, 40 mayors out of the Department's 80, 39 Deputies out of 57, and 14 Senators out of 20 have declared their opposition to the Bonn and Paris Agreements.

Almost a thousand delegates took part in the National Conference demanding respect for the Oder-Neisse line which was organised by the Association of Polish-born Frenchmen. In the resolution passed on behalf of the 1,500,000 Poles living in France, the Conference demanded a united and peaceful Germany within the borders fixed by the Potsdam Agreement.

Many public figures sent messages to the Conference. They included *Edouard Daladier* (Radical), *Etienne Nouveau,* Vice-President of the French Union of Ex-Servicemen and *M. Beuve-Mery,* Director of *"Le Monde."*

Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak Association of Anti-fascist Fighters (S.P.B.) greeted the Berlin Conference in an address:

"We went through all the horrors of war and fascism. The best sons and daughters of our peoples, faithful to the cause of the people, died before our eyes. Today, we stand guard on Peace and watch over the life of our peoples on behalf of all our fallen patriots."

Scandinavia

The Gothenburg Peace Committee put the following two questions to people dwelling in a block of flats in Rambergsstaden in the district of Hisingen:

(1) "Must we allow the rearmament of Germany?

(2) "Would the unification of Germany be in the interests of Peace?"

The results, after 144 families had been consulted, were as follows:

(1) 113 "No"; one "Yes" and 30 had no opinion.

(2) 112 "Yes"; 32 had no opinion.

The Executive Committee of the Nordic Workers' Conference For Peace sent a resolution adopted by the delegates of the four Nordic countries to the trade unions of East and West Germany. It stated:

"We hope that the Berlin Conference will result in the peaceful unification of Germany, prevent the revival of German militarism and lay the foundations for a stable future for Germany and her neighbours.

India

Sardar Surjit Singh Mejitha, Deputy Defence Minister of India, addressing a public protest meeting in Amritsar on January 19th, said that "it was unwise for any Asian country to give bases to the USA and invite war in a peaceful region."

In its last session on January 24th, the 59th Session of the Indian National Congress unanimously passed a resolution expressing its grave concern at the proposed US-Pakistan military pact.

Egypt

General Neguib declared that his Government regards the proposed US-Pakistan military pact as a hostile move against the Arab countries and that there was a threat that it would isolate them and drive a wedge between them and the Asiatic countries.

Syria

The newspaper, "Al Tahrir Al Arabi," organ of the party of General Shishakly, President of the Republic, had the following to say on the proposed US-Pakistan military pact:

"The initiators of these plans would like us to believe that they are for our defence. But who told them that we were in danger? ... We are a people who wish to live in friendship, Peace and independence with our neighbours and the whole world."

Canada

In recent months representatives of some half-a-million trade unionists in Canada have expressed a desire to see negotiations take place between the leading Powers.

The outstanding example was the resolution passed at the Convention of the Canadian Congress of Labour, representing 375,000 workers, calling for Big Power talks.

Similarly, the Annual Convention of the Independent Federation of Labour, the TUC of British Columbia (70,000 members) and the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the International Woodworkers of America (CIO) have demanded a Big Five meeting.

Argentina

The Buenos Aires Peace Conference, held on December 20th, 1953 and attended by 300 delegates representing the people of 21 boroughs of the capital, marked the beginning of a series of local and regional Peace Conferences.

In its resolution the Conference calls on the people of Buenos Aires to fight for the protection of the national economy, for the reduction of war expenditure below its present level of 42 % of the budget and against the military pacts which tie the Argentine to the USA.

Regional Conferences also took place in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fé.

Uruguay

The campaign for peaceful negotiations is having marked success. "Popular Assemblies," convoked by the local Peace Committees, are being held in various districts of Montevideo. Eight hundred took part in the "Buena Vista" Assembly, 400 in the "Reconquista y Brecha," 300 in those of the "Nueva Paris," the "La Cruz y Camino Carrasco" cross-roads and the "Triunfo y Timote" and so on. Similar meetings have been held at factory gates, for example A.N.C.A.P., the "Aurora" in Uruguayana, and "Fertex."

Uruguayan notabilities, such as Señor Carlos Maria Gurmendez, lawyer and former diplomat, and Lincoln Bizzozero, have made public declarations very close to those of the National Peace Council on the subject of the US-Uruguay Bilateral Military Pact.

Nicaragua

More than a hundred Nicaraguayan notabilities have issued a manifesto for Peace.

The signatories describe themselves as Conservatives, Left and Centre Liberals, workers of all trades, agricultural workers, artists, students, barristers, writers, teachers, tradesmen, believers and laymen.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No 10 MAY 1954

Demand without Delay an International Agreement Banning Weapons of Mass Destruction

On the threshold of 1954 the peoples had good reasons for hoping for a genuine relaxation of international tension, since there had just been a series of specific happenings favourable to the easing of tension. But recent events have shown once more that the ruling circles, whose whole strategy is based on a policy of strength, have no intention of giving way before the progress which has been made towards a considerable lessening of international tension.

The dramatic atomic explosion of Bikini on March 1st was followed, on March 26th and April 6th, by two further experiments, the consequences of which were even more unpredictable. This in spite of the many victims contaminated by radioactive ash as a result of the first explosion and in spite of the fact that it was universally condemned. Not in these inhuman experiments only, but also in recent official declarations renewing the threat to use the atomic bomb, the H bomb is brandished over the heads of the peoples like a modern sword of Damocles — a permanent threat to the Peace of the world.

But this blackmail by fear has suddenly awakened the conscience of still more millions of men and women throughout the world. In its Declaration, adopted on March 30th at its meeting in Vienna, the Bureau of the World Council, reflecting the general indignation, pointed out that the banning of weapons of mass destruction was now demanded by all peoples.

Great scientists have considered it their duty to give the world a solemn warning. The American physicist, Albert Einstein, had already given a first warning to the incredulous. In a recent public statement, Professor Joliot-Curie warned public opinion once again of the terrible danger of such experiments for the whole of mankind; they cannot even be controlled by those who are carrying them out. He pointed out that mankind can no longer tolerate the danger of atomic weapons but must urgently demand the signing of an international convention for the prohibition, under control, of weapons of mass destruction.

There is growing world-wide protest. The Japanese Chamber of Deputies unanimously passed a motion, for presentation to the United Nations, demanding the prohibition of atomic weapons and the use of nuclear energy for peaceful ends. The Indian Government has asked the United Nations to examine Prime Minister Nehru's proposal that experimental explosions should be stopped immediately and that there should be immediate discussion of an agreement to this end in the Disarmament Commission. The House of Commons unanimously adopted a Labour motion demanding a British initiative for a Conference between the heads of State of the USA, the Soviet Union and Great Britain on atomic questions and the reduction of armaments. In his Easter message, the Pope stated: "For our part, we will tirelessly endeavour to bring about, by means of international agreements — always in subordination to the principle of legitimate self-defence — the effective proscription and elimination of atomic, biological and chemical warfare."

Thus statesmen, great organisations and responsible authorities are today having to take up the solutions which the World Peace Movement has been putting forward for five years. This fact gives the people a further proof of the clearsightedness of the Peace Movement.

Before the danger threatening the very existence of man and civilisation an unprecedented wave of feeling has swept over the world. Also without precedent are the opportunities for a united effort for our common salvation. The World Peace Movement, which launched the Stockholm Appeal, is today playing its full part in this effort.

(Contd. page 2)

IN THIS BULLETIN

*

- **World Public Opinion Demands the Banning of Weapons of Mass Destruction.**
- **Valuable Discussion between East and West Germans.**
- **Growing Opposition to German Rearmament in the British Labour Movement.**
- **Young Europeans Meet and Unite Against EDC.**
- **Celebration in Vienna of the Fifth Anniversary of the Peace Movement.**
- **Repercussions of the Beirut Conference in the Middle East.**
- **"85,000,000 Japanese Cherish Peace."**
- **Appeal of the American Peace Crusade for Peace in Indo-China and the Banning of the Atom Bomb.**
- **Other news from France, Poland, Belgium, India, Chile, the Argentine, Guatemala, Finland, Israel, Pakistan, Egypt and Iran.**

*

- **Cultural Information.**

What the Press is saying...

The Geneva Conference is rousing considerable interest. In spite of reservations here and there, the following excerpts from the Press reflect the public desire that the negotiations result in a peaceful settlement of Asian questions.

What Asia hopes of Geneva is that it will show a Western world willing to admit the existence of, and the necessity to live with, Communist nations.

THE OBSERVER, April 25th
(Britain)

*

The negotiations will be long in any case... If they fail there will, no doubt, be others. In this sense, and as paradoxical as it may appear, the Geneva Conference will doubtless, in the long run, mark a stage on the road to pacification rather than the starting-point of increased tension.

LE MONDE, April 25th - 26th
(France)

*

The vital mission of the Chinese delegation will consist in helping to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the restoration of peace in Indo-China...

In relation to Indo-China, the Chinese people have tirelessly demanded the restoration of Peace on the basis of the Indo-Chinese demands; independence, freedom and democracy...

The holding of a conference in Geneva puts an end to the stalemate created by the USA in the settlement of the Korean question.

JEN MIN JIH PAO, April 22nd
(The People's Republic of China)

*

Dulles' plan for a unified action in Indo-China in the event of failure of the Geneva Conference is regarded by political circles in New Delhi as hardly likely to help in the conclusion of a Far Eastern settlement at the forthcoming Five Power talks.

The views expressed by the Labour Members in the British Parliament are widely shared in the capital. India is inherently opposed to cold-war military alliances such as the new South East Asia security pact being mooted by the United States...

As far back as October, 1950, Nehru... had stated that India believed that any such move was not a right one.

TIMES OF INDIA, April 15th
(India)

*

The non-recognition of Red China is in no one's basic interest, since that country, with a population of hundreds of millions, really exists and is one of the factors of international politics.

SÜDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, April 10th
(German Federal Republic)

*

The Geneva Conference is intended to be the place where the pressing issues of Asia, particularly those of Korea and Indo-China, could be solved through negotiation, thus leading to the relaxation of world tension.

INDEPENDENCE, April 15th
(Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam)

*

And if it is true that Mr. Dulles is asking, on the eve of the Geneva conference, for threats to be made that might risk extending the war in Indo-China, then it must be made plain to him that the British people will not agree.

It would be unthinkable for Britain to agree to anyhingt that would wreck negotiations on Korea and Indo-China. Geneva is no pawn in politics.

DAILY HERALD, April 13th
(Britain)

*

Hottest news story of the year - Indo-China. Plus the problem... Should we include ourselves IN, or OUT? NBC pundit Alex Dreir brought it up on his kilocycle stint the other dusk... got 5000 answers... most of them long, angry and NEGATIVE!

Columnist Tony Weitzel
in the **CHICAGO DAILY NEWS**
(USA)

*

The peace-loving peoples expect the Geneva Conference to take concrete steps to restore peace in Indo-China and the national rights of its peoples. Peace cannot be restored in Indo-China by the continuation of a war which is already lost; it must be attained by an agreement based on the principles of the freedom and national independence of the peoples.

IZVESTIA, April 20th
(USSR)

*

However that may be, the fact that the decision has at last been taken to discuss openly the thorny questions of Eastern Asia can mean a step forward, if the call for peace is not merely empty talk.

NEUES ÖSTERREICH, April 25th
(Austria)

*

So long as there is ground for hoping that the Geneva Conference may produce some results, it would seem both premature and imprudent to make a public declaration based on the expectation that it will fail.

THE TIMES, April 9th
(Britain)

*

With us, all peace-loving people are looking hopefully towards Geneva. They hope that, during this conference, peace and unity will at last be restored to the martyred people of Korea, and they expect the end of the war in Indo-China. The united efforts of all peace-loving peoples will be necessary to prevent the Conference from failing.

DEUTSCHE VOLKSZEITUNG, April 24th
(German Federal Republic)

Demand without delay an international agreement banning weapons of mass destruction

(Continuation of page 1)

Already, particular actions have been taken. The Conference of the British Peace Committee launched an appeal asking the British Government to take the initiative in calling a meeting of the Five Great Powers with a view to the prohibition of all atomic weapons. The Swedish Peace Committee has taken similar action and appeals for great public campaigns have been launched by the American Peace Crusade and the Canadian Peace Congress. The Italian national committee has sent "to every Peace Committee, to every Defender of Peace" an appeal dealing with the particular responsibility of the Peace Movement at such a time.

These actions are part of the current world campaign for an easing of tension. Together with the many activities in other fields for the solution of the great issues dividing the world, they constitute an important contribution to the present talks between the Great Powers at the Geneva Conference which has just opened.

World Public Opinion Demands

THE BANNING OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

In all countries there is a growing number of actions and statements in favour of the absolute banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction.

The few examples given below show that the worldwide protest is growing broader and broader.

"THE BOMB IS A GROSS MISUSE OF SCIENCE"

At a Press Conference in New Delhi **Major-General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey,** Vice-President of the All India Peace Council, declared:

"As soon as President Truman gave the directive to work to produce the Hydrogen Bomb, Albert Einstein declared:

"'The Hydrogen Bomb appears on the public horizon as a probably attainable goal . . . If successful, radio-active poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth, has been brought within the range of technical possibilities.'

"It is a success, and we have already seen signs of that grave danger to all life . . .

"Scientific work done in the fission of the uranium atoms had great justification. The uranium atoms can be split under controlled conditions and thus become a rich source of energy for work of construction. There is no doubt that before long nuclear fission is going to play a great role in making this world really into a paradise.

"The use of atomic fission for destructive purposes as a bomb is a gross misuse of science. But in the case of the H-Bomb, the scientific process developed can serve no useful purpose at all. The fusion of hydrogen into helium cannot be carried out as a controlled process to yield usable power. The H-Bomb can be used only to destroy man and his civilisation and upset the balance of nature . . ."

PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS

In Great Britain, the Scottish TUC unanimously adopted a resolution demanding the banning of atomic weapons in Aberdeen on April 9th.

The National Union of Miners – membership 700,000 – decided to call upon the United Nations to outlaw these weapons.

In the USA, the representatives of the miners', engineers' and foundrymen's trade unions demand, in a resolution, that immediate steps be taken to conclude an international agreement on the banning of atomic weapons.

In Denmark, the Union of Democratic Women adopted a resolution asking the Danish Government to make its own contribution to stopping these experiments.

* * *

The Council of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, which will meet in Copenhagen, June 5th – 7th, has put on the agenda "experiments with weapons of mass destruction in the light of International Law."

In Sweden, the leadership of the Social Democratic Party has published a statement insisting on the need to make "supreme efforts to reach an agreement binding the signatories to work out an effective control of atomic energy."

PETITIONS, DELEGATIONS AND MEETINGS

In India, the All India Peace Council organised a meeting in New Delhi on April 9th to support the demand for the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The chairman was Dr. Kitchlew, President of the All India Peace Council.

In Japan, a delegation of the Council of Japanese Women, which includes members of the Socialist Party, women's organisations and trade unionists, handed to all diplomatic legations in Tokio a petition demanding the banning of all atomic weapons. This was on April 5th.

* * *

The inaugural assembly of the Youth Section of the Association of Japanese Peasants issued a moving message:

"The Japanese people, which has thrice suffered from the atomic bomb, calls on the whole world to prevent the manufacture of these inhuman bombs."

In Germany, in two cantons of the German Democratic Republic which had been heavily devastated during the war, petitions were organised against the stationing of batteries of atomic cannon in West Germany.

* * *

In the Federal Republic, many local sections of the Social Democratic Party and many trade unions have also demanded that the atomic cannon be taken away.

POPE PIUS XII

". . . Before the eyes of a terrified world there is presented a preview of gigantic destruction, of extensive territories rendered uninhabitable and unfit for human use, over and above the biological consequences that can result, either by the changes brought about in germs and micro-organisms, or through the uncertain effect which a prolonged radioactive stimulus can have upon greater organisms, including man, and upon their future offspring.

"In this connection we do not wish to omit a reference to the danger that could result for future generations from mutagenic intervention – obtainable, or perhaps already obtained, by new means for the purpose of deviating the patrimony of man's hereditary factors from their natural development.

And this also for the reason that among such deviations there probably are not lacking, or would not be lacking, those pathogenic mutations which are the causes of transmittable diseases and monstrosities.

For our part, we will tirelessly endeavour to bring about, by means of international agreements – always in subordination to the principle of legitimate self-defence – the effective proscription and prevention of atomic, biological and chemical warfare."

MINISTERS AND PUBLIC FIGURES

In Australia, Mr. Herbert Evatt, leader of the Labour Party and former President of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, has urged an international agreement to put atomic weapons under strict control.

In Canada, Mr. Lester Pearson, Minister and former President of the United Nations General Assembly, stated that the horror of the H-bomb requires international action to prevent the use of atomic weapons in case of war.

In Egypt, Mr. Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, stated to the Press that Egypt disapproved of the hydrogen bomb.

In Indonesia, Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, leader of the Government, demanded that these explosions, which endanger mankind, should be stopped.

ELECTED ASSEMBLIES

In Germany, members of the Presiding body of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic have suggested to the Federal Parliament in Bonn that the two Parliaments should take a joint decision for the banning of weapons of mass destruction. This proposal had wide repercussions throughout Germany. Practically the entire Press of the Federal Republic said that it corresponds to the public desire.

In Switzerland, the Grand Council of the Republic and the Canton of Geneva adopted a resolution asking "that the Governments of all the Powers agree to outlaw weapons of mass destruction and preserve mankind from an unprecedented catastrophe."

Valuable discussion between East and West Germans

The appeal issued by a number of public figures in the German Federal Republic for a referendum of the whole German people on the question: "EDC or a Peace Treaty?" has just won the support of many dignitaries of the Catholic and Evangelical Churches.

As he signed the appeal, **Pastor J. Heinrich Wicke**, of Braunschweig, defined his position thus:

"*We want to take the defence of our interests into our own hands and not to fail in our responsibility to the whole world. We want to make up our minds freely. If ever a people was confronted with a question to which it can and must give a direct reply, it is this question: A Peace Treaty or a military alliance? To this clear question, our reply is equally clear: 'We want Peace!'*"

It should be remembered that the appeal for the referendum was issued after the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers by an important group of public figures in the German Federal Republic, holding widely differing political and ideological views.

On April 11th, 50,000 pilgrims, most of them former deported persons, met at the Buchenwald concentration camp. They represented twelve countries: France, Belgium, Luxembourg, Holland, Italy, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Denmark, the Soviet Union and Germany. During a ceremony presided over by M. Forcinal, Radical-Socialist Deputy and former French Minister, who had been deported to Buchenwald, the 50,000 pilgrims swore a solemn oath from which the following passage is taken:

"We swear to prevent the murderers and their leaders and masters from getting back their arms to attack and enslave the peoples."

*

In the German Democratic Republic, the tasks of the Peace Movement following on the Berlin Conference were discussed at 229 regional peace conferences attended by 52,000 people and prepared for in 13,120 public meetings.

The information bulletin of the German Peace Council announces that hundreds of similar discussions, attended by visitors from West Germany, take place every month.

The president of the West German Peace Committee, **Frau Hoereth-Menge,** spoke at Leipzig, Nordhausen and Grimma in the German Democratic Republic; while **Dr. Hans Wiedemann,** Mayor of Weimar, Christian Democratic Deputy in the People's Chamber and Chairman of the Erfurt district Peace Committee, gave lectures in Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Karlsruhe and so on in the Federal Republic.

*

Replying to birthday greetings received from Germany, **Professor Joliot-Curie,** President of the World Council of Peace, wrote a letter to all friends of Peace in Germany. In it he said:

"The action of the German people for Peace, in the German Democratic Republic and — under different conditions — in the Federal Republic, is one of the most important factors for the prevention of a third world war. In this action, lasting friendship between the peoples of Europe — and more especially between the peoples of Germany and France — is being achieved."

The people of Poland want A REAL EUROPE

A National Conference of the Polish Defenders of Peace took place in Warsaw on April 7th. It adopted an appeal to the Peace Movements of the countries of Western Europe. The following are some excerpts from the appeal:

"*The Polish people do not want a divided Europe. They want a united Europe . . .*

"*The peoples of Europe have no more important task than that of preventing the revival of German militarism . . .*

"*We are profoundly convinced that there are real possibilities for the creation of a real Europe which would exist in peace and friendly co-operation. A European system uniting the peoples irrespective of their differing political regimes should be the goal of our joint efforts.*"

The Conference also passed a resolution demanding the conclusion of an agreement banning the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction, with international control over this ban.

The campaign against EDC in Italy

The session of the National Committee of the Italian Defenders of Peace, which was held in Rome on April 1st and 2nd, gave an impressive picture of activity against EDC.

Through its varied activities, ranging from petitions and demonstrations to the lawyers' debate on the constitutional aspects of the treaty, the campaign for the rejection of EDC has won the support of federalists, magistrates, reserve officers of the army and politicians of all parties.

Typical are the demonstrations in Florence, Arezzo, La Spezia; the debates in Modena, Aosta, Palermo, Cagliari and Naples; the women's regional conference in Veneto.

Genoa had a "Week of Mobilisation Against EDC". In Cosenza, there was a public debate attended by Members of Parliament and leaders of the Social Democratic, Liberal, Christian Democratic, Monarchist, Socialist and Communist Parties.

In a report on the Conference of Members of Parliament and public figures of the six countries affected by EDC (Paris, March 20th—21st), Sg. **Ricardo Lombardi,** Member of Parliament and member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, pointed out that, in Great Britain, opposition to EDC is growing in Labour circles, while in France it is gaining ground in Socialist, Radical and Gaullist circles. The Italian people, therefore, have new reasons for pursuing their activity with confidence.

The National Committee also dealt with the grave question of thermo-nuclear weapons.

Dom Andrea Gaggero and **Sg. Emilio Sereni,** Senator and member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, spoke on this subject and concluded that the Defenders of Peace must approach the Catholic masses and the ecclesiastical hierarchy to get joint action for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

The National Committee's appeal met with an immediate response. One of the most significant public demonstrations was the visit to the United States Consulate of a delegation representing the the 12,000 tramway employees of Milan. The delegation handed the Consul a petition bearing the signatures of the representatives of the three trade unions.

In Pesaro, **General Pacca,** a Christian Democratic municipal councillor, succeeded in getting a municipal council motion demanding the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction to demand an international agreement on disarmament as well. Many other town councils have passed similar motions. Well-known scientists like **Professor Fransinetti,** a nuclear physicist, and **Professor Veronese,** a physicist in the University of Bologna, are taking part in many meetings and lectures condemning thermonuclear weapons and demanding their prohibition.

Paris, June 12th—13th

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION FOR INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE

In an appeal to the French people the French Peace Movement states:

"The French people, bowed down by military expenditure, see today that recourse to violence, intimidation and threats to use atomic weapons have only increased the feeling of insecurity in the world. They understand that security is not possible without negotiation and agreement between all States. They know that France could play a vital role if she became once again mistress of her own decisions and regained the freedom to take measures for peace.

"There are two vital tasks directly incumbent on her:

The final rejection of the Bonn and Paris Agreements.

The restoration of peace in Indo-China...

"On the eve of the grave decisions to be reached by Parliament each c tizen must realise that the existence and future of our country depend on the united action of Frenchmen for Peace.

"We call on all French men and women to support the 'National Demonstration for Independence and Peace' on June 12th and 13th."

The platform at the Extraordinary Conference on the German Problem which was held in London on April 4th. Right to left: Mrs. Francis Green, Labour town councillor; Professor Kosambi, Vice-President of the All India Peace Council; Mr. W. Wainwright, General Secretary of the British Peace Committee; Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q. C., President of the British Peace Committee; Mr. John Wood, Vice-President of the Scottish Miners; and Mr. John Elton, of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Question.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Growing opposition in Labour Movement to German rearmament

In Blackpool on April 19th, the Annual Congress of the Co-operative Party condemned the remilitarisation of Germany in any shape or form. The resolution was passed by 5,092,000 votes to 2,410,000.

On the same day, the annual conferences of two important trade union organisations, the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers, passed similar resolutions.

In a resolution adopted at its annual conference, the Union of Shipbuilding and Engineering Draughtsmen, the most important group of British technicians, states that it is resolutely opposed to German rearmament.

In a resolution passed by 7,700 votes to 2,400, the Northern Ireland Labour Party asks the British Labour Party to prevent the rearmament of West Germany.

Twenty Labour MPs have signed a petition against German rearmament which is to be presented to Parliament on June 15th. This petition is sponsored by Mr. Aneurin Bevan, leader of the left wing of the Labour Party, Lord Boyd Orr, Nobel Peace Prize winner, the Reverend Donald Soper, president of the Methodist Conference and Mr. Harold Wilson, former Minister in the Labour Government.

The British Peace Committee is supporting and taking part in this campaign.

YOUNG EUROPEANS meet and unite AGAINST EDC

During March there were meetings of young Italians in preparation for the "Youth Conference of the Countries Affected by EDC" to be held in Berlin on May 15th-16th. It was initiated by young Frenchmen and Germans of widely differing opinions.

In Padua, the Rector of the University took part in a meeting, on March 22nd, which was attended by 2,000 young Socialists, Liberals and Christians. The meeting was organised by the Italian Socialist Youth, as was another which was held in Reggio d'Emilia on March 14th and which was also very successful.

In Rome, boys and girls are collecting signatures on rainbow-coloured flags "to prevent the return of the Germans." The flags are taken from house to house, to groups of young people, to cafés, stadiums and schools.

In Milan, there was a debate on the theme: "The Young People's Attitude to EDC." It was attended by young Liberals, Social Democrats, Socialists and Communists.

Youth delegates from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany met in Jelenia (Poland) on March 28th.

The meeting, which was held in preparation for the Berlin Conference against EDC, sent messages to the youth organisations of France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy.

* * *

The Free Austrian Youth issued an appeal to young people to take part in the Berlin Conference, and on April 10th, in Vienna, many young people took part in a torchlight procession to demonstrate their opposition to EDC.

* * *

On April 11th, the delegates of French and German youth met in Strasbourg and adopted a resolution calling on the young people of the two countries to oppose EDC. Three delegates were elected to represent those present at the meeting at the Berlin Conference.

The Belgian Union for Peace issues a Manifesto

The most important Belgian newspapers, "*Le Soir*", "*Le Peuple*" and "*La Libre Belgique*" published the resolution adopted at the conference of the six countries affected by EDC which took place in Paris on March 20th and 21st.

The Belgian Union for Peace issued a manifesto calling on the Belgian people to strengthen the French and Italian peoples' opposition to EDC by supporting the resolution adopted at the Paris Conference.

The Belgian delegation to this Conference was composed of **M. Hubaux**, university professor, **M. Rolin**, Senator and **M. Slusny**, barrister - both members of the Socialist Movement for Peace - **M. Terfve**, Communist Deputy, and **Mme Isabelle Blume**, Deputy and Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

CELEBRATION IN VIENNA O
OF THE P

Members of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace and of the Austrian Peace Council were on the platform.

On April 23rd a meeting was held in the Musikverein Hall in Vienna to commemorate the Fifth Anniversary of the World Peace Movement. Members of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace and of the Austrian Peace Council, as well as diplomats, journalists, and political and cultural figures, were present. Professor Heinrich Brandweiner, President of the Austrian Peace Council, and M. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, made speeches of which excerpts are given below:

Professor Brandweiner
President of the Austrian Peace Council

"The World Peace Movement was born on April 20th, 1949, when 2,200 men and women from 71 countries met in Paris and Prague to discuss together measures for maintaining world peace and international security. This first World Peace Congress in the history of mankind was the result of the spontaneous demand of a great number of men and women in many countries of the world, both East and West, who, quite independently of one another, decided to make a stand four years after the second world war because they did not want to see us land in another catastrophe . . .

"The Austrian people play their part in this great world movement which serves the cause of the maintenance of life on Earth. On July 10th, 1950, an Austrian Peace Congress took place in Vienna and elected the first Austrian Peace Council. Since then, our country and the World Peace Movement have been united by many bonds and by the great watchwords of the World Peace Movement. The conviction that the peaceful coexistence of different political and social systems is possible; the principle of eliminating differences by negotiation and agreements acceptable to all; and, lastly, the right of the peoples to self-determination, have more and more become the common property of all peace-loving citizens in our country . . ."

After reading the exchange of letters between the Austrian Peace Council and the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace inviting the latter to transfer its headquarters to Vienna, Professor Brandweiner continued:

"I think I am expressing the opinion of all of you when I thank the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace warmly and sincerely for its decision. I thank it on behalf of all the peace-loving people in our country. This decision will become part of the history of our dear city of Vienna, a history which goes back to the time of the Romans. Ad multos annos!"

M. Jean Laffitte
General Secretary of the World Council of Peace

"We thank the Austrian Peace Council very sincerely for having organised this ceremony, thus enabling us to celebrate this anniversary with you in Vienna. And since this event coincides with the installation of the Secretariat of the World Council in your capital, allow us, in thanking you once more for the welcome you have given us, to greet, through you, all forces which are taking action for Peace in Austria . . .

Today, the World Council of Peace has the confidence of hundreds of millions of men and has become an active force. Under the presidency of Professor Joliot-Curie, the World Council, which is the highest expression of the Movement, has become an international institution whose authority and influence are continually growing. It is based on National Peace Movements which now exist in 72 countries. It has the active support of great international democratic organisations. It maintains cordial and ever closer relations with widely differing organisations and forces in the political, social, cultural and religious fields which are taking action for Peace. Its acts and appeals meet with a response, not only among the widest sections of the people, but also in the Parliaments and Governments . . .

The World Peace Movement is five years old and we are now in a position to appreciate the correctness and success of its efforts. If it had not existed, if there had been none of the popular activity and concentrated effort to which its appeals have given rise, events could have taken a quite different course in these last tense years. The existence of the Movement was the determining factor in rousing universal condemnation of the use of the atom bomb and the continuation of wars now going on; in getting public opinion to demand solutions which would ease tension; and in the demand that the Great Powers meet in order to reach a peaceful settlement, on the basis of agreements acceptable to all, of the great issues dividing the world . . .

The existence and development of the World Peace Movement have greatly helped to rally the forces which, up till now, have kept war at bay. Its strengthening in every country remains, therefore, the vital condition for a further advance. The commemoration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Movement is naturally connected with this aim, so that, thanks to the joint efforts of all men of peace, the opportunities for an easing of tension, which can be seen today, shall become the reality of tomorrow."

After the speeches, representatives of the provincial Peace Committees of Austria presented gifts to the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace.

The evening ended with a fine concert Compositions by Gluck, Mozart, Schubert, Goldmark and Beethoven were performed by the orchestra and choir of the Vienna Radio.

OF THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY PEACE MOVEMENT

Letter from the Austrian Peace Council to the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

To the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

Dear Friends,

The Presiding Committee of the Austrian Peace Council has done me the honour of asking me to invite you to make the city of Vienna the permanent headquarters of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace.

It was during the unforgettable Congress of the Peoples, held in our city in December, 1952, that, for the first time, the Austrian Peace Council expressed this desire: Could not our city of Vienna, which, henceforth, is indissolubly linked with the movement of the peoples for Peace, be the place where the permanent Secretariat of that great body – the World Council of Peace – could fulfil its noble tasks in the service of Peace?

The Austrian people have always loved Peace; they have proved it many times during their history. Our people's legitimate desire to help in the safeguarding of peace became even stronger as a result of the sufferings imposed on them by aggressive German militarism and the Second World War. Is it not therefore natural that our people should desire to do everything possible to help guarantee World Peace? If, as we hope, our cordial invitation is accepted by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, the very fact that the Secretariat will henceforth have its seat in our capital will create new bonds between our people and the World Peace Movement which is serving the noblest aims of mankind.

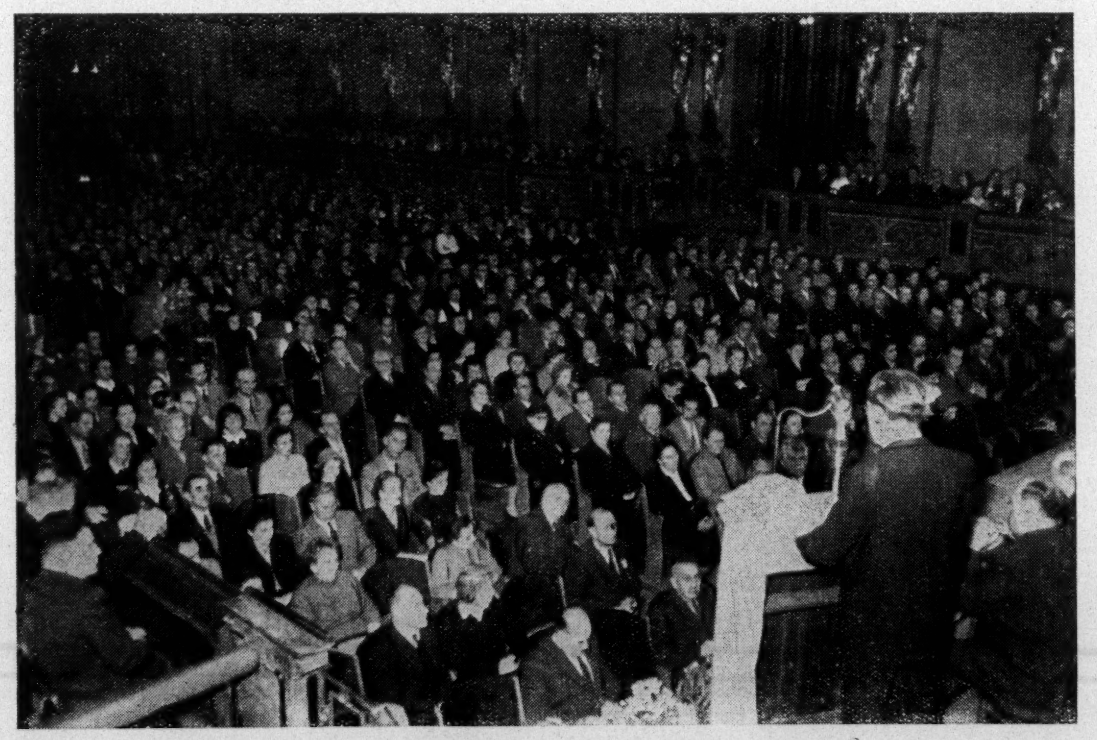
For centuries the city of Vienna has been the meeting-place of the various cultural trends of the North, South, East and West of Europe. Artists and scientists from the whole of Europe have sought and found understanding in Vienna.

May our city of Vienna be a centre worthy of your responsible work for the maintenance of Peace.

For the Austrian Peace Council,

Professor Heinrich Brandweiner,

President



A view of the hall during Professor Brandweiner's speech

M. J. Laffitte and Professor H. Brandweiner

Letter from the Secretariat of the World Council to the Austrian Peace Council

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace sent the following reply to the Austrian Peace Council:

To the Oesterreichischer Friedensrat,

Austria

Dear Friends,

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace is very happy to give a favourable reply to the friendly invitation of the Presiding Committee of the Austrian Peace Council.

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace has already had several occasions to appreciate the Austrian people's desire for Peace. It remembers the warm welcome given by the people of Vienna to the thousands of delegates to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace. It was in Vienna that the representatives of all the peoples showed that it was possible, in spite of all differences of opinion, to meet and find solutions acceptable to all for every issue endangering the peace of the world.

We salute the tireless efforts of the Austrian Peace Movement to bring together – whatever their political, philosophical or religious views – all men and women who are aware of the danger and want to take common action in defence of the noblest of causes: Peace and friendship between all peoples.

We thank the President of the Austrian Peace Council for his cordial invitation.

With deep and sincere friendship.

For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace,

Jean Laffitte,

General Secretary

Important actions in India against the US-Pakistan Pact

Throughout India energetic campaigns are developing against the conclusion of the US-Pakistan military pact. Many important organisations and people are taking part.

On April 11th, the Conference of the Peoples of Southern India took place in Madras. Six States – Madras, Andhra, Hyderabad, Mysore, Coorg and Travancore-Cochin – were represented.

The Conference had been prepared by a committee including members of all parties and such eminent figures as **Sri. Subbaroyan,** *former Prime Minister of Madras, and* **Sri. Mohamed Usman,** *former Governor of Madras.*

Public figures from different parties took part in the work of the Conference, including several members of the Legislative Assembly: **Sri. Varadarajalu Naidu** (*Congress Party*); **Sri. Anthony Pillay** (*Socialist*); **Sri. Ramaswami Padagachi** (*Workers' Party*); *and* **Sri. Jeesanandam** (*Communist*).

In West Bengal, whose Eastern frontier marches with East Pakistan, representatives of all political parties and various organisations are playing an active part in the campaign against the US-Pakistan pact. So are well-known figures in the political and cultural fields.

Two members of the Legislative Assembly, **Sri. Gupta** *and* **Sri. Naren Sen,** *are also taking part in the campaign, as well as trade unionists —* **Sri. Kali Mukherjee,** *leader of the National Trade Union Confederation of India — and writers and artists, including* **Sri. Sashin Sen Gupta,** *playwright, and* **Sri. Manoje Basu,** *writer.*

Repercussions of the Beirut Conference in the Middle East

The Syrian and Lebanese representatives on the Executive Committee elected by the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East (Beirut, December 17th - 19th, 1953) met together in Damascus at the beginning of April. They issued a statement condemning the Pakistan-Turkey pact, the attempts to bring Iraq into it and the plans for a US-Lebanese bilateral treaty.

At the same time the delegates noted the profound repercussions of the Beirut Conference among the peoples of the Middle East.

It should be remembered that the programme set out by the Conference demands the rejection of all treaties, pacts or military blocs which would threaten the peace and security of the peoples of the Middle East, and the solution of all international controversies and issues by peaceful means, on the basis of respect for the independence and sovereignty of the peoples.

Iraq

Petitions supporting this programme have been signed by more than 6,000 people. 4,500 signatures had been collected in Baghdad by the end of March. The representatives of the students of seven faculties and 13 secondary schools signed the petitions.

The Lebanon

In the Lebanon the campaign took different forms: meetings, articles in the Press, but also petitions. In the Southern part of the country 40 public figures of differing views stated their agreement with the Conference proposals and 400 peasants signed a petition to the same effect. At a public meeting in Akkar, **Yacub Saaraf,** former Deputy, explained the importance of the Conference and its decisions.

Syria

Many meetings have been held in the agricultural region of Alauites and also in centres like Bdada, Aïn al Jorn and Aïn Dabesh.

The Peace Movement has issued a manifesto against the Pakistan-USA pact. It has been signed by **Sheikh Mohamed al Ashmar,** popular leader and religious figure, member of the World Council of Peace; **Hussein Mreiwed,** barrister, Deputy; **Munir Rayes,** owner of the newspaper, "*Barada*", and member of the Executive Committee of the Beirut Conference; **Sabri Kabbani,** and so on.

Jordan

The Deputies **Abdul Kader al Saleh, Kadri Tukan, Rashad Masudi, Kamel Erekat, Abdul Rahim Irar** and 28 other persons, including tribal chiefs, barristers, doctors, writers and journalists, issued an appeal which ends with these words:

"In opposing the Pakistan-Turkey pact and deciding to bring it to nought, our people are fighting to save their life, liberty and sovereignty."

Iran

The newspaper "*Mardom*" reflected the support given to the decisions of the Beirut Conference by the people of Iran.

* * *

Furthermore, the Lebanese Press published the following telegram from Turkey, which had been signed by 84 people:

"*We students from Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan and Iran, of different opinions, religions and nationalities, studying at the Turkish University, support all the decisions of the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East, held in Beirut on December 17th - 19th, 1953, for they correctly reflect the legitimate aspirations of our peoples . . .*"

Vietnamese workers support the Geneva Conference

The Viet-Nam General Confederation of Labour has appealed to all Vietnamese workers to close their ranks, energetically fulfil their present tasks and tirelessly expose US imperialist manoeuvring as their contribution to the success of the forthcoming Geneva Conference.

The appeal, issued by the Confederation's Standing Committee, describes the Vietnamese workers' anger at the increasingly cynical interference in the Indo-China war by the Americans.

The Confederation's appeal, which is published in response to the May Day call of the World Federation of Trade Unions, adds that US interference in Indo-China has been going on for a long time and has been particularly marked since the US defeat in Korea. The US Government is now paying 78 per cent of the expenditure of the Indo-China war.

A popular demonstration against the Pakistan-Turkey-USA Pact in Damascus. The banner says: "Down with the Pakistan-Turkey Pact."

Growing National Unity in the Struggle for Peace in Japan

The Congress for the Geneva Conference and for the International Meeting was held in Tokio, on April 18th – 20th. The statement by the eminent figures who called the Congress, says:

"There can be no guarantee of peace in Asia and a peaceful life for the people of Japan unless relations between Japan and the Soviet Union, Japan and China, and Japan and Korea are normalised."

After stressing the danger of the H-bomb to civilisation, the statement goes on:

"Fortunately, there is at present a world force which, overcoming many difficulties, is leading the way towards negotiation for international Peace."

It then says:

"The Japanese people have the right and duty to express the peaceful aspirations of 85,000,000 Japanese and especially to give their opinion on the correct solution of the Japanese question and the prohibition of the terrible weapons of mass destruction."

The work of the Congress was divided among five commissions which were asked to make suggestions:

1. Commission to make proposals to the Geneva Conference to ensure its success.

2. Commission on the prohibition of the H-bomb and of thermo-nuclear experiments.

3. Commission on the normalisation of commercial and diplomatic relations between Japan and the USSR and between Japan and China.

4. Commission to intensify action against the Mutual Security Pact and for the protection of the Constitution.

5. Commission on Japanese participation in the International Meeting.

All political parties

The following were elected as Chairmen of this Congress: **Professor Tetsuhiko Tozawa,** member of the World Council of Peace; **Mr. Gengo Kinoshita,** Member of Parliament of the Left Wing Socialist Party; **Mr. Miyanohara,** Secretary of SOHYO (Federation of Trade Unions); and **Mr. Kesaichi Ito,** secretary of the Society for the Promotion of Trade between the Soviet Union and Japan.

Among the principal speakers were: **Mr. Tetsu Katayama,** former Prime Minister and leader of the Right Wing Socialist Party; **Mr. Akira Kazami,** initiator of the Congress, Deputy and president of the preparatory committee of the "National Conference for the Normalisation of Diplomatic and Commercial Relations between Japan and the Soviet Union and Japan and China"; **Mr. Masanosuke Ikeda,** Deputy belonging to the section of the Liberal Party which is opposed to the Yoshida Government; **Mr. Shigeyoshi Matsumae,** Right Wing Socialist Party Deputy; **Mr. Toshio Tanaka,** Deputy; **Mr. Kanemitsu Hososeko,** Deputy; and **Mr. Shishiro Hozumi,** Deputy. The last three are all members of the Left Wing Socialist Party.

Thus all Japanese political parties, with the exception of the wing of the Liberal Party which is in power, were represented at the Congress.

*

THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF PACIFISTS

The World Conference of Pacifists was held in Tokio on April 1st – 3rd. It adopted a resolution to the peoples, the Governments and the United Nations suggesting that the manufacture and testing of hydrogen and atom bombs be stopped. The resolution included two points:

The destruction of existing stocks;

The use of atomic research in the service of mankind.

The Conference also urged the immediate ending of the war in Indo-China, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea and Indo-China, and the solution of the Korean and Indo-Chinese questions by negotiation.

Koreans Demand Unification

At many meetings and gatherings the Korean people are demonstrating more ardently than ever their determination to put an early end to the division of Korea.

"The division of Korea", writes "*Nodong Sinmun*", organ of the Korean Nodong Dang, in an editorial, "represents a big hurdle to Korea's political, economic and cultural development. It threatens peace in Asia and keeps the world in a tense situation."

At all their meetings, the Korean people are protesting against the forces who are preventing the unification of Korea and keeping it in a state of perpetual division. They hope that the delegates of the Five Big Powers and other interested nations which take part in the conference will work for the unification of Korea through negotiation and turn the Korean armistice into a lasting peace, with due respect for the desire of the Korean people.

American Peace Crusade calls for Peace in Indo-China and the banning of the Hydrogen Bomb

On April 8th, the Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade called for the greatest possible outpouring of expression in every form from the American people demanding an end of all H-bomb tests and a pledge that such weapons will not be used pending international agreement to outlaw them.

The Board warned of the peril to the American people growing out of increasing United States involvement in the war in Indo-China. The lives of thousands of American boys are in danger, the Board said, and there is a serious threat that if the power of the United States is used to prolong or expand this war, it may become the trigger of an H-bomb war which would visit terrible destruction on our nation. The Board called for an end of US involvement in Indo-China and urged that the United States Government seek a speedy cease-fire there and a peaceful settlement of the conflict at the Great Power Conference in Geneva on April 26th.

After insisting on the need to send letters, telegrams and resolutions to President Eisenhower and Mr. Foster Dulles and to organise deputations to Congressmen and Senators, the Board declared that the great strength throughout the world of the desire for a relaxation of international tensions had resulted in the agreement of the Four Great Powers in Berlin to meet with the People's Republic of China on April 26th in Geneva. The Board urged widespread support of the Geneva Conference to end the war in Indo-China and to assure peace in Korea and throughout Asia.

Another action by the board called for early public hearings and favourable action by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Senator Langer's resolution SCR 71, reaffirming the Constitutional authority of Congress alone to declare war and thereby limiting the danger of the people of the United States being drawn into war without their consent.

At the Cannes Festival:

Film experts demand more international co-operation

The peaceful international competition of the Seventh Film Festival at Cannes gave the film-makers of the world the opportunity to meet and exchange views on their most important ideas.

The need for international co-operation to protect the art of film-making and to ensure its development, the role which it can and must play in the establishment of lasting bonds of friendship and profitable exchange between the peoples – these were the ideas that came out at this meeting of the film world.

That, for example, was the meaning of the message to the French which was handed to the Festival delegates by a group of young Japanese film makers before their film was presented. This idea was also behind the Conference of Film Institutes, initiated by **Marcel l'Herbier,** at which Italy, the Soviet Union, France, Poland, Hungary and an American school were represented.

It was also with the aim of developing international contacts between all professional film-makers that the "R" Committee, which includes almost all French producers – **H. G. Clouzot, René Clair, René Clément, Marcel Carné** and the "Association of Film and Television Critics" – took advantage of the presence at Cannes of the greatest producers, actors and critics to invite them to "raise and discuss, in meetings and debates, the problems of co-operation between the film industries of different countries."

The invitation to these discussions, which was signed by **Jean Cocteau, Henri Calef, André Cayatte, Jacques Daniel-Norman** and **André Bazin,** said:

"We propose to take, as the theme of these meetings, the remarks made by René Clair and Vittorio de Sica in 1951: A formula must be found enabling French and Italian films to preserve the authentic national character which, in the past, won them international success."

Sixty film-makers and journalists from ten countries responded to this appeal and signed a document in which, after pointing out that *"the film art is unquestionably a medium of expression of human thought"* and that it is too often restricted, they *"condemn these attacks on principles which are the very foundation of human dignity and declare themselves determined to see to it that freedom of expression in the film shall be everywhere recognised and considered as a right, the violation of which means the violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter."*

The signatories include: Carlo Lizzani and Vasco Pratolini (Italy); John Grierson (Britain); Henning Jensen (Denmark); Luis Buñuel (Mexico); J. V. Cotton (Belgium); M. Fouy (Switzerland); Charles Delac, President of the International Producers' Union and, among the French signatories there were Georges Sadoul, Léonide Moguy, André Lang (President of the French Association of Critics), Charles Spaak (President of the French Scenario Writers' Union) and Fred Orain (President of the French Higher Technical Committee).

Furthermore, in a discussion on films made by two or more countries in co-operation, all the film men present admitted that, in order to obtain real artistic success, the national character must be preserved.

The representatives of the Soviet Union, Denmark, Italy and France agreed to hold an international meeting of film-makers and critics at an early date either in France or Italy, to discuss the problems of their art and profession.

Cultural Exchange

● An exhibition of Norwegian art has been opened in Paris; it is called "A Thousand Years of the Viking Tradition." This selection of 150 typical works shows the historical development of an essentially popular culture in its national setting, and enables people to appreciate Norway's contribution to mankind's cultural heritage.

● A delegation of Swiss primary school teachers has just paid a visit to Moscow on the invitation of the Soviet primary school teachers' union. It was led by **M. Fernand Crot.** During the last three years the Soviet primary teachers' union has shown Soviet educational institutions to many delegations of primary school teachers from France, Austria, Great Britain, Bulgaria, Poland, Latin America, Australia, India, Burma and Denmark.

● A Norwegian cultural delegation is going to China to study the working of the cultural institutes.

● An International Meeting for the Study of Child Psychology was held in Paris with delegates from 41 countries, including the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland and the Argentine. Six hundred teachers, doctors, psychologists and career consultants studied the problems of childhood at this meeting.

Commemorating the Great Anniversaries

● The conductor of the Prague Radio Orchestra, **Alois Klima,** conducted in Paris for the first time the orchestra of the Conservatoire Concert Society, with the great Czech pianist **Jan Panenka** as soloist. This concert of Czech and French music was in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Antonin Dvorak and the 70th anniversary of the death of Bedrich Smetana.

● A ceremony of homage to Henry Fielding has been organised by the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, the Union of Czechoslovak writers and the Philological Faculty of the Charles University in Prague.

At the Henry Fielding ceremony in Prague, Mr. Vincent Duncan Jones, representing the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace (speaking) and, on his left, Academician Jan Mukarovsky and Professor Zdenek Vencura, Dean of the Faculty of Philology.

Buenos Aires, May 14th — 16th

ARGENTINE CULTURAL CONGRESS

The fruitful work of the Continental Cultural Congress, held in an atmosphere of good fellowship in Santiago de Chile, and of the First Congress of Brazilian Intellectuals in Goyannia, showed how much the intellectuals of Latin America want to restore national dignity to the culture of their respective countries and to work for rich cultural exchanges with the other peoples of the world.

Today, the intellectuals of the Argentine are animated by the same desire. More than a hundred eminent Argentinians from all scientific and artistic circles issued an invitation to cultural societies, to members of the liberal professions, artists, scientists, journalists, and all those interested in the problems of Argentinian culture, to take part in the Argentine Cultural Congress in Buenos Aires, May 14th - 16th, 1954.

The tasks of the Congress are the following:

1. To study the basic development of Argentinian culture, the historical tradition and social conditions, in relation to the general problems of America.

2. To find out the obstacles in the way of an original national culture, of its full development and expansion, from the point of view of creation and research, the necessary diffusion throughout the country and cultural exchanges with other countries.

3. To study the rights and duties of workers by brain: the specific forms of their social action, professional ethics, freedom of creation and thought - this last being the essential condition for their work. Lastly, to examine the activity of popular cultural associations and their relations with those of the intellectuals.

The Argentine Cultural Congress should therefore help forward discussion between intellectuals, whatever their opinions and beliefs, so that the efforts of all may give a new life to the culture of the Argentine.

*

A team of Soviet chess-players, including the famous champion Bronstein, went to Latin America and met teams from the Argentine and Uruguay. They then returned to Europe and had several matches with French chess-players. They were given a reception in the Paris Town Hall, at which the Vice-Chairman of the Municipal Council presented them with a medal of the city of Paris.

The Comédie-Française in Moscow and Leningrad

The performances given by the Comédie-Française in Moscow and Leningrad were the occasion for moving demonstrations of Franco-Soviet friendship. The performance of "Tartuffe" at the Maly Theatre, in the traditional style of the Maison de Molière, with sets brought from Paris and period furniture, was followed by a ceremony of homage to Molière, in which **Jean Meyer, Béatrice Bretty** and **Jean Yonnel** read excerpts from Grimarest and Victor Hugo. The bust of Molière and the armchair in which he died while acting in the "Malade Imaginaire" - this was the first time that this precious relic had left Paris - were presented on the stage in a flood of light. A delegation of Soviet actors then came on to the stage to greet their French comrades.

Speaking on behalf of Moscow actors, **Mikhail Tzarev** stated: "*We listened with great emotion to the music of your language, for we felt how much such exchanges strengthen the bonds of our culture and friendship, and contribute to mutual understanding and closer relations between our two peoples.*"

Jean Yonnel replied on behalf of his French colleagues, stressing both the profoundly national character of Molière's work and the universal meaning of great masterpieces. The latter reflect the mind of a whole people and are therefore directly accessible to all.

It is interesting to note that this is the first foreign company, if we except the People's Democracies, to perform in the Soviet Union since the war. This fact made **M. Pierre Descaves,** the general director of the Comédie-Française, declare, at a reception given to the French company by the Minister of Culture of the Soviet Union: "*We are happy to have inaugurated the intellectual air-lift between our two countries.*"

After the last performance of the "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" in Moscow, the French actors were received by the head of the Soviet Government, Mr. Malenkov, who was accompanied by the principal leaders of the Soviet Union.

At the end of the performance of "Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme", Moscow actors came on to the stage and applauded the French visitors.

The Soviet public gave the Comédie-Française an unprecedented welcome. They were acclaimed by crowds of people both at the theatre and in the street, they were loaded down with flowers, and the Press was full of enthusiastic commentaries.

All the seats at the performances given by them had been sold far in advance, but the plays were televised so that hundreds of thousands of people were able to see them.

Before leaving Moscow, the famous actor **Maurice Escande** made a statement over Moscow Radio:

"*I am overwhelmed by the welcome given us by the public. We are deeply moved by this applause because we are sure that it is addressed to our country too . . . When the Muses speak, the guns are silent. I hope with all my heart that, in our countries, the Muses will speak very loudly and that neither of us will ever hear the guns again.*"

Eigentümer und Herausgeber: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

Around the World

Chile

The Industrial Mining Federation decided at its recent national conference to support the national referendum denouncing the the US-Chile bilateral pact and for freedom to trade with all countries. The Mining Federation has a membership of 66,000 miners.

In the nitrate-mining district of Northern Chile, 10,900 signatures were collected for the national referendum in the course of many meetings.

*

In San Miguel, young Peace workers convened a joint meeting of local youth organisations for the purpose of organising the collection of signatures. Fourteen organisations, including 12 sports clubs, responded.

Ecuador

In Quito and Guayaquil, the two most important cities in Ecuador, Committees of Friends of Guatemala have been formed to support the Guatemalan people's defence of their national independence. The House of Ecuadorian Culture and the Confederation of University Students have joined these committees.

Argentina

A country fête, organised by the Defenders of Peace on March 21st on the outskirts of Buenos Aires, attracted 7,000 people from the capital. They came in lorries decorated with Peace emblems and slogans. Fourteen lorry loads came from "La Paternal" district alone. The fête aroused extraordinary interest.

*

The Second National Conference of the "Movement for the Democratisation and Independence of the Trade Unions" sent a message of solidarity to the Guatemalan people and adopted a resolution which warned against the danger of the decisions taken by the Pan-American Conference in Caracas.

Pakistan

In the Assembly of Eastern Pakistan, 162 out of 309 Deputies have published a statement opposing the US-Pakistan military alliance. It calls upon the people to condemn it since it endangers the country's independence.

Egypt

The Egyptian Prime Minister, **Gamal Nasser,** *and the Minister for National Guidance,* **Salah Salem,** *condemned the Pakistan-Turkey pact in a statement to the Press.*

It would not be in Egypt's interest to take part in such a pact, they declared.

Iran

Abdullah Entezam, *Foreign Minister of Iran, in the course of an interview with American journalists published in the "Teheran Journal", stated that his country will not join the Pakistan-Turkey pact and that he had not concluded any separate agreement with Turkey.*

Kuwait

A National Peace Committee has just been set up in the State of Kuwait on the Persian Gulf. The Committee issued a statement in which it called wpon the people to struggle against the transformation of Kuwait into a foreign military base and for the peaceful solution of all differences between the Great Powers.

Belgium

On the initiative of the Belgian Committee for International Trade, an exhibition of "Scientific and Technical Books Published in Leipzig" was held in Brussels from March 22nd to 30th. Two thousand works and 200 reviews were displayed in this exhibition which was an important contribution to better understanding between the peoples.

Algeria

The appeal against EDC issued by 48 Algerian public figures has had a considerable effect. Others have added their signatures – among them, **Dr. Benkhelil Abdesselam,** *delegate to the Algerian Assembly, and the President of the Bar Association,* **Lamrani Laïd.** *Several thousand signatures were collected and many meetings organised during "Action Against EDC Week." The standing committee consisting of the 48 signatories have approached all the Deputies; the Deputy,* **General Aumeran,** *is among those who have already replied that they are opposed to EDC.*

*

Dr. Henri Duboucher, *professor at the Algiers Faculty of Medicine, and Dr. Ferrand, head surgeon at the Faculty, and other well-known Algerian medical men have published "a grave warning" against "putting certain North African bases at the disposal of the USA", especially that of Mers-el-Kébir.*

Israel

The first number of "Shalom", organ of the Peace Movement, has just been published. It contains information on the struggle for Peace and important cultural features.

Finland

A resolution adopted at a meeting organised by the Finnish section of the "International Women's League for Peace and Freedom" calls upon "the United Nations to take immediate measures to halt atom bomb tests and to obtain the banning of weapons of mass destruction."

The meeting urged the Government, the Riksdag (Parliament), all public bodies and the people to work for general disarmament.

Austria

Recently, the Austrian Peace Movement has been organising daily meetings demanding the prohibition of atomic weapons.

A resolution demanding the banning of such weapons and addressed to the Provincial Executive Committee of the Trade Unions by the miners' and engineers' unions, stated:

"It is with considerable anxiety that the workers have learned of the H-bomb explosion and of its terrible effects. The fact that an atomic weapons' dump has been installed at Oberammergau, close to our frontier, increases our anxiety even further."

*

In Innsbruck, the workers and shop committees of the Agricultural Co-operative and the Woergl factory have called upon the Austrian Trade Union Federation to demand, together with other world trade union centres, the ending of bomb experiments and the destruction of stockpiles.

Guatemala

Throughout Guatemala a campaign consisting of meetings and demonstrations against attempts at foreign interference is taking place. In the course of this campaign a number of "Committees Against Foreign Intervention" have been formed by people representing all shades of opinion.

*

In a letter to the General Association of Industrialists, the General Confederation of Workers proposes, in the national interest, that a study should be made of the possibilities of extending Guatemala's trade with all countries without discrimination.

Britain

Within five days of the announcement of the Bikini experimental H-bomb explosion, a pamphlet, "Ban Those Bombs", was written by Dr. Eric Burhop, Australian-born atomic scientist and Reader in Physics at London University, and published by the British Peace Committee. Within four days of the announcement of the publication, 10,000 copies were ordered.

The Committee has also distributed 75,000 small leaflets on the H-bomb, calling for letters and deputations to MPs.

Today Unity Is Necessary

Preparatory to the holding of a "Conference of Vigilance Against the Revival of German Fascism", a group of Rotterdam citizens launched this appeal:

"Opposition to the menace of German rearmament is very sporadic in our country.

"We should not forget the lessons of the years of occupation – unity and unanimous action are the sole conditions by which our security can be successfully defended.

"Once again this unity is essential today."

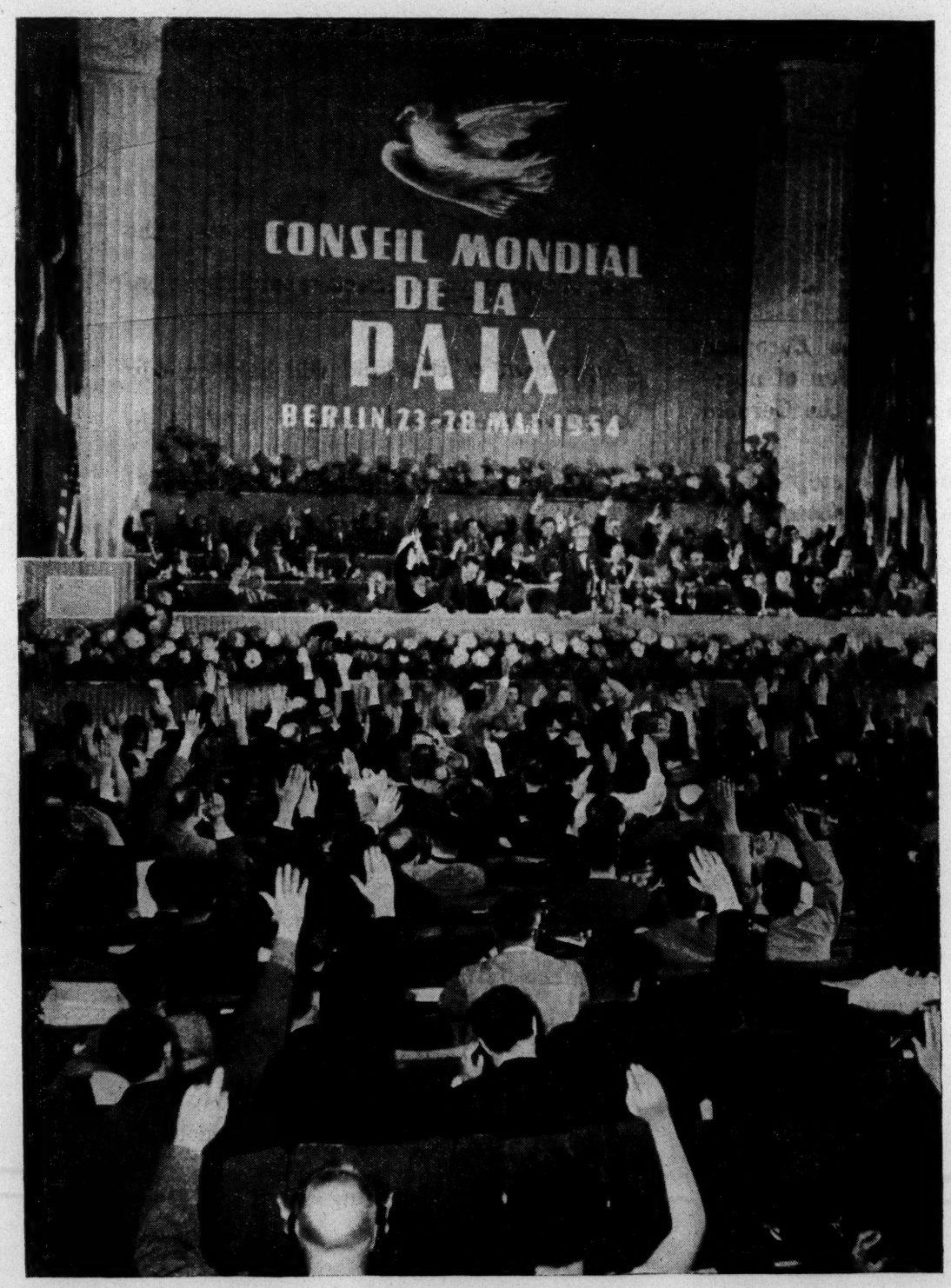
BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

[Paul Robeson, p 26]

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No 12 JUNE 1954

Extraordinary Session in Berlin (May 24-28, 1954)



The World Council of Peace held an Extraordinary Session from May 24th to 28th, 1954.

326 representatives from [illegible] countries and international organisations took part in the work of the Session.

The following two points were included on the Agenda:

1. The banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons.

2. The security of nations.

The World Council of Peace adopted a Resolution on atomic weapons, a Resolution on security, and approved the Recommendations of the Cultural Commission.

These documents, as well as extracts from several speeches made during the Session, are published in this Bulletin.

Resolutions Adopted at the Session

RESOLUTION ON SECURITY

The threats of USA military intervention in the conflict in Indo-China, which would be liable to lead to a new world war; the pressure brought to bear to set up the European Defence Community, which would sanction the rearmament of Germany; the division of Europe and Asia by the policy of military pacts; the repeated H-bomb experiments, one aim of which is intimidation and blackmail — all these have given the peoples, in whom hopes had been roused by negotiations, fresh reasons for anxiety.

The pressure of world public opinion, which secured the armistice in Korea and the opening of negotiations on European and Asian problems, can to-day secure:

— a successful outcome to the Geneva Conference, that is to say, a cease-fire in Indo-China, and a peaceful settlement of the Korean and Indo-Chinese conflicts;

— rejection of the agreements on the European Defence Community and a resumption of negotiations for the peaceful solution of the German question;

— agreement by the Governments to stop all experiments with H-bombs and atom bombs and forbid their use.

Despite differences of political or social system, all peoples have common interests. These common interests cannot be protected, and the security of each and the independence of the peoples cannot be guaranteed by atomic blackmail and the division of the world into military blocs.

Likewise, these common interests are harmed by repression of national liberation movements or by the intervention of any state in the internal affairs of any other.

A nation can only guarantee its own security by ensuring that of every other nation. Security for all must be organised, most urgently in Asia and Europe, with participation of all the States concerned, whatever their differences of political or social system.

Berlin, May 28th, 1954

RESOLUTION ON ATOMIC WEAPONS

Weapons of indiscriminate slaughter now threaten all mankind. The conscience of the world is awakening. Parliaments and statesmen, the most eminent leaders of thought and religion, speak out in protest.

In the name of mankind, we call for agreement, at once, to stop all experiments with H-bombs and atom bombs and forbid their use.

Agreement of this kind will ease the task of securing their effective total abolition.

Agreement of this kind will help quickly to relieve international tension; it will help forward the general reduction of armaments; it will open the way to collaboration in the peaceful development of atomic energy.

We call upon all bodies and individuals concerned with peace, upon political, social, trade union, religious and cultural organisations, upon men and women in every country, to consult together, nationally and internationally, on how best to obtain agreement by the governments to prohibit, under strict international control, which is wholly practicable, the manufacture, use or storage of all weapons of mass destruction.

Berlin, May 28th, 1954

Opening Session

May 24th, 1954

Chairman: Dr. KUO MO-JO

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Dr. KUO MO-JO

(People's Republic of China)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Thanks to the joint efforts of the defenders of Peace and the Peace organisations in the world we have had obvious successes in our work.

What we are asking of the Five Great Powers, who have a particular responsibility for the maintenance of Peace, is to take the path of negotiation in order to solve international conflicts and ease international tension. This is gradually being achieved.

Our calls for an armistice in Korea resulted in the cease-fire in June last year. Our call for the restoration of peace in Indo-China is already the main question on the agenda of the Geneva Conference. It is being discussed at the present time by the countries taking part in the Conference.

The Conference on Far-Eastern questions which opened in Geneva on April 26th and in which are participating the delegates of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the other countries concerned, is without doubt the first realisation of what we have been demanding for several years, that is to say, a Big Five Conference.

The solution of international conflicts through peaceful negotiation is not only necessary; it is now possible as well.

Though the tension in the international situation has begun to relax, we cannot deny the existence of a war danger. The sovereignty and independence of a number of nations are still being violated, and that more and more openly. The establishment of collective security in Asia, Europe and throughout the world is urgently necessary...

All the peoples of the world are demanding collective security. In order to satisfy this demand and avert the danger of the mass destruction of human life, we must increase our efforts for peace and secure a broader exchange of views. We must consider practical proposals in order to attain our goal: real and lasting peace.

HERR FRIEDRICH EBERT

MAYOR OF BERLIN

The World Council of Peace can take credit for having made a great contribution to the upsurge of public opinion. It has worked for the lessening of international tension with great energy and understanding and has elaborated a platform on which every friend of peace can find a place.

We in Berlin feel even greater respect and gratitude towards the World Council of Peace because we can feel the lessening of tension physically, as it were. The very fact that the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers held their Conference in Berlin, has given the citizens of the capital visible proof that the German metropolis is in a position to make an appreciable contribution by serving as a place of understanding and reconciliation. I can assure this meeting that, so far as we are concerned, everything will be done to restore a peaceful life to Germany by means of negotiation, in accordance with the efforts that are being made in the international sphere.

M. JEAN LAFFITTE

(France)

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Bureau therefore proposes, providing you are in agreement, to put the following items on the agenda for this session:

1) The banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons.
2) The security of nations.

Such an agenda confirms the extraordinary character of our session. It places great responsibilities on our World Council for it is its task not only to discuss these problems, but further, to find and promote activities which will enable the continuance and development of our efforts for Peace. We are meeting at a serious time, but a time when two roads are still open to us. On the one hand, the road of negotiation, a road which is without any doubt full of problems and difficulties, but the only one which, if followed in a true spirit of give and take, can take us forward along the road to Peace. On the other hand, the way of force which can only lead the world to a terrible catastrophe, and perhaps total annihilation.

During the five years of its existence, the World Peace Movement, of which the World Council is the expression, has always based its activities on one single principle: that of making the spirit of negotiation prevail over the use of force through the action of public opinion. This effort has not been in vain. Important results have been achieved which have begun to lighten the horizon. The guns have been silenced in Korea; negotiations which, for a long time, were interrupted, have been resumed. Solutions have come to light which are possible of realisation and which are receiving the widest hearing from public opinion.

These are successes which have been achieved by the peoples' will for Peace. Let this will be expressed yet more strongly and Peace can once more gain ground.

To this end the World Council has the task of making a further contribution today in order that the possibilities of easing international tension, which are visible today, become the reality of tomorrow.

Mr. D. N. PRITT

(Great Britain)

The abolition of weapons of terror, the reduction of armaments, the ending of the war in Indo-China, the solving of the German question without the rearming of German militarism, the demand that *all* questions between States shall be settled by negotiation and agreement: these are principles that today the great majority share with us...

If I may use a lawyer's phrase, they give us a "very good case" against war and against the new "unconventional" weapons, a case better than we had against rearmament when conventional weapons alone were involved. The case against that was good enough; for the miseries it causes are great, the people's longing for peace is great, and the conventional arms race is, as a matter of international law, illegal in that it offends against the letter and the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations Organisation and against the various resolutions that have been passed by that body.

But our case against the new weapons is ten or a hundred times stronger, in the light of the misery and destruction they cause, and in the public indignation they arouse; whilst they are plainly, as I will show, an offence against international law, a war crime, and a crime against humanity, from first to last...

Now, one principle which international law has always laid down is this:

The object of warlike operations is to overthrow the forces of the enemy, not to inflict general damage on all the citizens of the belligerent. The destruction of life and property beyond what is necessary or incidental to the achievement of that object is unlawful, and, in particular, it is unlawful to inflict any injury or suffering on non-combattants, save so far as it is directly and inevitably involved in the pursuit of the one legitimate object of overthrowing the enemy's armed forces.

It clearly follows from this principle that atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, acting indiscriminately on vast numbers of human beings, irrespective of their military or civilian status, over wide periods of time and wide extents of space, are illegal...

It will be seen at once that the position — in fact, in international law, in plain humanity, and in the light of history — of conventional weapons and of these two terrible "unconventional" weapons, are utterly different. Whilst the remedy which the largest sections of public opinion demand in respect of conventional weapons does not go beyond agreed reductions and limitations, at any rate in the first instance, it is clear, I suggest, that the only suitable remedy for unconventional weapons is absolute prohibition...

We start with certain incontrovertible facts. The victorious allies agreed together, both before and after the end of the Second World War, in treaties which surely represented correct policy, and which none of them has any excuse to break, that Germany should be reunited as one country and state, unarmed, democratic. This was agreed not for the advantage of those who now hold financial and industrial power in West Germany, but to help in securing a peaceful future for all the peoples of Europe.

The policy now sought to be carried through by the Western Powers is a policy that West Germany should be massively rearmed, as an integral part of a "European Defence Community", and that her army should be part of a vast armed force formed by most of the countries of Western Europe and by the USA. This is a policy which makes it *de facto* impossible to reunite Germany; and it has nothing in common with any democratic government of Germany, if only because it bans what every German wants, in one form or another, namely, a government of one whole Germany by Germans, Germans at one table.

What pretexts are advanced by the originators and supporters of this policy, a policy which breaks solemn agreements, perpetuates a divided Germany, leads to endless misery and unrest, embraces many dangers of war, and is contrary to all the principles of the Charter of UNO?

The main pretext, accompanied by various subsidiary excuses, was originally that there was a danger that the USSR might over-run Western Europe by force of arms, and that it was accordingly necessary to rearm Germany, as well as other European countries, to resist such aggression. This scare story was once widely accepted, however unfounded; but no one now seriously believes it. There is not a tittle of evidence that the Soviet Union had or has any such intention, and admissions to this effect can be quoted from the writings and speeches of the most prominent anti-Soviet political and military leaders of the USA, the very men who originated the demand for the rearmament of West Germany, and who are now attempting to bully and blackmail France into urgent acceptance of this policy, even whilst they confess the emptiness of the pretexts they advance.

What can be their real motive? And what can be the real motive of the powerful German industrial, financial and military groupings which, at the will of the USA, now control the policies of West Germany behind a facade of Parliamentary democracy? It is not for me to read their minds; but, however strong their protestations of defensive intention, it is difficult to see any other logical purpose in their acts than preparation for a war, to be launched one day against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies...

Thus, in all, we see that there is no basis, no reason, no legitimate excuse for rearming West Germany; that it carries appalling dangers, and that it must be stopped. Happily, there are immense forces against it. Not only in the new socialist countries, not only in Britain (where the forces include, I think, a majority of the Labour Party and a number of Trade Unions), not only in France and Italy, but also (in formidable volume) in West and East Germany itself, masses of people from almost all sections of the population realise the dangers and rally against them. And the prospects of success in building up positive plans for European security — which include, above all, the reunion of Germany, itself the greatest contribution to European security — grow always greater. One of our tasks here will be to consider how best the great movement we represent can contribute to success in this field.

I come now to the problems of the Far East, and of Asian security, of its main danger spots of Korea and Indo-China, and of the rights of the Chinese People's Republic to its full status in the world...

But, for our purposes today, our minds turn inevitably to the countries where wars actually rage or are just frozen by armistice. In Korea and in Indo-China, we can see and study with appalling clarity almost every problem and danger presented by this mid-century, so harassed, so tortured, and yet so glorious in its potentialities and in its promises of greatness, promises which we must make sure are realised. In these two countries, and in their immediate future, lies at present the decision between the Third World War and settled World Peace, between a temporary buttressing of colonialism and its swifter passing to its end...

What of Asian security as a whole? The solution in Asia, as indeed in other parts of the earth, lies in the freedom of all the peoples, their right — their really effective right — to sovereignty, untrammeled by the intervention of empires under any pretext, their right to develop their own resources, their own trade, their own industries, instead of having their trade and industry distorted to serve foreign interests...

Let me now very briefly summarise the tasks of this Council.

To win the abolition of weapons of mass destruction and the substantial reduction of other arms — instead of vain reliance for security on an arms race and on the fear of atomic destruction.

To solve the great outstanding questions — Korea, Indo-China, unification of Germany, sovereignty and freedom for the dependent peoples — on the basis of the desires of the peoples themselves, and not on fancied claims to their division or incorporation for strategic purposes in some one or other bloc.

To break down barriers and resume exchanges, material in commerce, spiritual and cultural in the realms of art, literature, science and sport — freely throughout all the world, instead of having partition of the world in mutually hostile groups.

In short, to return to the focal principles that underlay and inspired the Charter of the United Nations, and are the only ones on which security can truly be founded, collaboration of all for Peace, not vain attemps at strengthening one group in enmity against another.

We have with us in our fight the overwhelming majority of the peoples in all countries.

Mr. YOSHITARO HIRANO

(Japan)

What is the reaction of the Japanese people to the explosion of the H-Bomb?

What is the relation of the Peace Movement to the protest movement against H-Bomb experiments?

The Japanese nation is not only angry, but convinced that this inhuman weapon can be banned by the World Peace Movement...

We have started a national petition for the banning of all nuclear weapons and nuclear experiments. It has received the support of people from all walks of life and of all ages — from young children, just able to sign their names, to old people in their eighties...

The statement of the Japanese Academy of Science must be cited here because of the political neutrality of this body, and its normally somewhat conservative attitude. They were, however, influenced by the consciousness of the experts and professors engaged in scientific work on atomic energy. The statement said: "We scientists are determined not to do any research into the use of atomic energy for military purposes, whether it be for experiments, the manufacture of atomic weapons, or their use."

"We sincerely hope and appeal that the experimental explosions of A and H-Bombs be abolished and that an international control of atomic energy be established. We are determined to make all possible efforts to attain this end in spite of any difficulties encountered."

In conclusion, we peace-loving Japanese people at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace make the following proposals concerning the question of the A and H-Bombs, together with proposals to stop the arms race and to reduce armaments. We propose that:

— This Session ask the Five Great Powers and other countries to prohibit the use, production and experimental explosion of atomic weapons...

— This Session ask the Government of every country to declare its intention not to use atomic weapons and to give its answer to this question...

— This Session initiate a world-wide mass movement to achieve the prohibition of all atomic weapons.

PROFESSOR LEOPOLD INFELD

(Poland)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The H-Bomb explosions have awakened the conscience of the world. The question of the effects of this bomb is no longer a purely theoretical problem, but has become one of the most urgent of the problems facing mankind...

It seems to me that it is the duty of scientists to explain to the people just how terrible is the hydrogen bomb. It is their duty to rationalise this fear and to transform it into a will for peace...

The bombs that exploded over Hiroshima and Nagasaki and exterminated around 200,000 people had an explosive force of 20,000 tons of TNT. The bomb that exploded on March 1st in Bikini had a power 600 times greater; that is, an explosive force of 12,200,000 tons of TNT.

Let us imagine such a bomb dropped on a city ten miles in diameter. The people would be blinded by a new sun. No sound would be heard. The roar of the explosion would not at first reach them, only a brilliant flash, lasting for a few seconds — the flash of a substance at a temperature of many millions of degrees centigrade. That flash is enough to set fire to the clothes of most of the people in the city, to burn their bodies to cinders. These are the relatively fortunate ones, because they die quickly. But what will happen to those who live on the outskirts of the city? Burnt and maimed, they will crawl away from this sun. But the hope of life will be theirs for less than a minute. They will survive meanwhile only to hear the horrible roar of the collapsing houses, cars tossed like balls into the air, and thick walls being crushed by the tremendous air pressure. Many people will lose their lives under burning ruins. And what will happen to those people who live further away and escape immediate death, being only slightly burnt? They will suffer the most horrible death from radio-active poisoning, which can last from three days to several years.

The effect of this radio-active poisoning cannot be controlled scientifically. The radio-active dust is carried by the wind. We know little about the sickness that follows, except that it is deadly and that science does not know any remedy for it.

One hydrogen bomb can kill millions of people, including pregnant women, children and the sick in hospitals. Such is the situation to-day. And to-morrow? To-morrow, if we do not restrain this race in constructing bigger and bigger bombs, these bombs will be much stronger and still more deadly...

In such a situation, our duties — the duties of peace defenders — are simple and clear. We must continue to march along the path we have followed up to now. We must speak to the hearts and minds of all mankind about the blessings of peace and the horrors of war. We must be the conscience of the world as we were when we collected hundreds of millions of signatures to the Stockholm Appeal. Time and events are working for us, and this means — for peace.

A great task is opening up before us, to create a great front — greater than heretofore — of people desiring peace, even of people having very different politicial opinions. We must do everything in our power to enlarge this front, to convince all who want peace that different political systems can co-operate with one another for the sake of all mankind. The slogan "Ban the hydrogen and atomic weapons" is a slogan which can unite all people who desire peace around our most precious and most supremely desired aim — world peace.

MAJOR GENERAL SIR SAHIB SINGH SOKHEY

(India)

The biological effects of exposure to the radio-active rays given out by the bomb are still unpredictable. Even now, over eight years after the explosions of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, fresh cases of cataract and cancer of the blood are appearing among those who were exposed to the radio-active rays. Similarly, there is every possibility that, due to the exposure of the genetic cells to radio-active rays, mutations in the form of malformations of the body may appear in the children born in this or later generations. Today, science uses rays to produce experimental changes in the species of plants and insects. Mankind is no exception to mutations resulting from radio-activity.

The deaths and injuries due to atomic damage can be listed under three headings:

1. — Atomic bomb burns.
2. — Atomic bomb wounds.
3. — Atomic bomb radiation injuries.

Regarding the burns, the salient feature is that the bomb, when it explodes, produces momentarily in its interior a temperature comparable to that of the sun, about 50 to 100,000,000 ^{0} C., and when it becomes a ball of fire 100 metres in diameter has a temperature of 10,000^{0} C., and when the buildings and objects were hit in Hiroshima immediately under the explosion, a temperature of 6,000^{0} C. appears to have been reached, and even 630 metres from the centre, a temperature of 2,000^{0} C. seems to have been attained. This intense heat caused direct flash burns and secondary burns due to clothes and buildings catching fire. Atomic bomb wounds were mainly caused by being crushed under buildings etc. and by splintered glass.

The injuries from atomic bomb radiations were due to the release of gamma rays and neutrons. For the most part the radio-activity comes through the air, but secondary radio-activity results from neutrons and fission products falling on the ground. The body injuries are due primarily to damage to the internal organs, the blood and the blood-forming tissues and infections resulting from the loss of white cells.

Those who, in Hiroshima, were within 1 km. of the hypocentre, suffered severely. Their blood and internal organs were highly affected, and 90 per cent died in the course of about two weeks. Those who were protected against other injuries, but were exposed to the rays, began to show symptoms two weeks after the explosion, such as fall of hair, bleeding, fever, diarrhoea and loss of white cells of the blood, and died in about a week's time. Fifty per cent of those who were one to two kms. from the hypocentre, showed the same sort of symptoms and some of them died. Those who were two to four kms. distant developed the same symptoms but in a milder form.

Be it noted that the symptoms and injuries described here were caused by the bombs of early manufacture. More potent A-Bombs

have been made and, what is worse, H-bombs can be made, as powerful as desired without limit. We have no knowledge of the appalling effects they can produce. All we know are the intelligent guesses of scientists.

Most of these facts are now widely known. Self-complacency has given place to real concern. All people are one in demanding not only the banning of these weapons but the stoppage of any further experimental explosions...

PROFESSOR MAX COSYNS

(Belgium)

In this anxious period when the international situation is developing at a constantly increasing speed, the peace camp is every day faced with new perils; it overcomes them and emerges strengthened from the struggle. World opinion is becoming more aware of, and more sensitive to, the things which can imperil its most vital possessions. Its reaction to the heartless H-Bomb experiments clearly shows its growing political maturity. But the fact that its reaction has not yet been strong enough to compel the governments responsible to ban the use of the H-Bomb shows that our efforts are not yet adequate and that we must see what we can do together to intensify our action.

In this connection, the Belgian people have been made responsible without their opinion having been sought. We know now that there would have been no Hiroshima or Nagasaki without Congo uranium. There would perhaps have been atomic bombs today, but there would not have been an H-Bomb, the other sources of uranium being insufficient...

Concerning uranium, it is not only our national sovereignty which is at stake; we are made responsible in spite of ourselves for a danger which threatens all peoples and which can only be averted by the united action of all the peoples...

Each year the Congo produces thousands of tons of uranium; this uranium serves only the policy of death of the USA...

At the present time, practically the whole world stock of uranium is reserved for the war industries. It must be freed and used for peaceful purposes. This obviously cannot be done unless those who possess this stock first obtain guarantees of the controlled banning of the use of the A-Bomb and the H-Bomb.

Will we be strong enough to accomplish this? I think we can be optimistic...

Our efforts have not been in vain and the task of enlightenment which we have undertaken today, if we can spread it widely, each of us in our own country, allows us every hope.

It is by looking danger in the face that one conquers it.

Dr. SAIFUDDIN KITCHLEW

(India)

Dear Friends, we in India, together with the rest of the Asian peoples, have viewed with profound indignation the Hydrogen Bomb tests at Bikini Island...

Do you blame us, if, with the international situation as it was at that time, in face of the fact that the immediate victims of the tests were the Asian people of Japan, we concluded that the purpose of these tests on the eve of the Geneva Conference was to frighten and overawe the peoples of Asia?...

The Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his statement in Parliament on April 24th, referring to the American threats of direct intervention in Indo-China and to the proposals for a South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, said:

"The Government of India deeply regret and are much concerned that a conference of such momentous character, obviously called together because negotiation was considered both feasible and necessary, should be preceded by a proclamation of what amounts to a lack of faith in it, and of alternatives involving threats of sanctions. Negotiations are handicapped, they start ill and they make chequered progress, if any at all; with duress, threats, slights and proclamations of lack of faith preceding them."

Yet, fortunately for the world, all efforts made to prevent the Geneva Conference from taking place, to render it a failure before it began, failed. Today the negotiations at Geneva are proceeding in a manner which has brought hope for peace to the peoples of the whole world...

Sinister efforts also continue to be made to drag India into the vast net which it is being attempted to throw across the countries of Asia.

President Eisenhower, through his letter to our Prime Minister, offered us all the guns and bombs we would want. But India, true to her tradition, true to the will of her people, spurned the offer...

Mr. Nehru declared that:

"India has no intention of surrendering or bartering her freedom for any purpose or under any compulsion whatever."...

The Peace Council's *Anti-US-Pakistan Pact Day* on February 14th, was more widely observed in every province of India than any other day called by the peace movement in recent years.

On May 7th, 8th and 9th, in Delhi, we had a magnificent demonstration of national unity on the US-Pakistan Pact and the key issues of world affairs...

Nearly a hundred members of Parliament, the vast majority belonging to the Congress Party, enrolled themselves as delegates to this Convention. Unitedly they declared themselves against the US-Pakistan Pact. Never before in recent years, on any issue, has there been such a wide unity among the Indian people...

I commend to your Council the following proposals of this historic Convention, which can well be considered the voice of the united Indian people on Asian questions:

First and foremost, we demand that the People's Republic of China be admitted to its rightful place in the United Nations Organisation. As long as the 500 million people of China are denied a voice in the councils of the world, peace cannot be assured.

Secondly, we fully support the proposals of Prime Minister Nehru in regard to Indo-China, and the stand taken by the Government of India in not allowing the transportation of foreign troops across the territory of India. We call for an immediate end to the war in Indo-China, and we demand full freedom for that country and a guarantee against intervention by any foreign power. We believe that direct negotiations between the belligerents, following a cease-fire, can alone lead to the creation of a climate of peace...

Thirdly, we call for immediate steps to prevent the resumption of hostilities in Korea and to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops, so that the Korean people may be free to determine their own destiny...

Fourthly, we call upon the Great Powers now assembled at Geneva to respect the rights of the Asian peoples to self-determination and to complete independence as the basis for the establishment of peace in Asia.

Fifthly, we condemn all military moves and alliances designed to circumvent the freedom of the Asian countries and to strike at the growing solidarity of the Asian peoples...

There is so much talk of "collective defence", and one "pact" after another — the NATO, the ANZUS, and tomorrow the SEATO — is being signed. But these pacts are war pacts, pacts which attempt to line up one group of countries militarily against another.

These pacts are against the spirit of the United Nations Charter. They are pacts which threaten the peace of the world.

Could there not be, instead of these pacts of "collective defence", to use the words of Mr. Nehru, pacts of *collective peace?*

India commends to you the recent treaty between our country an the People's Republic of China on the question of Tibet...

I would draw your attention to its preamble, which lays down the principles and the considerations which will govern the mutual relations between our two countries.

These principles are:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
2. Mutual non-aggression.
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
4. Equality and mutual benefit.
5. Peaceful co-existence.

We seek similar treaties with all our neighbours and with all countries.

Could these principles not become a Charter of Peace? I believe that this is possible. I believe that these principles, emanating from the ancient countries of India and China, can become the basis for relations between countries...

Dr. Kitchlew was not able to be present. His speech was read by Mr. Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the All India Peace Council.

2nd Session

Chairman: Mme EUGENIE COTTON

(FRANCE)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Vice-Chairmen

Mr. ANTOINE TABET
(Lebanon)

Mr. KOICHI OONO
(Japan)

PROFESSOR PETROS KOKKALIS

(Greece)

I should now like to draw the attention of the World Council of Peace to the most recent developments in the situation with the projected transformation of the agreement between Athens, Belgrade and Ankara into an open war pact. This plan must be taken together with the Turkey-Pakistan Agreement, with Tito's preparations to enter into the European Defence Community, and with the ever-growing interest shown in our country by the President of the Council of Ministers of West Germany. In this we can see an effort to create a new bloc, an effort which seeks to get round the growing resistance of the peoples of Western Europe...

In these plans a special role is played by the bilateral agreement between Greece and the USA which was signed on October 12th, 1953...

The war blocs and alliances which the aggressive powers are striving to create today in the Balkans have no connection with the interests and feelings of the peoples concerned. Friendship and co-operation between all the peoples of the Balkans are a vital necessity, They correspond to the national, economic and cultural interests of our peoples.

Mr. LUDMIL STOYANOV

(Bulgaria)

Our President of the Council of Ministers has several times pointed out forcefully that we have no desire to impose our system of people's democracy on anyone, and our policy is a policy of Peace and good-neighbour relations with all our neighbours without exception.

This statement had a favourable reception and a number of contentious issues with Greece and Yugoslavia were resolved by negotiation.

Dr. WALTER FRIEDRICH

(Germany)

Germany is still not a unified state, in which Peace is the supreme law, nor has a democratic Peace Pact yet been signed with a body representing the whole German nation.

We are well aware that the peoples of Europe will only help the reunification of Germany insofar as we succeed in making it compatible with the legitimate demands for the security of all European States. The reunification of Germany must not endanger the independence of other peoples and other countries. From our Germany, which we want to see united, free and independent, the might of militarism must be banned. We want Germany to become a land of peace...

More and more people in Germany are drawing correct conclusions from the bitter experiences of the past, and are welcoming the ceaseless attempts to end the division of Germany by means of peaceful agreement and to promote, at the same time, a general European treaty which would guarantee the security of all the states of Europe and prevent the splitting of our continent into military blocs. The German Peace Movement is also guided by these ideas when it rejects the EDC scheme as well as all attempts to revive German militarism, and when it fights for normal relations between all peoples. Only along this road can we attain a lasting peace in Europe and firm friendship among all peoples...

Feverish preparations are being made in West Germany for an atomic aerial war. More and more atomic cannon are being installed in West German towns and villages. The maintenance crews of these cannon are already carrying out manoeuvres in preparation for the "real thing"...

My work on the physical and biological bases of the effects of radiation enables me to judge what the use of radioactive weapons and poisons would mean in the event of war. Many of my colleagues are already incurably ill through handling only very small amounts of radioactive substances, and some have died from the effects of radiation.

It is precisely because I know what the use of radioactive weapons would mean for our people that I have spoken out against the stationing of atomic cannon in West Germany, and protested at the fact that the American occupation forces, which came here supposedly to disarm German militarism and to guarantee the peaceful development of Germany, are now abusing their power and making preparations on German territory for atomic war in Europe.

Dr. KENJURO YANAGIDA

(Japan)

The Japanese people, who experienced terrible suffering through the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, shuddered when they heard that 23 fishermen, victims of the Bikini experiment, were very seriously affected by atom disease...

A young man who lost both his legs and who lies in the National Hospital of Kanagawa Prefecture, printed signature papers by mimeograph in bed and began to collect signatures by all means at his disposal.

The results of the signature campaign show how the people of broad strata of the population are deeply interested in this problem. For example, in the streets of Tokyo young people collected 76,000 signatures and 21,000 yen in only 4 days. The Signature Collecting Committee of Ward Suginami in Tokyo, which includes a member of Yoshida's Liberal Party who is President of a Ward Council, also succeeded in collecting more than 200,000 signatures in 4 days...

These results proved that thousands of new fighters for peace took part in the campaign. In Kyoto city, Buddhists of every sect, in uniform, collected 60,000 signatures and 20,000 yen in voluntary contributions at nine different places in the streets...

We can quote many examples of people who had hitherto supported rearmament and who now support peace and participated in these signature campaigns.

Dr. GEORGES HANNA

(Lebanon)

Taking the floor on behalf of our delegations during the Warsaw and Vienna meetings, I spoke, with a good deal of apprehension, about the diabolic plans and projects with which Western imperialism is confronting us. A flood of such plans was descending on us: the Middle East Defence Pact, Truman's Point Four, strategic demands and obligations, military pacts, etc. We had to fight them one by one, and sometimes we had to fight on more than one front...

But we gained and are gaining ground every day, and we will certainly win the decisive battle. It is an axiom that the people's front will not be conquered and the people's front is our front. Of course, I cannot say that the danger is completely averted, but it will be averted by the constantly growing number of people fighting on our side, because it is the right side, the side of freedom and peace...

It is really encouraging to see the way in which our Peace Movement is continously advancing in an upward direction in the Arab world. Nothing can stand in its way, despite all the hypnotic manoeuvres and mad propaganda...

Even local governments and authorities have become more conscious of the Western threat, and, under the pressure of their peoples, are changing their attitude to the Peace Movement.

PROFESSOR FELIX IVERSEN

(Finland)

It is known that there are bombs which are four times as powerful as the one which was used. They are called "4 B" for short...
The radius of the zone of danger of immediate destruction, according to offical figures, is 800 kilometres...

Apart from this, there is an indirect danger, the gravity of which has not yet been estimated, the danger of radioactivity in the stratosphere and in the depths of the sea, and also the delayed effects which are medically uncontrollable...

And that is not all. Already militarists and scientists have announced the possibility of a new bomb, the Cobalt Bomb, whose effects will completely eclipse those of the H-Bomb. The Cobalt Bomb will doubtless not be the last stage in the "technique of catastrophe". So it is clear that a new war would mean nothing less than the suicide of mankind, the destruction of all life and the poisoning and burning of the entire crust of the earth. The explosion at Bikini on March 1st made it clear to everyone, as Lowes Dickinson said some decades ago, that "If humanity does not exterminate war, war will exterminate humanity"...

The effects of the 4-B Bomb would endanger whole countries and peoples, even if they remained quite outside the war. For example, my country, Finland, including the territories in the extreme North, would be within the zone of immediate destruction of a bomb dropped on Leningrad. The vital centres of Norway and Denmark would also be affected...

Military circles, especially in those countries which boast of their superiority in atomic weapons, are of the opinion that the mere knowledge of the catastrophic and more and more terrible effects of hydrogen and cobalt bombs will terrify the adversary to such an extent that he will not dare to start a war. This has never been proved. On the contrary, we know full well that supposed superiority in armaments has often led to a war of aggression...

PROFESSOR HEINRICH BRANDWEINER

(Austria)

The terrible results of the US hydrogen bomb experiments at Bikini, the full effect of which is as yet unforeseeable, stirred the whole civilised world. Clearly, in addition to their immediate military aim, these experiments have a political meaning. They were a manifestation of the policy of strength which it is obviously becoming more and more impossible to conduct, but to which certain circles in the United States remain obstinately attached.

Mr. NAZIM MOUSLI

(Syria)

At the present time Syria is free from all foreign bases or strategic installations; she is attached to no military pact or treaty. She is, however, like all other Arab countries, the object of pressure from the manufacturers of destructive bombs, she is at the heart of their preoccupations...

The enemies of mankind have spared no effort, have overlooked no method of drawing our country into their war blocs. But every visit of individuals or military missions rouses the vigilance of the Syrian people, renews their will to struggle against this plan of colonisation and war, and consequently rallies all honest patriots, in spite of their differences of opinion and belief, against enormous dangers which would bring nothing but ruin and destitution to Syria.

Truly these dangers only serve to strengthen constantly the unity of the Syrian people. Nothing is more significant than the general wave of disapproval which greeted the Turkey-Pakistan pact...

Nothing is more obvious, either, than the storm of indignation caused by the Iraq Government's acceptance of American military aid, the unanimous rejection by the Syrian people of the notorious American Point Four Programme and the prohibition of the latter's attempts to propagate, under cover of economic aid, its poisonous doctrines in the towns and villages of Syria...

The unanimity of public opinion in Syria against the experimental explosions of the H-bomb and the threats to use atomic weapons against peoples struggling for their freedom, was as broad and as solid as its opposition to all plans for occupation and colonisation...

Mme EUGENIE COTTON

(France)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

As Dr. Sokhey recalled yesterday, the victims of the bombs can be stricken even in their posterity and give birth to monsters. That is something which should shock all women, whose mission is to give life...

Several speakers, recalling the good results of the Stockholm Appeal, stressed the fact that only the will of the peoples, only world public opinion, can force the prohibition of the use of atomic and thermonuclear weapons and put an end to the anxiety of the peoples. That is why many women throughout the world are actively working to get a great number of men and women to oppose the manufacture and use of these weapons.

3rd Session

Chairman: PROFESSOR LEOPOLD INFELD

(POLAND)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Vice-Chairmen

Sra. BRANCA FIALHO *(Brazil)*

Mr. HAN SUL YA *(People's Republic of Korea)*

Mr. THOMAS CHRISTENSEN

(Denmark)

We are now working to create a people's movement for Peace and security, irrespective of political affiliation...

We in Denmark will work for Danish disarmament, for a reduction of military service, against foreign troops being stationed in Denmark and against Danish troops being sent abroad.

Mr. LOTHAR RADACEANU

(Rumania)

The Rumanian people take a special interest in the security of Europe, for their own security is directly dependent on it. In our country wide interest was taken in the proposal for a general European treaty which would ensure collective security, and in which all European States would take part, whatever their social system...

The adversaries of international co-operation are doing their utmost to convince the world that there is no possibility of co-operation between the countries of East and West Europe, that they are destined to be forever opposed to each other. We cannot share this opinion. The Rumanian people are deeply convinced that co-operation between these States is not only possible but necessary.

A question arises: can a people, whether they be from the East or the West, expect any good to come out of the division of Europe into two hostile camps? Is it possible for anyone to take seriously the attempts at presenting the so-called "European Defence Community" as a means of guaranteeing the unity and security of Europe? Everyone knows that it is only a restricted military group comprising six States, whereas Europe is composed of thirty-two...

The general interest is served, not by division, but by the unity of all European countries, whatever their social system, in their joint effort to ensure peace and the vital interests of the peoples...

Sr. ANGEL CAMMAROTA

(Argentina)

In Latin America we find this absurd phenomenon — the masses of the peoples are enduring privations, lacking sufficient schools, health services offer wide scope for improvement, but military budgets are never skimped. And although the sums allocated to these budgets do not compare with the fabulous amounts spent by the Great Powers, those sums are diverted from the money spent on improving the life of the people, from their physical, intellectual and moral development...

On atomic weapons, everything has now been said. You take a man in the fullness of life, healthy, and enjoying living, you throw him to earth from vast altitudes, you burn and blister him, you set his clothes afire, you poison his blood with poison gases, and in a few minutes you have converted a happy, healthy and vital man into a living corpse, into a blood-stained mass of rags. Multiply this instance by thousands and by millions, include old people and innocent children, and you will have a Dantesque picture of the consequences of an atomic explosion...

Mr. NIKOLAI TIKHONOV

(U. S. S. R.)

President Eisenhower said to the General Assembly of the United Nations in December, 1953, that two atomic giants were condemned to glower at each other across a world trembling with fear for an indefinite period of time. That is an exaggeration. The world is not trembling with fear...

Mankind is confident in its strength and knows that it is stronger than atoms because it has every possibility of using atomic energy in any way it likes instead of collapsing in horror at atomic energy and in terror at its own discovery. Men want peace and they are uniting in opposition to the threatened destruction of civilisation.

The whole world knows the Soviet Government's declaration simultaneously demanding the absolute prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and strict international control over the implementation of this ban...

In the same statement, the Soviet Union said that she was deeply concerned to protect mankind from these murderous atomic and hydrogen weapons, and would devote all her strength to prevent them from ever being used against mankind.

Thus, the Soviet Union replied to President Eisenhower's vague proposal to use a part of atomic energy for peaceful ends and, therefore, to keep the rest for atomic weapons, by a clear, sincere and exhaustive proposal for the absolute banning of weapons of mass extermination.

If we take a good look at the world, we see that it is not as bad as all that; that it doesn't deserve to be given up as lost, and that all men should not be considered as candidates for suicide. We see the ancient countries of Asia, which have awakened to a new life, devoting themselves to the great work of peaceful construction. We see the old countries of Europe, whose peoples do not want to see their cities replaced by ruins and their ancient woods and forests become charred stumps. And it is certain that no man, no matter how destitute, wants to be burnt to cinders along with his family and his hut...

In every corner of our planet voices are being raised saying: we are against weapons of mass extermination, but does there exist a real possibility for the peaceful solution of the atomic question? We can confidently reply to them: yes, such a possibility exists!...

We stand for an international control which would not only allow of the inspection of centres of production and stocks of bombs and raw materials declared by the governments; the international control body must also have the right to inspect centres of production and stocks which have not been declared by the governments, if there is any reason to suspect that they exist.

Only a complete control of this kind, binding on all the parties to the agreement, can be effective. Only by control of this kind can we eliminate the mutual distrust which is having such a harmful effect on the present international situation and which creates the tension in the relations between states possessing atomic and hydrogen weapons...

Nearly 30 years ago, the governments of 19 states, including the Soviet Government, signed the Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibiting the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons and stating that the use of these weapons of mass extermination would be considered a criminal act. It is quite obvious that this Protocol helped to prevent the use of these weapons during the

Second World War. No Government took the decision to use chemical and bacteriological weapons openly. Neither should we underestimate the fact that, taking their stand on the Geneva Protocol, the states of the antifascist coalition firmly declared that, if the enemy should employ chemical weapons, the punishment would be immediate.

If the signing of the Geneva Protocol has had positive results, it will be the same with the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

If such an agreement is concluded and if the signatory states give proof of goodwill, it will be possible to save mankind from barbarous extermination, and world civilisation from destruction.

A beginning can be made by an agreement not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons. What does this mean? It means that those states which can produce these weapons will give a solemn pledge not to use them in any circumstances. This agreement would precede the absolute and general prohibition of these weapons. This could, to a certain extent, facilitate the negotiations.

Sig. EMILIO SERENI

(Italy)

Hundreds of millions of men and women throughout the world expect that, as a result of this discussion, we shall give a clear and concrete answer to the question which they are asking themselves as they confront the menace of a new and monstrous horror. The question is — what is to be done?...

At the present time, questions bearing on the deadly threat of weapons of mass destruction hanging over humanity are more closely related than ever to the effort which is needed to give all peoples the benefit of collective security. The H-bomb threat is not a metaphysical or mystical threat of a cosmic nature hanging over our world through the action of forces which are foreign to it. It is a real and present danger which darkens mankind's horizon in close relationship to concrete and definite threats of war which can be seen on this same horizon...

It was at the very moment when events were coming to a head in Indo-China that the open threat of an atomic attack was brandished against China, and the internationalisation of the war in Viet-Nam was urged by American diplomacy; and it was against this background that the United States carried out the first thermonuclear explosions with a great deal of publicity. They were continued until the very eve of the Geneva Conference.

It seems to us that no more was necessary to bring home to American and world public opinion that the threat of a thermonuclear war is a concrete, real and immediate threat, indissolubly linked with the real threats of war which hang over the world, in Asia and in the heart of Europe. This explains the new feeling which the Bikini experiments have aroused in the world in circles which we had not been able to touch with the great campaign around the Stockholm Appeal. The very breadth and intensity of this feeling show how great is the peril we must face; they show us, I believe, the link we must establish between our fight for the banning of the H-bomb and our fight for the peaceful solution of the problems dividing the world; they show us the new possibilities which are opening before us and before our action for peace; they suggest to us the reply which we can give to the question we are being asked — what is to be done?...

In my country, the campaign against the H-bomb has now become the general and permanent frame for all our great struggles against EDC, for the relaxation of international tension and for peace: a frame in which we can develop a broader front, an effective rallying of forces.

And that, I believe, is the reply which we ought to give, on a world scale, to the question: what is to be done? What is to de done against the horrible threat of the H-bomb?

It is not a question of repeating Stockholm, however important our success may have been at that time. The demands imposed on us by the present situation are more urgent; the danger has become more terrible and more real. But our forces, and the possibilities of rallying other forces, have grown in proportion. In my opinion, it is not so much a question of seeking out, or inventing, new solutions. It is a question of making all possible contacts and of achieving every possible grouping of forces capable of imposing these solutions. This is the task which we propose to our whole movement at the present time.

We were alone at Stockholm; today other voices are being raised along with ours to demand agreement. Let us bring people together, let us unite these efforts, surmounting all divisions and all distrust, let us make the struggle against the atomic threat the common frame for all our actions in favour of peaceful solutions, let us make it a fight for the preservation of man's civilisation; they will be forced to listen to us, our common effort will be victorious.

M. JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

(France)

If the atomic bomb were dropped it would inflict on men a danger we know only too well. But even when it is only a threat, it imposes a radical change in the relations between nations. It is the atomic bomb that characterises what we call the cold war.

The appearance of national armies had the effect of enormously increasing the massacre of human beings, but, all the same, they could to a certain extent, restrain the leaders. But yesterday, you needed millions of men to kill millions of men, and to get the masses to accept death and to inflict it the conflict had to reflect, if not their interests, at least their passions to a certain extent, and it had to avoid shocking their sense of justice...

During the Second World War and after, in occupied Europe, in the Soviet Union, then in China and in Indo-China, we have seen the appearance of popular armies which live among the people and not on the people, which take to the people, as the Chinese say, as a fish takes to water...

But the people's army has found its exact counterpart in the nuclear weapon; the people's army and the atomic bomb are the two polar opposites of our time...

Atomic war is getting out of control, it could be launched tomorrow by a few Cabinet Ministers against the will and interests of their own nation. That is perhaps the greatest danger...

Though brutal and violent, the ultimatums of the past were challenges and provocations. An ultimatum meant: if you don't give in, we shall fight, and if we have to fight, it is we who shall win. But the atomic bomb is a permanent ultimatum and it has nothing whatever to do with the ancient custom of the challenge...

In fact, it is blackmail on the destruction of the human race. They try to stop history as Joshua stopped the sun, by threatening to blow up the world: "We will drop the bomb if the French lose the war, and it is just too bad for Man, we will drop it on the Indochinese, on the Chinese or on the Russians, it does not matter which."

In order to stop the world turning round they are threatening to wipe out History by liquidating those who make history. It is all they can do: wipe out man to prevent him from changing. The bomb is in itself the basis and the sum total of a policy completely hostile to the true development of humanity and which wants to impose this alternative: the status quo or total destruction. It is quite certain that we will not change any more when we are dead...

Even if the bomb were not to explode, it can at least serve to intimidate the neighbour countries and to regroup around the powers which possess it other less favoured nations.

It creates a bloc, it gives birth to terror, and besides, since it can be dropped at any time without the consent of the people, it represents an arbitrary power in the hands of a few men.

Up till now, anger, blundering, wrong calculations remained unimportant accidents in collective history, at present they can become formidable, and the moods of a few leaders can become historical factors...

In the past, history was often made by war, but to-day, since war would mean the end of the world, history can only be made in and through Peace.

4th Session

Chairman: Mr. D. N. PRITT

(GREAT BRITAIN)

Vice-Chairmen

Mrs. JESSIE STREET
(Australia)

Mr. DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH
(U.S.S.R.)

REVEREND L. J. BLISS

(Great Britain)

These is only one real argument that we have to meet, and it comes from people with varying motives. It says that the only real insurance against the H-Bomb is the abolition of war itself. Well, of course, we all want to abolish war, but this cannot be done merely by waving a fairy wand. It is a question of proceeding step by step, and the Peace Movement, during the period of the Stockholm petition, as well as now in its campaign for the banning of the Hydrogen Bomb, singles out these aspects of modern war which are most revolting to the moral conscience of humanity, and tries to tackle them. Certainly, if the Great Powers reach agreement on the banning of the H-Bomb, not only will a sigh of relief go up from the whole civilised world, but other outstanding issues will be much easier to solve.

And, on purely moral grounds, we are right in singling out nuclear weapons for our attention. They are utterly different in kind, as well as in degree, from any previous weapon that war has devised for killing. Not only will they kill human beings indiscriminately in their millions, but they will poison the springs of human health for generations and may even destroy all human life in this world. They are the ultimate blasphemy against the Creator.

Sr. LAZARO PEÑA

(Cuba)

Every move of United States foreign policy vis-à-vis the Latin American countries has this double content directed both against our peoples and against all the peoples of the world.

This is made very clear by the content of the military pacts which the United States has signed with a number of governments in Latin America and which are meeting with unanimous and active disapproval on the part of the peoples of these countries.

As is well known, it was by ignoring the nation-wide protest that the military pact was imposed on Brazil. The same thing occured in Chile, while, in Mexico, the pressure of popular opposition prevented ratification and consequently the conclusion of such a pact. In Guatemala too, the conclusion of a pact was refused...

The military pacts notwithstanding, the majority of the peoples of Latin America had no wish to go and fight against the people of Korea. Nor did they do so! These pacts notwithstanding, the peoples of Latin America refused to march and did not march against the Guatemalan people.

Mr. BRUCE MICKLEBURGH

(Canada)

For Canada, the prohibition of the hydrogen bomb has become a question of national survival. Canadians do not share the emotions of the US General who said, "Thank God, between the US and Russia there lies Canada"...

Following the campaign which a great National Peace Congress launched in January, and particularly following the March Ist explosion, there has sprung up in Canada, against the H-Bomb, the broadest and most representative movement which we have seen for many years...

Following a lobby by the Saskatchewan Peace Council, the Saskatchewan Legislature, with the unanimous approval of all parties, over-rode the idea that a provincial legislature can only deal with domestic affairs, and called upon the Federal Government to press strongly for the prohibition of the bomb and the peaceful use of atomic energy.

M. EMMANUEL D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE

(France)

There are two conceptions of security. One of these conceptions is to put one's trust in arms and alliances and in the superiority of these arms and alliances over those of a possible enemy. Thus, all military alliances, all pacts, whether they are Atlantic or Pacific, whether they call themselves "European Defence Community" or "South-East Asia Pact" are concluded in the name of security. This idea of security corresponds to the idea of blocs, two camps irrevocably opposed to each other, committed to the armaments race and the race for territories...

The other conception of security is more general. It alone can guarantee Peace. It is not the kind of security which two possible allies bring each other by joining their forces, it is the kind of security which is shared by two possible enemies who both have equal rights. That is true collective security.

This kind of collective security is opposed to the division of the world into two rival blocs, each conceiving of security in their own way. It is opposed to the armaments race...

The rules of international law are as follows:

On the one hand the signatories of a collective security pact must recognise and guarantee existing frontiers; on the other hand, they must undertake not to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, every nation having the right to adopt the kind of internal system that it wishes.

As for the procedures on which the organisation of collective security rest, they can be summed up as follows:

1. A procedure which ensures in the best possible way the peaceful solution of international conflicts and differences, by recourse to arbitration, conciliation and negotiation.

2. The setting up of treaties of mutual assistance, with the signatories of these treaties undertaking to give each other armed assistance in the case of one of them being a victim of aggression from outside.

These collective security procedures demand that the idea of peaceful co-existence between different regimes should not be rejected. They forbid one state or a group of states from using the pretext of material or ideological superiority in order to impose by force a particular structure on another state or group of states...

The World Peace Movement considers that public opinion can have a decisive influence on the development of the Geneva Conference. This Conference ought to be the starting-point for the organisation of collective security in the Far East.

It is a question of limiting and eliminating two war centres in Korea and Indo-China, and of assuring security in this vast region of the world with the participation of the Asian states concerned, notably China, Japan and India. The other Great Powers should be brought into this system of collective security...

Collective security, in the true sense, leads to collective Peace. It eliminates war as a method of settlement, and this is a necessary step for building Peace...

Collective security will also allow of general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament. It is to be observed that a sincere agreement on disarmament is incompatible with the maintenance throughout the world of offensive strategic arrangements and of military bases which are part of such arrangements.

Finally, collective security will allow the resumption of economic and cultural exchange between all countries. The unprecedented development of international commerce which would result from this, would ensure the reconversion to peaceful ends of a large part of the armaments industries and would be, for many countries, a remedy for the economic crisis.

PROFESSOR JOSEF HROMADKA

(Czechoslovakia)

I have the honour to talk on this subject in the name of the whole Czechoslovak delegation.

I might add that I am also interpreting the feelings of the Czechoslovak people and all the ideals which underlie our peace efforts. To us, collective security is more than a mere political slogan. It is a basis of freedom and self-government, a precondition of national existence. We live in the heart of Europe where for long centuries historical struggles took place for the highest achievements of the human heart and conscience, of cultural and material life. Our man in the street understands instinctively that his future depends on understanding between European nations in a spirit of freedom, humanity and justice...

Our experience confirms the urgency of collective security. The government of our Republic has recently expressed this very clearly. Our people stand by the decision of our government and consider the proposals for the collective security of European nations suggested by the Government of the Soviet Union to be positive proposals and support them unconditionally.

PANDIT SUNDERLAL

(India)

For 150 years we have known the experience of foreign domination. We know what modern imperialism means for its victims. We got our independence only six years back. Most of the danger spots for the breaking out of a new world war lie scattered round about our frontiers...

As you all know, in the difficult conditions of world diplomacy today, our Government has been doing much — I think it has been doing all it could — to avoid war and secure world Peace. Our leader, Mahatma Gandhi, stood for the abolition of all wars.

I can therefore claim, in my humble way, to speak to you today as the representative of the 360 million people of India on this matter.

Conditions in other Asian and African countries are also more or less similar. Some, like India, have just won their freedom. Others are still struggling to be free. We have all to rebuild our shattered economy and reconstruct our social and cultural lives. For this, both freedom and Peace are equally and absolutely necessary. That is why the cry of Peace is the cry of the people throughout Asia and Africa...

The right to self-rule is the inherent right of every people, it is necessary for the Peace, progress, and prosperity of the world as a whole. Looking at the problems confronting us from this point of view, the following remedies easily and inevitably suggest themselves:

1) It is highly unfair, immoral and even monstrous to regard the so-called nationalist government of Formosa as the legitimate government of the whole of China. This monstrosity has done no good to anybody. It forbodes nothing but evil for the future, and is probably the most potential cause of the disturbance to world peace. This position must immediately and unequivocally be given up by all concerned.

2) The People's Republic of China must also be unequivocally recognised by all concerned as the only legitimate Government of that vast country...

3) All foreign armies should be immediately withdrawn from Korea, and the people of that unfortunate yet brave land should be left free to make up their own differences and decide their own form of government without any interference from any outside power.

4) In Indo-China, as has been suggested, there should be an immediate and complete cease-fire with determination to settle all questions with regard to the future of that country through negotiation, on the basis of the absolute right to self-determination of the people of that country. For any outside power to help, with arms or otherwise, any of the forces now fighting in Indo-China should be regarded as an act of enmity to World Peace and as an international crime.

5) The use of all weapons of mass destruction, such as have already wrought havoc on hundreds of thousands of innocent people in Japan, as we have been hearing for the last two days, should be immediately and absolutely banned through an international agreement, and the new sources of energy discovered should be made common property and be utilised for constructive purposes for the betterment of man.

6) All nations, or rather all governments, that are today holding other nations in any sort of subjection, political, military or economic, should withdraw from those countries...

7) All military pacts or agreements which perpetuate antagonistic groups, factions and blocs among nations, are a constant threat to world peace.

Mr. JAROSLAV IWASZKIEWICZ

(Poland)

The formation of the "European Army" would deepen still more the division, not only of Germany, but of all Europe, the unity of which is so apparent to us and which we believe possible; it would aggravate the rupture of the traditional, economic and cultural ties between the nations of Europe.

As for the pact of collective security, we see in it a powerful method for restoring and expanding the traditional ties which make Europe — the heir of the great Greek and Roman culture — one whole which is dear to us all...

Hence the battle against the "European Defence Community" and for a collective security treaty is at the same time a battle for Europe, for its civilisation and culture...

I think there is a lesson here for all of us writers, composers and scientists, who account for a very large percentage of the active peace-workers throughout the world...

We also have the great task of opposing the splitting of art, literature, and European culture into two camps. We must really proceed with the exchange of cultural possessions.

I am fully convinced that our endeavours can bring the best results. We can not only save European culture from annihilation; we can also bring about its rebirth and revival. We can place it on a higher pedestal than ever before, spread it, and create a new Renaissance. If we do not lose sight of this task, we writers, artists and scientists can undoubtedly contribute in full measure to the happiness of mankind and we shall easily defeat those wretched people who want war and who draw their guns when they hear the word "culture".

I am deeply convinced that writers, artists and scientists themselves do not appreciate the possibilities open to them, and that the pessimism of certain of them is the expression of this lack of faith. I should like to inspire them with faith in Man and his capabilities, with faith in the persuasive power of art and its truly great significance for the destiny of mankind — these convictions are shared by the majority of my fellow-countrymen in Poland.

Be sure that art is the sixth Great Power, and that its eternal influence marches, or at least should march, in the direction of progress. The admiration of beauty is a truly human emotion; it unites all in its great purity, and beauty lies in work, in creation, in peace.

Dr. KUO MO-JO

(People's Republic of China)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Now that the Korean war, which lasted for three years, is ended, the only existing large-scale war is the war in Indo-China. This war has been going on for eight years and certain circles are trying to internationalise it. All people of goodwill in the world are now calling for the restoration of peace in Indo-China with the same eagerness as they called for the ending of the Korean war for more than three years.

Therefore it has become the earnest hope of the people of the world that the Geneva Conference may attain satisfactory results. At the Geneva Conference the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other interested states, have sat down together to examine and solve the urgent problems of Asia. This, in itself, is of great historical significance, The Geneva Conference is the first realisation of the Five-Power negotiations which the World Council of Peace has been demanding for five years. This means that there is a greater possibility of solving international disputes through peaceful negotiation. It also means that all important Asian and international questions must be solved with the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China...

On the one hand, the United States takes part in the discussions on the restoration of peace in Indo-China at the Geneva Conference, while on the other, she shows much more interest in, and can hardly wait for, the organisation of the South-East Asia Military Alliance, in an attempt to extend the war in Indo-China. Who, therefore, could say that there is any sincerity in America's attitude to the Geneva Conference? Who could deny that it is the influential ruling circles in the United States who are protracting, obstructing and attempting to sabotage the Geneva Conference?

The ruling circles of France are also pursuing a two-faced policy. These followers of the aggressive circles of the United States are, on the one hand, pretending, under the pressure of French and world public opinion, to carry on peaceful negotiations, while, on the other, they are begging the United States Government for military aid. At Geneva, there is some underhand business going on between M. Bidault and Mr. Bedell Smith...

In my opinion, the problem of Asia is the same as the problem of Europe. The collective security of Europe is the key to the peace of Europe and the development of the peoples of Europe. So it is with Asia. In the long-term interests of peace for the nations of Asia, we have to solve not only urgent problems of Korea and Indo-China, but to seek collective security for Asia, which should include all the Asian countries. Only this can ensure peace and national independence for Asia, the prerequisite for which is freedom from interference on the part of colonialists...

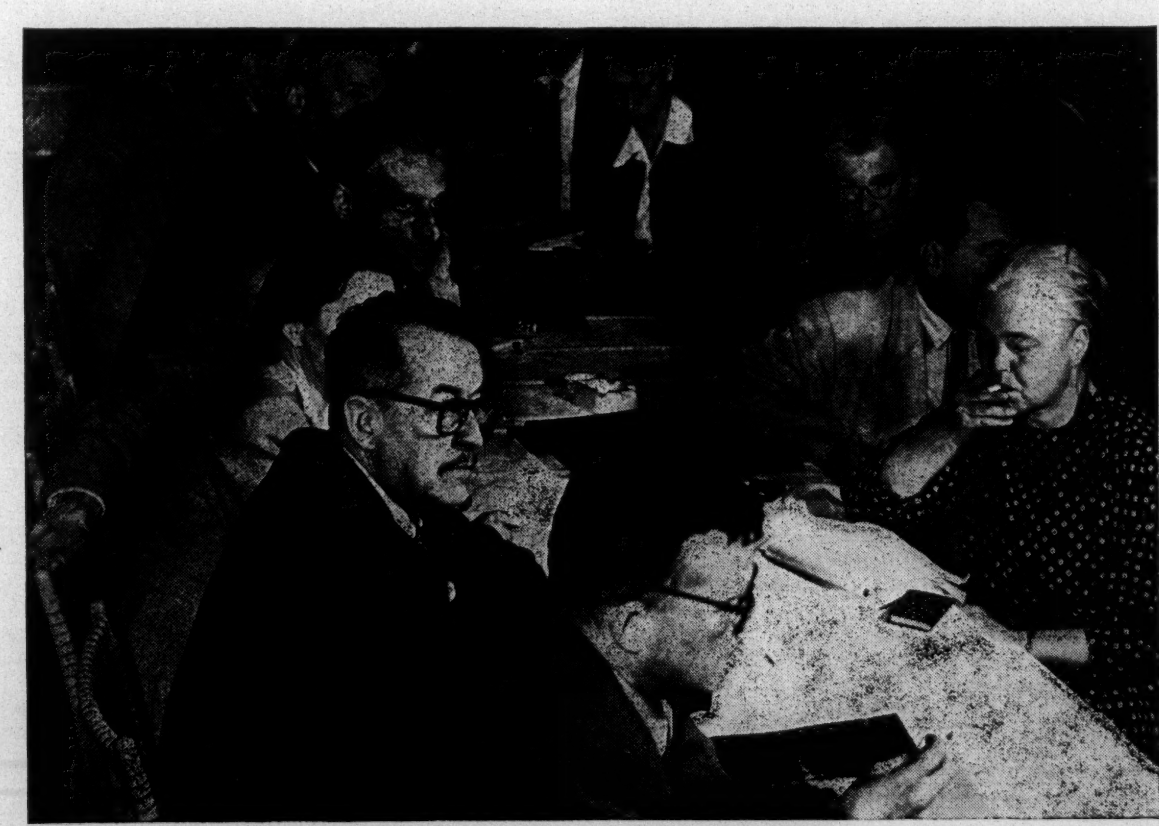
We Chinese people cherish our own independence and sovereignty, and we therefore respect those of our neighbours. We cherish our own peaceful construction and we therefore respect that of our neighbours. We cherish our own cultural creations, and we therefore respect those of our neighbours.

Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, these principles have stood at the very heart of our foreign policy.

Acting on these principles, we have established diplomatic relations with many countries, and have concluded trade agreements with business circles in Japan and with the Governments of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Korea and other countries. Recently, moreover, we have signed a new agreement with India which clarifies the relations between China and India with regard to the Chinese territory, Tibet, and which is based on the principle of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty. For two thousand years there has been contact between China and India. We have always co-existed in peace, and have never waged war against each other. We believe that this should be a historic proof of the claim that peaceful co-existence between nations is possible. Further, we have exchanged with India, Burma, Mongolia, Korea and other countries, cultural delegations which have strengthened the friendship and understanding between the nations.

We are carrying out our first Five-Year Plan of peaceful construction. We want to raise the material and cultural standards of our people through socialist industrialisation. All honest and objective persons who have visited our country during the four years since the foundation of our Republic, are in a position to testify to the constructive labours of the Chinese people and their will to co-exist in peace with the peoples of all nations. As long as three thousand years ago, our ancestors bequeathed to us a very wise maxim, "All men within the boundaries of the seas are brothers". We are willing to abide by this maxim. We will never commit aggression against others, but we will never tolerate aggression against ourselves. History is our witness that whenever we have been invaded by a foreign aggressor, we have fought for the restoration of our freedom, independence and peace, even if it has meant a struggle lasting as long as two or three hundred years.

Dear friends, the discussion on collective security for all the nations of the world is one of the most important points on the agenda of this meeting. I have therefore dealt at length with the situation in Asia. Collective security is indivisible, and collective security in Asia is undoubtedly an integral part of world security. We Chinese people are not only striving for collective security in Asia, we are striving also for collective security in Europe.



View of the cultural commission at work.

5th Session

Chairman: PANDIT SUNDERLAL

(INDIA)

Vice-Chairmen

Mme YVES FARGE
(France)

PROFESSOR WALTER FRIEDRICH
(Germany)

✶

Mr. THAKIN LWIN
(Burma)

The hostile policy of the United States with regard to the People's Republic of China is impeding the solution of the present day problems of Asia.

This aggressive policy has no prospects whatever, for it is in conflict with the entire course of historical development in Asia and elsewhere, and constitutes, under present conditions, the main obstacle to the settlement of present day Asian problems in conformity with the principles of freedom and the national rights of the peoples...

The policies pursued by the Governments of India, Indonesia and Burma, of opposing the spread of the war of aggression and advocating the peaceful settlement of the Indo-Chinese and Korean questions, have struck a serious blow at the aggressive plans of the US imperialists. These policies made a big contribution to the peace of South-East Asia and of the whole world.

The attempts made by the United States warmongers to organise a military alliance in South-East Asia are criminal activities on the part of the United States in order to spread the war of aggression, undermine peace in Asia and enslave its people. These activities will undoubtedly meet with determined opposition from the people of the whole of Asia.

In this situation the countries of Asia should consult among themselves with a view to seeking common measures to safeguard peace and security in Asia by assuming mutual obligations.

SHRI KRISHEN DEV SETHI
(India)

Anglo-American intervention in Kashmiri affairs is the main reason for the non-settlement of this problem. The people of Kashmir have struggled and fought alongside the people of India to achieve their independence and therefore they are united on this point: that the foreign intervention should come to an end immediately. They are against all proposals which will make Kashmir the polo-ground for foreign powers, which would not only endanger the independence of Kashmir, but would also bring war to the frontiers of India and Pakistan and thus endanger the freedom of the whole of Asia.

Sr. ASSAAD SIMONS
(Bolivia)

The people of Bolivia are a peaceful people and they look with horror on the preparations for another war. With anguish they recall Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the grief of the Japanese fishermen is their grief. We demand, as has already been done by our workers and peasants and by our whole people, the absolute prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs. We want no more Hiroshimas and Nagasakis, we want no more atomic tests. It is for this reason that we are here to add our voice to those of millions of men, to prevent the new Attilas from destroying mankind by an act of desperation and madness.

YOGI SHUDHANANDA BHARATI
(India)

It is time for aggressive foreign elements to quit the shores of India and Asia. We do not want them to meddle with our affairs and to divide our homes. We welcome with open arms scientific experts who can help us to build our industries, but not political diplomats who wish to dominate us again. It is time for the East and the West to meet and shake hands for the progress of World Peace. When Europe and Asia meet in equal accord, when the material dynamism of the West is wedded to the spiritual grace of the East, then humanity will be reborn and all will live peacefully together. Then we need not fear atomic fission nor the fusion of atoms of hydrogen.

Mr. SVEN HECTOR
(Sweden)

Recent events, particularly the experiments with the H-bomb, have roused our vigilance. Now that the winds and seas which surround our peaceful country could bring death, we are beginning to understand that we cannot escape either.

This certainty has recently been given expression in many different forms. The Swedish Peace Committee has conducted local inquiries which have shown a considerable development in the nature of the reaction to the threat of the atom bomb.

This was also manifested in the Swedish Parliament. Senator Gosta Elfving, editor of the central organ of the Social Democratic Party, "Morgon-Tidningen", asked the governmenta question in Parliament about their plans in relation to the H-bomb experiments. During the parliamentary debate which followed, just as in the question itself, a very great anxiety was shown to exist concerning the situation and the necessity of taking urgent measures. The Prime Minister, Erlander, stressed the possibility of arriving at an agreement, primarily within the framework of the United Nations, on general disarmament, on banning the use of atomic weapons and on the control of the production of atomic energy...

The Executive Committee of the Liberal Party demanded that the government "should support all efforts within the United Nations leading to the conclusion of an international agreement guaranteeing the control of armaments and their reduction, including the banning of the most horrible methods of destruction." This demand was a practical reflection of the opinion of all the trade union, cultural and religious organisations, an opinion which was demonstrated by resolutions, by statements from their leaders and by editorials in their respective papers.

It is in this way that the Swedish people's traditional desire for peace is at the present time everywhere acquiring an increasingly active and more concrete content.

For a very long time Sweden's foreign policy has officially been one of neutrality and our country still remains, as all the world knows, outside all military pacts. But this neutrality also holds the possibility for our country to play an active role as mediator and promoter of friendship between the peoples

Mr. HAN SUL-YA

(People's Democratic Republic of Korea)

On behalf of all Koreans who are fighting for the sacred cause of peace, and in the name of hundreds of thousands of mothers and war orphans whose hearts are still bleeding, the Korean delegation makes the following proposals:

We demand of all States which are taking part in the Geneva Conference the peaceful solution of the Korean question, the establishment of security in the Far East and lasting peace throughout the world...

We demand the adoption of the proposal for the peaceful unification of Korea made by the representative of the People's Republic of Korea at the Geneva Conference, which calls for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and for the formation of a central democratic and unified government based on a Parliamant voted in by free elections carried out through the whole of Korea.

We demand the banning of weapons of mass destruction — atomic and hydrogen bombs — and the setting up of international bodies for their control.

Mr. GORDON SCHAFFER

(Great Britain)

Our forces are limitless, but the danger is terribly near just because we are so close to victory...

I believe our task at this Conference is to enable the World Peace Movement to speak, as Professor Infeld has said, "For the conscience of humanity"...

We have to isolate those who plan war. We have to find ways of proving the strength of the millions who seek peace. This is the moment when humanity chooses the way of life and limitless possibilities of progress or the way of death...

Mr. LE DINH THAM

(Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam)

The voice of the guns in Korea was silenced nearly a year ago. However, in Indo-China the battle goes on raging and blood goes on being spilled.

This present Session of the World Council of Peace which is discussing the security of peoples has great significance because at this moment the delegates of the Five Great Powers — the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the United States, Great Britain, and France — are meeting in Geneva with the delegates of the nations concerned to consider the peaceful solution of the Korean problem and the restoration of peace in Indo-China.

The peoples of Indo-China joyfully greet the opening of this Extraordinary Session and hope, as do all the peoples of the world, that the Geneva Conference will be successful so that peace may come back to Indo-China...

American intervention in the war in Indo-China not only makes this war a more murderous one, but also creates a danger to France, and a threat to the security of the peoples of Asia and of the world.

Although the people of Viet-Nam, as well as the people of Khmer and Laos, who have risen up in arms against the French colonialists and the American interventionists to defend peace and their national independence, have scored many successes, they ceaselessly advocate the solution of the conflict in Indo-China through peaceful negotiation.

In a sincere attempt to restore peace in Indo-China, Mr. Pham Van Dong, Vice-President of the Council and interim Minister of Foreign Affairs, head of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam at the Geneva Conference, made a general statement on the situation on May 10th, 1954. In it he explained the basic position of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, which is — peace, independence, unity and democracy...

Even Mr. Eden, head of the British delegation, has realised that Mr. Pham Van Dong's declaration is a reflection of the national aspirations of the people of Viet-Nam. This declaration should be used as a basis for discussion on the restoration of peace in Indo-China at the Geneva Conference. On this matter of the restoration of peace in Indo-China, we believe it necessary to insist on the need for an immediate preliminary cease-fire operating throughout Indo-China, in order to create conditions favourable to negotiation.

All the world knows that it is not because we are weak, because we have had defeats, that we desire a cease-fire. On the contrary, the military situation is most favourable to the Viet-Namese People's army. However, moved by humanitarian feelings, and in order to serve the cause of friendship between the peoples, we do not wish to see any more bloodshed. We do not want the young men of Viet-Nam, Khmer, Laos and France to continue killing each other, when there exists between them no cause for hatred. A day without fighting is a day saved for living. Obviously the cease-fire must not be the occasion for the further reinforcement of the troops and munitions in Indo-China. Neither must it be a truce with the aim of restarting the war. And if the ending of hostilities is desired with a view to a genuine restoration of peace, then it is necessary to take into consideration now the fundamental aspirations of the peoples of Indo-China.

Is the restoration of peace in Indo-China possible? We know that the peoples of Indo-China, like the people of France, desire peace. The principle obstacles to the restoration of Peace in Indo-China at the present time are created by the bellicose Americans and those people in France who want war. They are manoeuvring to wreck the Geneva Conference. Instead of creating a favourable atmosphere before the Conference, the Americans carried out military manoeuvres and experiments with H-Bombs in the Pacific. They called for joint action by several powers in the Indo-China war. During the Geneva Conference the Americans are making various moves to organise what they call the South East Asia and Western Pacific Defence Bloc...

Everybody knows that in order to put an end to the war there must be negotiations between the belligerents. However, the proposal of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to invite to the Geneva Conference delegates from the Resistance Governments of Khmer and Pathet Lao has, up to the present moment, met with refusal by the French and American delegations.

There are other acts of sabotage also, but we are sure that the forces of peace which brought about the opening of the Geneva Conference can prevent the realisation of the plans of those who desire war.

We therefore ask the World Council of Peace to call on all the peoples of the world to struggle against the manoeuvres destined to sabotage the Geneva Conference and to support this conference with all their might until its final success.

We now ask the Council's permission to speak to our very dear French friends and defenders of peace who are present at this session.

Dear friends, the restoration, sooner or later, of peace in Indo-China, still depends in the main on the common struggle of our peoples — in Viet-Nam, in Khmer, in Laos, and in France...

We know that the French people, with their ancient civilisation, will not tolerate the continuance of inhuman acts and unjust ambitions in Indo-China. We cannot but feel pain at the thought that even while we talk cordially together here our sons are being driven to kill one another in Indo-China. We cannot but regret that in the French Expeditionary Force many brave young men have to die, or be wounded, in the sole interest of the Americans.

We ask you to tell the families of those fighting in the French Expeditionary Force that the French men wounded or taken prisoner at Dien Bien Phu, as well as in other battle areas, are getting the best care for their health and well-being from the Viet-Nam people and its People's Army, on the orders of our President, Ho Chi Minh. Whatever lying propaganda may say, be sure that the people of Viet-Nam still consider the French people as their friends, and the French soldiers as the sons of their friends. Like the people of Khmer and Laos, the people of Viet-Nam wish to strengthen their bonds of friendship with the French people...

We have heard the views of many persons from Asia and from the whole world, calling for the restoration of peace in Indo-China. We thank all men who love peace all over the world for their support for the peoples of Indo-China in the struggle they are waging for peace and national independence.

We are convinced that, thanks to the efforts of the peoples of Indo-China and of the French people, thanks to the efforts of the World Peace Movement, peace will triumph in Indo-China, peace will triumph in Asia and throughout the world.

Mr. MODJATABA BUZURG ALAVI

(Iran)

The Iranian people are concerned for their freedom, their national independence and for lasting prosperity and they know only too well that these things can only be guaranteed in Peace and as a result of the collective security of all peoples. But Peace is also disturbed by intervention in the affairs of other countries, by violation of their rights and interests and by the temporary settlement of differences by violence and pressure.

The present wars in Asia, the establishment of war bases, rearmament, and the attempts to take possession of sources of raw materials by force, and, finally, the military blocs and pacts directed against the independence movements of subject peoples — all these are factors helping to intensify the present international tension and to keep men in anxiety and fear. Due to these facts and to its geographical position, as well as to its boundless wealth of raw materials, particularly oil, the people of Iran are very open to such interference...

Our efforts to preserve our independence will go on despite the most difficult conditions and the greatest sacrifices. Our people's fight for peace is bound up with our struggle for independence and freedom.

Mr. AHMED MOHAMED ALI

(Iraq)

Ever since we first learned of the World Peace Movement, whose aim is to save mankind from terrible wars, to bring about the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, a relaxation of international tension and the expansion of economic and cultural relations between the countries of the whole world, whatever their systems of government — ever since that time, we have felt that a great, well-organised ally was holding out a hand to us, strengthened by the will of all the peoples of the world.

The Peace Movement in Iraq is still extending and consolidating itself. With every day that passes it draws in new people from all classes, people of all opinions and all religions...

Recently, we set ourselves the task of collecting 100,000 signatures in favour of a peaceful solution of international problems, against the Turkey-Pakistan pact and for banning the use and testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons. We are sure that we shall greatly exceed this figure.

Mr. ALEXEI SURKOV

(U. S. S. R.)

Our present Session is taking place in Berlin, the capital of Germany; this fact in itself must remind us of what happened in this city a few months ago.

The Berlin Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers was called primarily to solve the German question, it was precisely this question that it did not succeed in solving. The discussion on this question made it evident that there was a difference of views between the Soviet Union and the other three Powers which could not be overcome in the course of the conference...

In spite of our terrible sufferings and losses at the hands of Hitler's hordes, neither our people nor our Government have ever, in the post-war period, thought of revenge or punishment. The whole policy of the Soviet Union in regard to the German question is aimed at the rapid creation of conditions for the building up of a peace-loving and democratic Germany, and the earliest possible conclusion of a German Peace Treaty which would make it possible to end the burdens resulting from the foreign military occupation of German territory, which has gone on for years...

The Soviet delegation, expressing the will of all Soviet people, is sure that the World Council of Peace will call on the Governments of the Four Great Powers to resume negotiations for the solution of the German question, the setting up of an All German Government, the withdrawal of all occupation forces and the holding of free elections throughout Germany.

We are convinced that the German question can and must be solved to the satisfaction of all honest Germans, all peace-loving neighbours of Germany and all people who do not want war but only peace...

Since the end of the war the Government of our country has always opposed to the policy of discord and hatred, so dangerous for mankind, a policy based on the recognition of the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems and of peaceful competition between them, a policy dictated by the desire to reach agreement on the basis of equality and reasonable compromise...

Bearing in mind the experience of the years preceding the Second World War, Soviet diplomacy has opposed to the system of military blocs, which is inspired by ideological considerations and therefore inevitably represents a step towards another military explosion, a policy for the organisation of collective security, for the organisation of regional groups of States bound by reciprocal pledges of non-aggression and mutual assistance in case of aggression...

The Soviet delegation is certain that the present session of the World Council of Peace will raise the demand that collective security in the most important parts of the world, particularly in Europe and Asia, will be guaranteed by the creation of suitable organisations in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. All countries in a given area, irrespective of their political and social system, could belong to these organisations.

STATEMENT BY DELEGATIONS FROM THE COUNTRIES OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE FAR EAST

We, delegates to the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace from Burma, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, U.S.S.R. and Viet-Nam, welcome the opening of negotiations at Geneva for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for the restoration of peace in Indo-China. We express our regret that some Asian countries, which are vitally interested in peace in Korea and Indo-China and could, therefore, have played an important role, have been excluded from the Geneva Conference.

We urge the governments of the countries represented at the Geneva Conference to respond to the demand of the peoples of the whole world, and especially of Asia, to bring the negotiations to a conclusion by coming to agreement on the questions under discussion.

The peoples of South-East Asia and the Far East will not, under any pretext, tolerate the existence of foreign military bases on their soil, continued foreign domination and occupation in parts of Asia and attempts to divide and suppress them by the enforcement of military pacts. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from our countries.

We express our unanimous determination to work together with all other countries for an enduring peace in the world and especially in South-East Asia and the Far East. We are confident that this can be achieved through friendly relations and co-operation based on the principles of mutual advantage and mutual respect for each other's national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. We pledge ourselves to strive for close co-operation between our countries towards the same goal of collective security and peace.

6th Session

Chairman: Mr. NIKOLAI TIKHONOV

(U. S. S. R.)

Vice-Chairmen

GENERAL EDGARD BUXBAUM
(Brazil)

Mme. KIRSTEN HANSTEEN
(Norway)

Rt. Rev. JANOS PETER
(Hungary)

We have experienced in our lives how friendly relations may he developed between nations. Not very long ago Central Europe was a constant seed bed for every possible antagonism between nations, but the situation has greatly changed...

In harmony with the spirit of the church, we should proclaim in our congregations that Christian people should strive for the fullest friendship between nations. The idea of collective security of nations should be upheld by Churches in all parts of the world...

The Church could do more by demanding the banning of all experiments with weapons of mass destruction and the prohibition of the A and H bombs.

Mr. KRISTEN E. ANDRESSON
(Iceland)

The ordinary people of Iceland demand that a lasting peace be secured for all nations of the world, great and small, and the right to independence and a peaceful life in their countries.

This was the reaction of the Icelandic workers and the whole Icelandic nation to recent world events. The experiments with the Hydrogen Bomb showed us in a terrifying but clear light the adventurous inhuman policy of our so-called protectors, the Americans, and the danger created by the presence of their military bases in our country...

Against our people's will and in spite of our protests, we are caught up, much to our sorrow, in the machine of war. For the first time in our history, we see our man-power, which we need for our basic production, engaged on the setting up of military bases in the service of the aggressive war plans of the USA.

Sr. MANUEL SANCHEZ ARCAS
(Spain)

Spain can be drawn into war at any moment and its territory transformed into a base for atomic aggression without any account being taken of the will of the Spanish people or even of that of its government. The US Secretary for Air put it in this way at a recent press conference when he cynically stated: "There are certain agreements relating to the use of bases, but when it becomes necessary, the bases will be used. Who can prevent us from using them?" This statement was most enlightening to many who still doubted the reality of the danger.

"But the will of those who have sold Spain is not the will of the Spanish people", to quote the words of the Spanish Peace Council, which added: "Our people will never ratify nor will they carry out this monstrous pact which condemns them to death. Our people passionately love their national independence and are already fighting for the life and dignity of their motherland."

Mr. NAZIM HIKMET
(Turkey)

American imperialism bases its hopes of spreading war on our country. A month ago President Eisenhower publicly declared that Turkey was the USA's most powerful ally and that the Turkish Army was the most reliable armed force at America's disposal.

Admiral Finletter publicly announced that Turkey could be used as a starting point for an attack against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. On February 21st, 1954, the New York Times correspondent stated in a telegram that Turkey was being prepared for an offensive war, and that its role has been changed from the defensive to the offensive. According to this correspondent, such an offensive would be carried out by the Turkish forces and the forces included in NATO...

My people, like all peoples in the world, work hard, well and honestly for Peace. They fought for their independence and they will continue to fight for it. What I want from the representatives of the peace-loving peoples here today is their support for our efforts and our fight for peace.

Dr. IBRAHIM RASHAD
(Egypt)

We are much astonished to find that after all that followed the last explosion of the H-bomb, after the panic which gripped the peoples of all nations and particularly the people of New York, after what was widely proclaimed by men of science, the rulers of some countries still cling to their refusal to ban weapons of mass destruction, an insistence which proves their adherence to an aggressive policy, and their desire to unleash a third world war by any means and at any price...

The Egyptian delegation, who have listened with keen interest to the speeches of the previous speakers, have nothing to add to the proposals made for the relaxation of world tension, for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, for the ending of the armaments race, for a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers, and for allowing the People's Republic of China to take its rightful place in international affairs.

HERR XAVER FRANZ BOLDT
(Germany)

To permeate the population with this spirit of militarism and revenge, Western Germany is being flooded with militaristic literature. Apart from a great many books which glorify the Hitlerite war, more militaristic weekly and monthly magazines are being published than in the years 1933-1945. To hinder the resistance developing among the working class against the resurrection of German militarism, the whole State machinery is being mobilised by the Government. Anyone who makes a stand against the revival of militarism in West Germany, and for the peaceful reunification of Germany, is accused of high treason...

The working-class of Germany is beginning to realise this danger. In numerous resolutions passed in the factories and Trade Union organisations, it has demanded the prohibition and outlawing of atomic weapons and the withdrawal of atomic artillery from West Germany...

Countless declarations made during the last few months, and particularly in recent weeks, express their desire for a free, democratic decision by the people. There can be no doubt that the movement for a plebiscite which is now beginning to develop is an effective action against the EDC policy and the remilitarisation of West Germany. The referendums which have already been carried out in many places clearly show that the overwhelming majority of the population is deciding against EDC and for a Peace Treaty; this is also the case even in districts where a large proportion of the population voted for the present Government parties on September 6th, 1953.

Mme YVONNE DUMONT

(France)

We think that the fight which our people have conducted and are conducting against EDC, and the daily increasing unity in this fight, have contributed to a large extent in bringing about the Berlin Conference which was a success for the people's desire for negotiation...

Today, the ending of the war in Viet-Nam has become a national demand put forward by all sections of our people and it is even expressed among groups of the Government majority in Parliament...

The whole nation has come to understand that this terrible war is contrary to the interests of France because it is contrary to international law, to the people's right to independence, and because it involves the risk of a third world war...

By forcing our Government to agree to a cease-fire and begin negotiations in Indo-China, we can put an end to the slaughter and suffering, and eliminate the danger of world war. This would free our country from strangulation, make the establishment of EDC more difficult, and to a large extent ensure the peace of the world.

This is the noble task of the French people. We particularly promise our Viet-Namese friends that we will not fail in it.

Dr. SLIMAN BEN SLIMAN

(Tunisia)

The Tunisian people are daily intensifying their struggle for liberation. They are becoming more and more aware of the fact that the imperialists intend to drag their country into a new war...

Today, our country, as well as all the peoples of Europe, is threatened by a danger. It is the possibility that EDC may be ratified by the French Parliament. Our country is bound to France by the chains of colonialism, and because of that, any pledges made by the French government in the international sphere apply also to Tunisia...

The Tunisian people know what the ratification of EDC would mean for them, not only increased exploitation, but also war and the transformation of their country into a battlefield...

The Tunisian people hate war, for they experienced all the horrors of it during the war which ended nine years ago. They hate it even more because they know that the use of the atom bomb will make the next war more terrifying and more destructive than any previous war.

Mr. NIAMIN LUVSANSHULTUM

(People's Republic of Mongolia)

The peoples of the world see more clearly that their united efforts in the fight for Peace, close economic and cultural collaboration and the peaceful co-existence of nations of different social and political systems, are particularly necessary to ensure the Peace of the whole world.

That is why the Mongolian people encourage and uphold proposals tending to create, both in Asia and Europe, a system of collective security precluding the existence of military pacts of powers opposed to one another, organised by aggressive circles headed by the US...

The Mongolian people want the greatest discovery of our time, atomic energy, to be used for peaceful ends, and not for mass destruction. They want the Great Powers to conclude, on the basis of the proposals of the Soviet Union, treaties to reduce armaments, prohibit atomic and hydrogen weapons and use atomic energy for the good of all humanity. Here we can usefully quote a proverb of our people which says: "Roll up your sleeves, not to fight but to do creative work."

Mr. HASSAN TAHER ZARRUK

(Sudan)

The atmosphere of war preparation, the armaments race, and the threat of war in the near future, render our struggle for freedom a very difficult task. Our national movement can only grow and yield good results in a world free from this stifling tension and fear that is so apparent today. How could we not hail Peace and fight for it, since we so badly need a higher, more decent standard of living, comparable to that which has been attained by other people in other parts of the world...

In the struggle for Peace and freedom, we in the Sudan, in the countries of the Middle East, in Africa, and all other countries in the same situation, must fight for the fundamental rights of man — freedom to speak and discuss, freedom to read and to criticise, freedom to travel and exchange ideas. In such an atmosphere a strong Peace Movement can make its message heard...

We will do our utmost to destroy the Great wall of China which separates us from the world, and we shall fight for Peace. We will work until negotiation, as a means of settling international questions, becomes a tradition, because we firmly believe that peaceful co-existence of the different countries of the world is possible.

Sr. VIRGILIO GUERRA

(Guatemala)

We attach great importance to the interpretation and meaning of collective security between countries, that is, as we democrats in Guatemala understand it, on the basis of mutual respect between countries, of friendship between the peoples, so as to guarantee our people the right to govern themselves politically and economically in accordance with the will of the majority, for the advancement and peaceful development of our people and of our industry. We desire collective security based on friendly agreements and mutual respect between countries...

A democratic government is guiding the destinies of Guatemala—the government headed by Senor Jacobo Arbenz. This government has loyally abided by this principle...

Nonetheless, we are being assailed by powerful forces, we are being mercilessly attacked by the United States imperialists whose obvious aim is to defeat the people and reinstate a regime of fascist dictatorship...

From this rostrum, which is that of ordinary people the world over, and from which we are striving for the well-being and happiness of mankind, we denounce the North American imperialists in their use of force against Guatemala...

7th Session

Chairman: Dr. JAN MUKAROVSKY

(CZECHOSLOVAKIA)

Vice-Chairmen

Frau EDITH HOERETH-MENGE

(Germany)

Mr. LE DINH THAM

(Viet-Nam)

Mr. ABRAHAM SHLONSKY

(Israel)

Recent international experience proves that a personal meeting, face to face at the same table, gives hope of a lessening of tension, understanding and Peace. We do not need observers and mediators, whose aim is not the strengthening of Peace, but incitement to hostility; for the imperialists view the whole region and its problems from one standpoint only, namely the value of its oil and military bases...

For all of us, the only atmosphere in which we can live and create is Peace. Let us throw off the yoke of foreign mediation which has been forced upon us, let us sit down together at the same table without foreigners, to seek and find a peaceful and correct solution...

Mrs. RUTH FIRST

(Union of South Africa)

In the calculation of the warmongers Africa figures largely. Military authorities in Britain and America have stated publicly that, in the event of a new global war, Central and Southern Africa would be called on to supply raw materials and food, to protect vital war bases and even to supply fighting man power...

South Africa is a major producer of uranium. She is on the way to becoming perhaps the world's largest uranium producer (or perhaps she will share that very doubtful honour with Canada). Thirteen of our gold mines are now producing uranium oxide for America and Britain, all under the utmost secrecy...

Our Peace Council is campaigning in South Africa to make our people realise that on their shoulders must rest the dread responsibility of producing materials for the H-bomb, and they have got to do all in their power to insist, together with the rest of the world, that uranium is not used for destruction but for creative purposes...

Racialism as preached and practised in South Africa contains all the seeds of war. The herrenvolk theories of the Nazi regime were used directly as a method of creating the atmosphere in which war could be waged. The Nazis used racialism and their belief in their superiority over all other peoples as the pretext for marching over other countries' borders to bring all those other nations under their rule...

But racialism has another important aspect. Peace does not depend only upon diplomats and governments. The actions of the people remain the determining facter. It is up to them to hasten the course of negotiation, to clear away obstacles to peace, to impress the will of ordinary men and women upon the statesmen at Geneva and everywhere else. The people and their forces for peace, to succeed, cannot afford to act separately. They must act together, decide on their common will and methods and see that these prevail. All propaganda which attempts to divide the people along racial and national lines, which tries to set one people against another, which educates the young to hate and despise people of another colour, all this acts against Peace. We must encourage mutual respect and friendship between the peoples of the world. We must fight all attempts to prejudice people and to create an atmosphere of hostility.

M. JACQUES N'GOM

(Cameroons)

The peoples of Africa understand more and more clearly that, in order to extricate themselves from this situation, they must put an end to colonialist occupation. They are taking action along these lines, and are joining the battle for national independence which, in the present historical situation, is more and more at one with the struggle of all the peoples for Peace. When they see those very people who are occupying their territories and preparing war, holding conferences at Nairobi and Dakar "For the Defence of Africa", Africans realise that, in fact, the intention is to "defend" Africa against the Africans just as they have been "defending" Viet-Nam against the Vietnamese for 8 years, and as, yesterday, they were "defending" Korea against the Koreans. Today, there is feverish talk about "defending" Asia against the Asians...

The peoples who love peace and the United Nations must not wait for a new Korea or a new Viet-Nam to flare up in Africa before acting. It is now, within the framework of collective security, that the peoples of Africa must be helped in their fight to regain their liberty. For us collective security means the end of the colonial regime and the achievement of national independence. Collective security will not be complete until the day arrives when there is no longer any colonisation or suppression of men on the earth.

This is also one of the objects of our Great World Peace Movement.

Mr. ABDEL KADER SALEH

(Jordan)

The people of Jordan realise the importance of the world Peace Movement and of its contribution to the struggle for a correct solution of their problems.

They welcome any event that can contribute to the relaxation of international tension, such as the Korean armistice, and condemn war as a means of solving international conflicts.

Telegrams of congratulation and support have been sent by Jordanians of all classes to the representatives of the democratic countries at the Geneva Conference.

The people of Jordan are utterly horrified and disgusted at US policy on the question of the atom and hydrogen bombs. They propose that these bombs and all weapons of destruction should be banned, and that the warmongers should be prosecuted as war criminals.

The Jordanian delegates condemn the use of atom and hydrogen bombs and propose that the production of such bombs should be stopped and that those which have already been made should be destroyed.

M. ALI BOUMENDJEL

(Algeria)

In the framework of what has been called the strategy of encirclement of the Pentagon, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco constitute one of the essential links in the "cordon sanitaire", 1954 version, which the USA are trying to set up through the Atlantic Pact, the Balkan Pact, and the Turkey-Pakistan Pact. The Mediterranean Basin with all the military interference its geographical situation implies, is dependent on North Africa...

The Algerian people, in turn, wish to state the essential principles of their fight: collective security is indivisible; freedom and peace are necessary; the right of peoples to self-determination is inalienable.

Within the framework of these vital principles:

— We are opposed to the sending of Algerian contingents to Indo-China, and we demand the return of the 65,000 of our sons who have been sent by the French Government to fight in Indo-China.

— We appeal to the conscience of the world to oppose the recruitment of young Algerians and the methods used. Do you know that the recruits are first weighed and then paid according to weight?...

— The Algerian National Movement, along with the French people, has unanimously condemned the European Defence Community.

In addition to the already established reasons for condemneng EDC — the setting up of two antagonistic blocs; the rearmament of West Germany, etc. — there are also purely Algerian reasons.

EDC, a weapon of war, is also for us an instrument of oppression.

French colonialism will be replaced by an anonymous bureaucracy representing international imperialism in its military, industrial and social, or rather anti-social features...

The Atlantic Pact and EDC are complementary and have their tragic result in the strategic bases set up in North Africa.

In fighting against EDC, against the Atlantic Pact, and for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, Algeria is fighting for its national liberation. Liberty and peace are sisters, just as collective security is indivisible.

Mr. MOHAMED KAMEL EL BINDARI

(Egypt)

The Egyptian people have resolutely refused and they are determined to refuse to take any part in military pacts of whatever nature. They will never weaken before the oppression, terror and lying propaganda which is carried on by the imperialist camp...

The Egyptian people, fighting for their liberation, fighting against imperialism with its abject exploitation, are working to win full independence for their country and for its right to decide its own destiny. By acting in this way they are answering the call for peace and making a contribution to the struggle against the camp of aggression and war. Their struggle is of a kind that will weaken this camp's possibilities for unleashing a third world war. Considering their geographical position, which dominates the principal route to, and the communications with, the East and with Africa, they join fraternally in the liberation struggles of these millions of people of the East, from Cairo to Peking, from Cairo to Khartoum and beyond, in spite of distance.

The outcome of these struggles is known. It is the victory of world peace...

PANDIT OMKAR NATH THAKUR

(India)

Those who want to frighten the world by experiments with hydrogen bombs, who want to capture the minds of the peoples of the world by frightening them, are bewildered by the great power of our collective ideas. They do not know what to do and their souls, blind and deaf, are helpless before the great strength of the collective ideas of World Peace.

India is wholeheartedly contributing to these collective ideas. We have placed the issues before our peoples, through meetings, practical symposiums. lectures, art exhibitions, and peace rallies; and in this way we have wakened the sleepers, roused those who were awake, and encouraged those who had already risen, and we are preparing to meet the cultural attack of America.

In this effort we have received much assistance from our neighbour, China, and other sister nations.

Mr. MAKUOTO HORI

(Japan)

We Japanese want security in Asia in its true sense. We fully support the proposal on the problem of security in Asia which was made at the Geneva Conference by Mr. Molotov, the Foreign Minister of the USSR, and by Mr. Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China.

The proposals of these ministers clearly embody the principles of security in Asia. Furthermore, we also support the proposal made by Mr. Kuo Mo-jo yesterday.

Our national Peace Meeting was held from May 18th to 20th in Tokyo. It adopted several resolutions for the relaxation of international tension and for the promotion of security in Asia.

Allow me to make the following proposals, based on these resolutions:

1) We propose that Korea should be peacefully and independently united after the evacuation of all foreign armies.

2) We propose that the war in Indo-China should be stopped at once and that peaceful negotiations should be undertaken between the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and France.

3) We propose that intervention by foreign armies, the establishment of foreign military bases and troop stations, threatening national sovereignty, should be abolished.

4) The People's Republic of China should be recognised as one of the Five Great Powers and at the same time should be given her rightful place in UNO.

5) We oppose any military bloc proposed by the USA, such as SEATO, or the Defence League in South-East Asia, which aims to make Asians fight Asians. We hope for the creation of a system of collective security in Asia which would include all the countries of Asia.

6) We propose to convene an Asian Peoples' conference in order to promote the relaxation of international tension in Asia.

7) We propose that economic relations and free trade between East and West should be promoted on the basis of equality and reciprocal interest.

Mr. ANDREAS POUYOUROS

(Cyprus)

The US intend turning Cyprus into a transit centre for war bases in the Middle East.

But I can officially declare here, on behalf of the thousands of peace-loving people of my country, that we will do everything in our power to prevent the transformation of our beautiful island into a carrier of machines of mass destruction. We are resolved that we shall not allow anyone to use our soil for the purpose of spreading havoc and disaster to our neighbour countries which are building their own way of life in Peace.

The people of my country are disgusted to see that next to the ruins of the temple of Apollo our foreign rulers are feverishly constructing a huge military cantonment, that near the ancient theatre of the Arcadian town of Kourion, military aerodromes covering hundreds of acres of land are being built, and lastly, to see that the ancient Green Theatre, where "The Peace" of Aristophanes was played, is being converted into an arsenal of weapons for mass destruction.

Closing Session

May 28th, 1954

Chairman: PROFESSOR WALTER FRIEDRICH

(GERMANY)

Vice-Chairmen

Mme ISABELLE BLUME
(Belgium)
SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Sr. JORGE AMADO
(Brazil)

HERR ERWIN SCHARF

(Austria)

The dangers of the rearmament of West Germany for the peoples of Europe and for peace in general have been repeatedly and strikingly demonstrated at this Session of the World Council of Peace. I believe I can say without exaggeration that for my country such rearmament would be particularly disastrous...

The attack on Austria's independence is at present taking place on two levels. From Bonn there is a frontal attack which aims directly at the integration of Austria into the Federal Republic. At the same time efforts are increasing to include Austria in a European system which, by its very structure, would be dominated by West Germany to such an extent that, in this way too, Austria would become a victim of West German expansionism...

There is no doubt that the great majority of the Austrian people want to have nothing to do with a second Anschluss. But the experience of 1938 shows that it does not depend only on Austria to decide how this question is settled. A European army, supported by the American Government, would make West Germany so strong that Austria by herself would be overwhelmed...

The American experiments with the Hydrogen Bomb have not only caused concern, they have also been severely condemned. For instance, it was stated in the April 24th number of the influential Catholic Weekly, "Die Österreichische Furche", that: "As long as man has the gift of speech and hands to act, as long as neither has been crushed by the diabolical thunder of weapons, he has the duty, no matter where he is, of working to get the great powers of the world to prohibit the use of such weapons by an international convention. Let it not be said that this will only be a scrap of paper; the agreement on the prohibition of poison gases proved efficacious in two world wars."

We are convinced — and the Austrian Peace Movement will play its part in this — that the Austrian people's resistance will become stronger and stronger. As the forces supporting the politicians in favour of the European Defence Community come to light, as the dangers connected with the establishment of a European army become apparent to all, the Austrian people's opposition to these dangers will increase in determination. Ever more clearly will they recognise that it is not the European Defence Community and the division of Europe into two, but a system of collective security taking in the whole of Europe, which will guarantee the freedom and independence of Austria.

Thus, for Austria, as for all other countries, the demand of the moment must be: with all our might we must fight for collective security and Peace!

SHRI YASHWANT RAO DATE

(India)

I am proud to say that our Indian culture, which is one of the oldest, along with that of China and Egypt, has carried its flag of Peace, goodwill, brotherhood and prosperity to distant parts of the world...

It is because the memories of peaceful exchanges between our country and our neighbours are still fresh in our minds that we speak...

As we come nearer to each other in the interest of peace, there is bound to grow up a common world culture based on human values. Let us try to build it and give it shape by piecing together all that is best in each of the advanced cultures of the earth and not exterminate by force the culture of any race in order to plant another way of life in its place.

Mr. TAWFIQ TOUBI

(Israel)

The heightened fever of the enemies of peace is making itself felt in practically every part of the world. Nowadays, the Middle East countries, like all Asian countries, are being exposed to intensified pressure with the intention of intimidating their peoples, weakening their resistance to war preparations, and drawing them into the imperialist nets of further subjugation and war.

Our people in Israel are experiencing the bitterness and insecurity of permanent American pressure and tutelage which our rulers have accepted, promising the people security and prosperity...

The people of Israel want peace and security and will continue to strengthen their struggle against foreign pressure and interference, against evil designs on their country, against embroiling it in aggressive pacts under whatever name. We shall not rest until the shameful application for American military aid is withdrawn.

In order to mobilise public opinion in our country in favour of direct negotiations for a peaceful settlement between Israel and the Arab countries, in order to raise higher the voice of our people against the remilitarisation of Germany and the revival of the Nazi Wehrmacht, which is a most deadly threat to the security of our people, and in order to ensure an Israeli policy of peace and independence, the Peace Movement in our country is conducting a countrywide plebiscite in support of these aims.

In the same way as our people have stood solidly behind every previous campaign for peace, they will also support en masse this present campaign, demonstrating their strong will for peace, which the rulers of our country should take into account.

M. RENE BOVARD

(Switzerland)

If I asked to be allowed to speak at this meeting, it was because I felt that a pacifist cannot remain silent on the serious problems which figure on the agenda; the less so because I wanted to convey to the Committee of the World Council of Peace my gratitude for the unfailing openmindedness which it has shown to all those who, though sometimes for different reasons, are seeking the same goal — peace...

I believe that those who still keep silence before the terrifying development of atomic weapons of destruction, become the accomplices of the criminals who plan to make use of them...

On the question of collective security... I am convinced that this is the only way to prevent the present cold war from becoming a hot war, to prevent the present peripheral wars from being transformed into a world war, and to mitigate the cold war...

Let us take Europe as an example. It is clear that the introduction of the European Defence Community will split Europe in two, and will sooner or later lead to war. If we want to create security in Europe, we must draft a peace treaty which will serve to reunite the two halves of Europe.

GENERAL EDGARD BUXBAUM

(Brazil)

A complete regional system of treaties, agreements, resolutions and military pacts is already in force in Latin America and establishes in this important region of the world, with its 150 million inhabitants, what can only be termed a legal system of collective insecurity...

Our peoples reacted against the American policy of colonisation and war by fighting energetically, in different ways, for Peace and the sovereignty of their countries, for liberty and national independence...

In such a situation... the American Government decided to start open military intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin American countries, as it had already done in Korea, and as it is now doing in Viet-Nam...

Under the cloak of anti-Communism, the proposals of Caracas are actually devised to kill democratic freedom in Latin America, and, by armed intervention, to prevent any kind of demonstration for national emancipation by the Latin American peoples...

I must tell you that our peoples are now reacting more swiftly, with greater courage and determination, against this new danger. They know that the enemy, whose succession of dazzling plans are tottering from defeat to defeat, is becoming daily weaker and more isolated. On the other hand, they know that by throwing themselves more and more into the world struggle of the peoples for peace, and by resolutely defending their sovereignty and national independence, they are becoming stronger and are daily strengthening their historic invincibility in the teeth of the crazed attacks of the enemy...

Whether the fomenters of war and national oppression like it or not, the road which the Brazilian people and all the Latin American peoples must follow is clear. We want national independence: our independence is a guarantee of world peace; we want peace: peace in the world is a guarantee of our national independence.

Mr. IVOR MONTAGU

(Great Britain)

SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The absolute pacifist is an important part of the movement against war, he contributes an even more important ingredient to the traditional mass popular feeling against war in certain countries, for instance my own, Britain, and still more importantly in the USA.

The pacifist says he opposes collective security because it contemplates the use of violence...

We think it is wrong to oppose collective security as an alternative to the system of rival, competing blocs — just as it is wrong to oppose gradual, or substantial partial disarmament on the grounds that it is not total disarmament...

Collective security must be to us *not only* potential collective punishment, as a deterrent; it must be *collective prevention*. It must include positive collective collaboration for Peace — and this means among *all* countries willing to participate, with no exclusions.

Mr. ABDULLAH ADRA

(Lebanon)

As an industrialist, I declare that through trade relations I have won the friendship of many Britishers, Belgians, Americans and others in the Middle East, and any disturbance would create inconvenience to our mutual interests. It is, therefore, natural that a lasting peace is to the advantage of every honest businessman and that the promotion of international trade increases the friendship between individuals and nations.

COLONEL ALFREDO DE AMESTI ZURITA

(Chile)

I have great pleasure in informing you that, soon, a meeting of legislators and prominent persons from all the countries of America will be held in Santiago to analyse the Caracas Agreement. It is hoped, with good reason, that this meeting, sponsored by prominent figures from nearly all political parties in the Chilean Parliament will have the character of a really international conference in opposition to that of Caracas. In Chile there is a very definite national feeling against the agreements made at the Tenth Inter-American Conference, and our movement has played a powerful role in the creation of this feeling.

SHRI MULK RAJ ANAND

(India)

The men and women of Asia are organising themselves to thwart all attempts to crush them.

The nations which have already thrown off the yoke of colonial rule: India, China, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon, will never allow the imperialist powers to disrupt their newly won freedom and to overpower them.

Asia will never, never be conquered again.

And the free Asian nations are all looking with concentrated interest on the situation in Korea and Indo-China, where the imperialist powers are seeking to maintain their hold by bloody violence...

The Geneva Conference is certainly a great step forward from the impasse of the past few years. It brings the Five Great Powers together for the first time since the war to solve world problems...

The disrupters try to evade, bully, and bludgeon, but the realism of the Viet-Namese proposals has already won a wide agreement outside Geneva if not in Geneva. One can only hope that the Conference will bring secure peace to Indo-China and Korea...

The problem of these war-ravaged countries has a significance which goes far beyond the borders of the two countries. The immediate future of Asia depends on what happens there.

Mr. MAO DUN

(People's Republic of China)

In recent years, there has been a continous exchange of visits between the peoples of our country and other countries. These visits are becoming more numerous from year to year...

During the past four-and-a-half years, representatives of more than fifty countries have visited China, totalling more than 300 separate visits...

We have organised more than 20 exhibitions of different kinds in foreign countries. At the same time, our cultural institutions have assisted those of other countries to organise in China more than 50 exhibitions of different types...

The Chinese people sincerely and warmly hope to strengthen cultural relations with other countries...

People are welcome to visit our country, where they will be able to see our peaceful construction in industry and agriculture, our national drama and folk dancing, now blossoming with new creations...

We resolutely support the appeal of the World Council of Peace to defend national cultures. We believe that the defence of national culture is not antagonistic to cultural exchange, for the development of national cultures and cultural exchange can, with advantage, go hand in hand. Cultural exchange on the basis of mutual benefit can help the culture of the world to blossom in an eternal spring.

Mr. NIKOLAI ORLOV

(U.S.S.R.)

The extension of economic and cultural co-operation between the peoples is a problem of profound concern to millions of good people in the various countries. For all men who are concerned about peace, this co-operation is a way to bring about more normal relations between the countries, to improve living conditions, and to ensure the material and intellectual progress of society . . .

There is in the Soviet Union an atmosphere of confidence and peaceful and fruitful work. The Soviet people wish to live in Peace with all peoples, they wish to develop economic and cultural exchanges with all countries. I can assure you that the Soviet people will continue to defend with great persistence the cause of Peace and the development of broad economic and cultural exchanges between the peoples.

Dr. JOSEPH WIRTH

(Germany)

My awareness of the great power and effectiveness of the people's desire for peace in our time gives me the courage to speak to you about the anxieties, hopes, sacrifices and success of the German people in the Federal Republic. The overwhelming majority of these people, to whom I am bound by more than 40 years of political work, are lovers of peace like all the other peoples of the world. They look with great anxiety at the piling up of war materials in their country and the installation of 20 atom guns on German soil. But they also know that the solidarity of the peoples supports them in their endeavour not to allow Germany to become once more a centre of militarism . . .

Today we must bring the German people to take a decision on the vital problem which will decide the fate of Germany. Is there to be a peace treaty and the withdrawal of the occupation forces, or the EDC treaty and the continuation of the occupation — a policy which would bring with it a constant danger of war? A free declaration for a unified, democratic and peace-loving Germany — this is the contribution we Germans can make towards collective security.

NEW MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Mr. Genzaburo Yoshino (Japan), Editor of the "*Sekai*" Review
Professor Kenjuro Yanagida (Japan), Professor of Philosophy at the University of Omiya
Mr. Abe Tumozi (Japan), Writer
Shri Mohammed Elias (India), Trade Unionist
Dr. A. J. Faridi (India), Doctor of Medicine
Shri Govind Sahai (India), Member of the Council of State of Uttar Pradesh
Professor Lapjat Rai (India)
Shri Vivekananda Mukherjee (India), Editor of the Bengal daily "*Jungantar*"
Shri Joseph Mundassery (India), Writer
Shri Mahesh Dutt Mishra (India), Member of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Madhya Pradesh
Professor N. R. Phatak (India), Historian
Shri V. Parameswaran (India), Journalist
Shri Ravi Shankar Raval (India), Painter, Vice-President of the All India Society of Plastics Arts
Shri Sachin Sen Gupta (India), Playwright
Pandit Omkar Nath Thakur (India), Director of the College of Music at the University of Benares
M. Michel Bruguier (France), Barrister
M. Gustave Cotelle (France), Barrister, former Prefect
Sig. Luciano Gruppi (Italy), Teacher
Professor Nicolas Obreshkov (Bulgaria), Mathematician
Dr. Paul Wandel (Germany), Deputy, former Minister
Dr. Joseph Wirth (Germany), Former Chancellor

★

NEW MEMBERS OF THE BUREAU

Herr Wilhelm Elfes (Germany), President of the Union of Germans
Dr. James Endicott (Canada), Doctor of Theology
Mr. Nazim Hikmet (Turkey), Poet

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SECRETARIAT

Sig. Riccardo Lombardi (Italy), Deputy
Mr. Vincent Duncan Jones (Great Britain), Publicist

Recommendations of the Cultural Commission

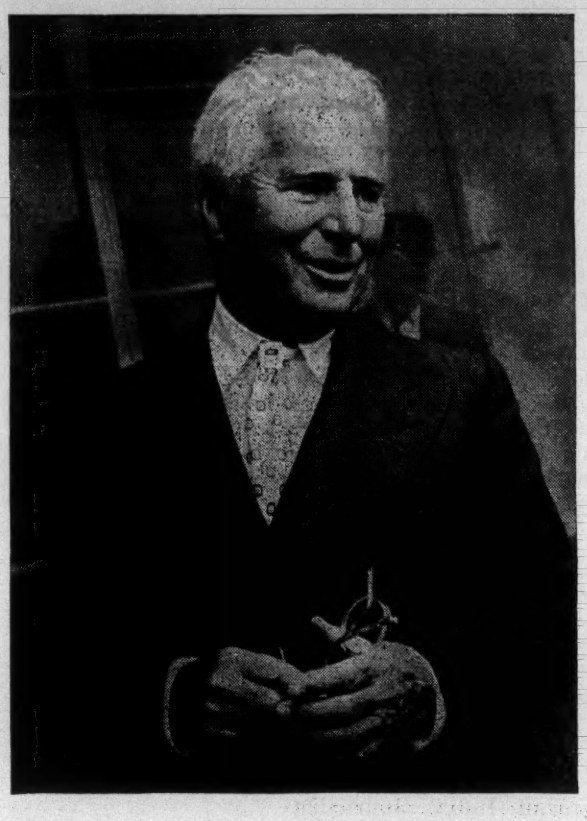
1. The last few months have been notable for the encouraging progress made in the field of cultural exchange. Many artistic events, film performances, visits and delegations, commemorations of the anniversaries of famous men and works, congresses of intellectuals, teachers, scientists, students, sporting events and so on, have demonstrated the peoples' desire to exchange the fruits of their work, the advances they have made in technique, and their achievements in science and the arts.

2. At the same time we have seen the birth and growth of broad national movements, the aims of which are the development of each national culture and the diffusion of knowledge among the people. These movements oppose any attempts at the stifling of national culture — any such attempt is a blow at national sovereignty — and strive to encourage the creation of works which augment the cultural heritage of the people concerned, thereby enriching international cultural exchange.

3. However, although the results obtained in the field of cultural exchange and in the development of national cultures are encouraging, they do not correspond to the present possibilities. There remain too many obstacles preventing the peoples from enjoying to the full the conquests of the human mind. It is inconceivable that there should still be administrative and political obstacles to the expression of ideas and the circulation of works and people. These barriers must be removed. They will be eliminated if every friend of culture is aware of his responsibility and firmly supports any move, whatever may be its origin, that is directed toward elimination of these barriers and the encouragement of more national cultural activities and exchanges on the basis of reciprocity.

The desire of the peoples is that culture should be put at the service of friendship and peace among men.

Berlin, May 28th, 1954



Charles Chaplin and

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

On May 27th, Sr. Jorge Zalamea, Secretary of the Jury for the International Peace Prizes, made the following statement at the Berlin Session of the World Council of Peace:

I have the honour to inform the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace that, at its meeting in Vienna on March 30th and 31st, the Jury for the International Peace Prizes, bearing in mind the exceptional contribution their creative activity makes to the cause of Peace and friendship between the peoples, unanimously awarded the International Peace Prizes for 1953 to the famous British artist Charles Chaplin and to the eminent Soviet composer Dmitri Dmitrievich Shostakovich.

I also have the pleasure to inform you that Mr. Charles Chaplin has accepted the Prize conferred on him by the Jury with pleasure and gratitude, and that this man, who is full of humanity and loved by the whole of mankind, has communicated to us his decision to use the money for works of peace and friendship in London, Vienna and Geneva.

It is our privilege that Mr. Shostakovich is with us, thus giving this Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace a further opportunity to pay homage to this illustrious musician.

In fulfilment of the decision taken by the Jury for the International Peace Prizes, the International Peace Prize for 1953 was presented to the eminent British artist on June 3rd at his residence, the Manoir de Ban, in Vevey, Switzerland.

The ceremony, which was deliberately kept simple, was both solemn and moving. In the park belonging to Mr. Chaplin's house the writer Vercors, Member of the Jury for the International Peace Prizes, handed the diploma to the great actor who made a moving reply to the speech pronounced by the author of "Le Silence de la Mer." Then Dr. Richard Synge, winner of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, described the British people's satisfaction at this latest honour conferred on their greatest and best-loved artist.

The World Council of Peace was represented at the ceremony by Dr. Synge and by the famous Hellenist, Professor André Bonnard. The Jury for the International Peace Prizes was represented by M. Vercors from France, Mr. Sergei Gerassimov from the Soviet Union and Sr. Jorge Zalamea from Colombia.

More than 20 journalists, representing the Press of various countries, were present at the ceremony. Mr. Chaplin gave each of them a copy of his speech and chatted cordially with them for nearly an hour.

We give here the texts of the speeches made at Vevey.

The great actor has just received the Diploma awarded by the Jury for the International Peace Prizes. Left to right round Chaplin: Professor Synge, Vercors, Professor Bonnard and Sr. Zalamea.

Vercors

On behalf of the World Council of Peace and the members of the Jury for the International Peace Prizes, I have the very great honour of presenting you with the prize-winner's diploma for 1953.

It is not only an honour but a great joy for me to have been chosen to present it to you. I have loved and admired you as a man of peace for nearly forty years; you were perhaps the first man to bring home to me the criminal folly of war. I was a child at the time of the First World War. War seemed to me to be a glorious adventure and it fired my childish imagination insofar as it was not I who was called upon to pay the price of this glory nor to undergo the sufferings of this adventure, but men deep in fear and mud whom I did not know. Then one day, in the midst of the war, I saw a film which tore asunder the tawdry and bloody frippery of military glory by the extraordinary power of laughter. From that day onward I have never ceased to see war in the very likeness that you showed us: a base attempt to crush Man disguised under the hypocritical mystification of a glory invented by the mystifiers.

Afterwards, for forty years, you obstinately showed us what man really is, a little light overwhelmed by the blind powers of nature and whose sole dignity and greatness consists in refusing to submit, as the animal submits, and in rising up after each defeat, even if he is beaten beforehand, to resume an endless struggle. You have shown us how blind and stupid are those who, instead of helping him, join his persecutors in order to take advantage of his defeat; they do not see that the executioner already holds the axe poised above their own heads. So for forty years you have been showing us that there is no other reasonable road for men of peace than to make common cause against these blind powers, loving and helping each other like brothers.

Having myself tried after you to show in my books what you have shown in your films in such a masterly way, I look upon it as a wonderful recompense for my own efforts that I should have the opportunity of handing you this diploma today.

Dmitri Shostakovich

PRIZE-WINNERS FOR 1953

Doctor Richard Synge

I come here as a British member of the World Council of Peace and am deeply conscious of the honour and the good fortune to have been chosen to greet you today.

I suppose at all times people have understood that they are in a very real sense trustees for their children and so for the future of mankind, and have wondered how well they were fulfilling their trust. But surely that questioning has never been more anxious than now. The World Council of Peace exists simply to bring together the millions in all the nations of the world so that they make effective their desire to live together in peace, to live life in their own ways and to enrich it each with their own contribution to industry, learning and art.

You are one who has understood this much all along, but not only that. You have succeeded through your work in imparting such understanding to millions of others all over the world and in strengthening within them their determination as trustees for the future. Although we all know what you would say when at last you broke your silence, none but you could have said it so well or so clearly. You have helped two, perhaps three generations to live their lives in a more clear-sighted way. The Prize you have just received is simply a recognition of this work. We in Britain are proud that this is the work of a fellow-countryman.

The members of the Council and the guests present at the session warmly applauded the announcement of the distinction conferred on Dmitri Shostakovich. The applause went on for several minutes when the famous composer of the Tenth Symphony came to the rostrum to express his emotion at being given "such a high award". "I see in this award", he added, "a mark of great confidence. I assure you that I will do all I can, that I will devote all my strength, so that the great cause of peace may triumph throughout the world and that I may always be worthy of the high award conferred on me . . ."

In a future number of the bulletin, we shall give a report on the ceremony at which the International Peace Prize for 1953 was presented to Dmitri Shostakovich.

PEACE STATEMENT
by Charles Chaplin

The desire for peace is universal. To promulgate a demand for peace, whether from the East or West, I firmly believe is a step in the right direction. Therefore, I am honoured and very happy to receive this award.

I do not assume to know the answers to the problems that threaten peace, but this I do know, that nations will never solve them in an atmosphere of hate and suspicion, nor will the threat of dropping hydrogen bombs solve them. The secret of manufacturing these horror weapons will very soon be common knowledge, and very soon all nations, big and small, will have them.

In this age of atomic science nations must think of something less old-fashioned and more constructive than violence to solve their differences. The melancholy grooming of people to the acceptance of hydrogen warfare, with all its attending horrors, is a crime against the human spirit and is creating world insanity. Let us absolve ourselves of this miserable, cancerous atmosphere. Let us try to understand each other's problems, for in modern warfare there is no victory.

Therefore, let us return to that which is natural and healthy in man, to the spirit of goodwill which is the basis of all inspiration, of all that is creative, beautiful and noble in life. Let us work towards that end — towards a glorious era of peace in which all nations will prosper.

The famous Soviet composer in conversation with friends, all members of the World Council of Peace. Left to right: the writer Alexander Fadeyev, the film producer Sergei Gerassimov, Academician Oparin and Dmitri Shostakovich.

Messages received by the Session

5,408 messages from various regional Peace Committees in Germany, factory Peace Committees, various democratic organisations, a number of schools, peasants' organisations, trade unions, co-operatives, town councils and district councils were sent to the Session.

Together with these messages, 155,754 signatures to resolutions calling for the prohibition of atomic weapons were received.

Several leading figures, among whom were Herr Wilhelm Elfes, Paul Robeson and Professor Henry Pratt-Fairchild, also sent messages to the World Council of Peace.

The following are extracts from their messages:

Mr. PAUL ROBESON

(U. S. A.)

Warmest greetings to the great company of men and women associated with the World Council of Peace in mankind's noblest endeavour — the establishment of peace and friendship between all peoples.

Once again I find myself unable to be present for your important deliberations. I hope soon, however, that my right to travel will be restored. Friends here and in other countries have begun a concerted effort to persuade the State Department that the best interests of the people of the United States are not served by withholding a passport from me and from many others who speak for peace.

Many of us in America — artists, scientists, workers — wish we could be with you today. What happiness I and many others shall know when we can personally accept and fulfil the opportunities afforded us in many parts of the world to appear and sing and act for peoples I have long known well and love dearly.

The right to travel was denied me in 1950. At that time there were many in our homeland who did not agree with us, or if they did agree, were not prepared to take up the fight for peace. How different is the situation today. Today, my views on peace are the same as in 1950 and today these views on peace are shared by millions of my countrymen. Yes, today, millions of Americans know that every effort must be made for nations to reach agreement to settle their differences peacefully. They know that in a world of H-bombs, dictation through strength is a policy of national suicide. "Co-existence or no existence", "live together or die together"; these are popular expressions here which reflect the understanding of the people that the efforts of responsible United States statesmen must be directed towards a peaceful settlement through mutual compromise rather than toward a vain attempt to amass overwhelming strength...

Yes, the conscience of the people of the United States is coming to life at a crucial point in my nation's history and at a turning point in world affairs. Indeed, it would be an alarming thing if this were not the case, for only a cowed and drugged or corrupted people could remain complacent in the face of recent events...

Organisations representing literally millions of Americans have expressed deep concern that the Government of the United States should complete the series of H bomb tests in spite of the fact that the first test caused widespread havoc, bringing cruel injury to 379 persons and threatening the livelihood of whole peoples and in spite of the fact that there was a world outcry for the test not to be held...

The great majority of the people in the United States want to end the menace of the H bomb. They want to live at peace with all other peoples. While the voices representing these millions of Americans will be absent from your meeting, you must know that they are here and are speaking out.

The people of the United States want to stay in the family of peace-loving peoples.

The action you take at this Council Session will help them to do so.

We, the workers for peace here will continue to fight and thereby strengthen our bonds of friendship with all of you who represent the preponderant sentiment of the peoples of the world.

HERR WILHELM ELFES

(Germany)

PRESIDENT OF THE UNION OF GERMANS FOR PEACE AND LIBERTY

Dear Friends,

I am sorry that it is impossible for me to be in Berlin to take part in the deliberations of the World Council of Peace, and therefore I am sending you this fraternal greeting and my best wishes...

The Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace is meeting in Berlin — a city which, we hope, will soon be once more the capital of a united, independent and democratic Germany, a Germany which serves the cause of peace and is worthy of the trust of all its neighbours...

And what about the collective security of Europe? Well, there is now no possible doubt about it: EDC means the division of Germany into two, the division of Europe, the division of the world — and this division into two means war. A treaty for the collective security of Europe, to which all European nations could adhere, would bring to an end the fatal division of Europe and would form a firm foundation for Peace between peoples. He who wants to serve the cause of Peace must oppose EDC and work for a system of collective security for all the peoples of Europe.

I hope that the discussions of the World Council of Peace in Berlin will bear fruit in these respects, and I send the Session my best wishes.

Long live friendship between the peoples!

Long live world Peace!

PROFESSOR HENRY PRATT-FAIRCHILD

(U.S.A.)

President of the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions

The existence of the hydrogen bomb and the possibility of even more devastating instruments of mass annihilation, emphasise the importance and value of every sincere and vigorous movement for the establishment of international peace. The happiness and spiritual welfare of mankind demands the permanent abolition of war.

Best wishes for the success and wide influence of the Conference.

Around the World

Cuba

The arrival in Kingston, Jamaica, of a British ship with 64 experts on bacteriological warfare, guinea pigs, and all the necessary material for the experiments off the Bahamas, has given rise to a new wave of protest in Cuba.

The National Peace Committee approached the Cuban Government asking it to demand the ending of the experiments, which have been condemned by a great many organisations, for example:

The Federation of University Students;

The Association of Students of the Institute of Oriental Studies;

The National Federation of Seamen;

The Placeta Food and Trade Workers;

The National College of Nurses;

The Cuban Dockers and Seamen of Nuevitas, Puerto Padre, Cienfuegos and Santiago,

The Sugar Plantation and Sugar Industry Workers of Amazonas and Natividad (in the Province of Las Villas).

600 students and secondary school students in Santa Clara suggested that a provincial gathering be organised; the Federation of University Students called on its members to take part in a demonstration outside the British Embassy.

The Council of the Primary Teachers' College of Las Villas has condemned not only the experiments off the Bahamas, but any use of weapons of mass destruction, and called for a "broad movement to bring about a relaxation of international tension."

United States

In New York, a Committee has been set up for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport, which the American Government had withdrawn from the famous American singer and member of the World Council of Peace.

On May 26th, the Committee organised a gala in which Mr. Robeson took part, and at which speeches were made by leading cultural figures.

Sweden

A Peace Conference of the North of Sweden was held on May 16th, in Lulea.

With a view to this Conference, a writer, a teacher, a housewife and four trade union leaders launched an appeal to trade union, cultural and religious organisations, and to the general public, stating in particular:

"A strong public opinion rejecting war and armaments as a means of settling conflicts between the peoples would constitute an effective moral support for the United Nations, for politicians and statesmen who are determined to make the idea of negotiation prevail.

"The undersigned, aware that the political and geographical position of our country enable it to contribute to the relaxation of international tension, invite you to participate in a free and open discussion on this subject."

*

A similar regional Conference took place on May 9th, in Göteburg, in the West of Sweden. Among those present were: Dr. Peter Varenius, from Stockholm, Professor Ivan Rosenquist, D. Litt., from Oslo, Ove Tjernberg, artist.

The following is an extract from the resolution adopted:

"Sweden enjoys international respect by reason of the peaceful position she has taken. Therefore, we urgently call on the government of our country to do everything in its power to facilitate and support international efforts to put a ban on the most terrible means of destruction, and establish an effective control over the implementation of this ban."

*

This summer, a grand cruise for Peace will be organised in the Baltic Sea with the slogan "Peace and Friendship between the countries bordering on the Baltic Sea." The cruise, in which more than 800 Swedes, Danes, Norwegians and Finns will take part, will begin on August 26th, in Stockholm, whence it will go to Leningrad, via Copenhagen, Warnemunde, Rostock, Gdynia, Gdansk and Helsinki.

U.S.S.R.

M. Jean-Paul Sartre, the French writer, who is on a visit to the Soviet Union, made a statement over Moscow Radio on the invitation of Soviet writers. He said:

"All the people I have seen, from the Red Square to the kindergarten, say: 'We want to build, and we want peace'. Up till now I have thought it necessary to do all I could for peace. But now, after this visit, I find it necessary to do even more."

Germany

An "All Berlin Peace Conference" has been held and attended by 750 delegates, of whom 250 came from West Berlin. The report was made by Professor Robert Havemann, President of the Berlin Peace Council.

Three working committees examined the role of the working class, the young people and the Christians, respectively, in the fight for peace. The Conference issued a call condemning atom bomb policy and asking the Parliament of the Federal Republic to denounce EDC and weapons of mass destruction. "All Berlin must become a city of peace", says the appeal.

*

The "Conference of Young People from the countries of Europe affected by EDC" was held in Berlin on May 18th and 19th. It was attended by 147 delegates, observers, and guests from 22 countries. The Conference sent a letter to the government of every European country, asking it to promote a peace policy which would stop EDC. A Standing Committee was set up.

Canada

Throughout Canada a broad campaign is being conducted against the use of the H-bomb. Local Peace Committees and members of the Movement are visiting Members of Parliament, asking them to take a stand against the hydrogen bomb. The Canadian Press has published many letters on the subject. As part of the campaign, Dr. James Endicott has toured the country speaking on the danger of the H-bomb.

Tunisia

The Tunisian Committee for Freedom and Peace has stated that the ratification of EDC by the French National Assembly would have disastrous results in Tunisia. The statement points out that Tunisia is vitally interested in defeating the EDC treaty. This would spare the Tunisian people the horrors of war and would facilitate their struggle for freedom and independence.

Brazil

At its recent Annual General Meeting the Brazilian Press Association (or House of Journalists), which includes all Brazilian journalists, adopted a resolution in favour of peace.

The resolution opposes weapons of mass destruction and urges the development of economic and cultural relations between the peoples.

*

Four Deputies and four municipal councillors of Sao Paulo have sent the following telegramme to the Geneva Conference:

"We call upon the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and the People's Republic of China to reach a peaceful solution of the Korean question and to end the war in Indo-China."

Hungary

Several Departmental Peace Committees have organised "Peace Weeks" and "Peace Days" to acquaint the broadest masses of the people with the activities of the World Peace Movement. This campaign of education also included Peace Meetings for young people, excursions, and professional, artistic and cultural meetings.

Hungarian Peace Committees are preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the Appeal launched by the World Council of Peace at its session in Budapest in 1953.

Ireland

The Irish Peace Committee has organised in Dublin a public meeting to support the Geneva Conference. It called on the Government to support the peace policy of Mr. Nehru, the Indian Premier, and particularly his proposals for a cease-fire and peace in Indo-China.

Denmark

Fifty Danish export firms are organising an exhibition of their goods in Moscow from September 6th to 15th, with a view to creating new commercial ties with the Soviet Union on the occasion of the coming into force of the new commercial agreement between Denmark and the Soviet Union.

The director of the exhibition, Mr. Jorgen Jorgensen, who has just come back from Moscow, stated to a Danish newspaper:

"We were really very warmly welcomed in Moscow, and I can tell you that there are a very great number of Western European businessmen there at the present time."

Japan

Four inhabitants of the island of Shikoku have fallen ill after drinking rain water which had become radioactive as a result of the US experiments in the Pacific.

Analysis showed that each litre of the water contained 300 Geiger degrees of radioactive matter, which made it highly dangerous.

*

More than 500 representatives from trade unions and other groups attended a peace rally in Tokyo on May 23rd. The rally decided to launch a campaign for the prohibition of hydrogen and atomic bombs.

In Osaka, 50 trade unions, peasants' associations and other mass organisations formed a liaison committee to campaign against the hydrogen bomb. The collection of one million signatures to demand the banning of atomic weapons is now in progress.

Similar campaigns are being conducted in Nagasaki, Fukuoka, Miyagi, Shiga, Kochi and Miyazaki prefectures.

Great Britain

Latest figures show that 1,574,640 trade unionists affiliated to the Labour Party through their unions have already voted against German rearmement.

Further, the annual conference of the Union of Post Office Workers, of the Transport Salaried Staffs Association and the representatives of 150,000 Civil Servants have called for the banning of the H-bomb. The conferences of the 220,000-strong Electrical Trades Union, of the 80,000-strong Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers, and of the 55,000-strong National Union of Vehicle Builders demanded the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons, and for an end to be put to German rearmament.

The Association of Scientific Workers called for international control of atomic energy.

Three important religious organisations, the Convocation of Canterbury, the Assembly of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland have taken a similar stand on the atomic question.

On May 8th, an estimated quarter-of-a-million Londoners watched a poster parade of Peace slogans that ringed a large part of the West End in an almost continous two-mile long procession. It was organised by the London Peace Federation and the British Peace Committee in association with the National Assembly of Women, the Ex-Service Movement for Peace and other organsiations.

On May 19th, a similar poster parade was held in London, organised by the Holborn Peace Council with the support of the local Labour Party, the Co-operative Party and the Westminster Co-operative Women's Guild.

Paris — 10,000 delegates from all over France decide to make July 11th

A DAY OF CIVIC ACTION FOR INDEPENDENCE AND PEACE

For two days — Saturday, June 12th and Sunday, June 13th — the Vélodrome d'Hiver in Paris echoed the enthusiastic and firm demand of 10,000 delegates who had come from all over France: The Bonn and Paris Agreements must be rejected! There must be an end of hostilities in Indo-China! Weapons of mass destruction must be banned!

This national demonstration was held in three plenary sessions, on Saturday morning and all day Sunday, which were presided over by M. Jacques Madaule, the Catholic historian, Mme Yves Farge and M. Cotelle, a militant Socialist from the Loiret, respectively. On Saturday afternoon, the delegates split up into three big commissions on the German question, Indo-China and atomic weapons. Each of them put forward a recommendation.

*

The "*Recommendation to make July 11th a great day of civic action for independence and peace*", says:

"We call on all Frenchmen to unite and make Sunday, July 11th, a day of civic action for peace. We ask them to to go to the Town Halls, since the Town Councils have the power to inform the authorities of the voters' wishes.

"So that this day may be the authentic expression of the country's desire for peace, we suggest that all Frenchmen who have France's future at heart and who are determined to work for peace should hold meetings, organise petitions and deputations, and set up broad Departmental and local committees to sponsor the activities. These Sponsoring Committees should go the Mayors and ask them to give the deputations a favourable hearing and transmit their wishes and petitions to the Prefect and all Members of Parliament in their Department. They should call on the people to attend public report-back meetings by the deputations, which could be organised the same day.

"In this way, the day of civic action for peace will, in every commune in France, be a powerful demonstration of the French people's will for peace. It will have a great influence on the nation's destiny."

*

The rally also adopted an "Appeal to Frenchmen" which says:

"France is at the cross-roads between peace and war. Tomorrow, she can be dragged into a world war which could start either in Asia or in Europe. A rearmed Germany could draw her into a another conflict. She would be in danger of suffering the devastating effects of atomic war...

"The French people must demand the rejection of EDC, a negotiated solution of the German question and collective security for all the countries of Europe; a cease-fire in Indo-China and a political settlement which will allow the peoples of Indo-China to choose freely the social system and government they want and restore to France her prestige and influence in the Far East; an end to experiments in preparation for atomic war, the outlawing of atomic weapons and an equitable agreement on disarmament...

"The men and women who took part in the National Demonstration for Independence and Peace invite all their fellow-countrymen to unite and make Sunday, July 11th, a national day for peace in all the towns and villages of France.

"The people will exercise their inalienable right to approach town and county councillors, Members of Parliament and the authorities. Together they will demand that the country's desire for independence and peace be reflected in the actions of the Government."

Paris, June 13th, 1954

"Let's hope the whole world will be as peaceful as this garden"

Mr. Charles Chaplin, the International Peace Prize-winner for 1953, has given an interview to a special correspondent of the Hsinhua (New China) News Agency at his villa in Vevey, Switzerland. The great actor and film producer stressed the great importance that he attaches to international exchange of films as a method of improving mutual understanding between nations.

Taking leave of his visitor in his beautiful garden, Mr. Chaplin said: "Let's hope the whole world will be as peaceful as this garden."

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

[Paul Robeson, p. 10]

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

N° 13 JULY 1954

IN THIS BULLETIN

- Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension.
- Indian National Convention against US-Pakistan Pact and for the Lessening of International Tension.
- In the Middle East.
- Africa in the Struggle for Peace — South African Peace Council stimulates National Campaign for the Use of Uranium for Peaceful Purposes.
- Peoples condemn Aggression against Guatemala.
- National Campaign in United States against H-bomb and War in Indo-China.
- The Popular Referendum in Germany.
- Frenchmen unite in the Struggle for Independence and Peace.
- News from Burma, Switzerland, the Soviet Union, Denmark, Israel, Indonesia, Egypt, Australia, etc.

*

- Cultural Information.

The National Demonstration for Independence and Peace in Paris on June 12th and 13th

Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension

(Stockholm, June 19th to 23rd, 1954)

Documents adopted unanimously by the Plenary Assembly on June 23rd, 1954

The first of these documents was presented by **M. Jacques Madaule,** *professor and writer (France).*
The second by **Dr. Anup Singh,** *Member of Parliament and member of the Congress Party; former President of the United Nations Commission in Korea (India).*
The third by **Sr. Eusebio Rocha,** *Member of Parliament, member of the Brazilian Labour Party.*

GENERAL RESOLUTION

In the troubled world of to-day, where the Powers mistrust each other's intentions, and where suspicion and fear which have kindled so many conflicts in the past still prevail, a number of public figures from thirty countries in the East and in the West have freely met to make a contribution to the easing of international tension. Their experience here has proved that by meeting together, reasonable and unprejudiced people speedily arrive at a mutual understanding, and that agreement is possible on most of the issues at present dividing the world.

Differences of social and political system are not in themselves an inevitable cause of war. Peaceful co-existence is quite possible on condition that the right of all peoples, both great and small, is recognised in law and in fact.

The United Nations Organisation, whose existence is essential for peace, must be based on a true appreciation of international life, and it must be universal. Therefore, the People's Republic of China and all states which have asked or might ask to be admitted, must be admitted to the United Nations Organisation.

States must reject all recourse to force for the settlement of their conflicts. All conflicts must be settled by negotiation, and this must be pursued with tenacity whatever the initial difficulties.

These principles must in the first place be applied in the Geneva negotiations, the success of which is of supreme importance for the peace of the world.

The contacts which have been made during the Meeting give all the participants the firm conviction that the Geneva Conference, so far as Indo-China is concerned, can and must succeed.

On Korea, it is necessary that the negotiations which have been broken off should be resumed as soon as possible.

Peace is indivisible. It is not sufficient to restore it in Asia. The peaceful solution of the German problem is indispensable if there is also to be peace in Europe. Therefore the negotiations on Germany must be re-opened as soon as possible and, meanwhile, nothing should be done which might compromise them.

Atomic weapons are a dreadful threat to the whole of mankind. It is therefore necessary:

That experiments which in themselves are a danger to the health of the peoples should be stopped;

That those states which now possess weapons of mass destruction should pledge not to use them, and that the manufacture and storing of these weapons should be prohibited under control.

Atomic energy, used for peaceful purposes, will then bring great benefits to mankind.

In the same way, the negotiations on the limitation and control of armaments must be conducted with a will to succeed. If successful, they will free very considerable productive forces to the advantage of the general prosperity.

Another important factor making for the easing of tension will be the development of trade between East and West. This could be considerably increased once the present restrictions have been removed.

A general desire was also expressed that cultural exchanges should be increased and developed.

The participants in the Meeting note with satisfaction the good results obtained by these few days of contact. They regret that, in certain circles of some countries, the invitation issued by the organisers was not more widely taken up. They pledge that they will make known in their respective countries the conclusions reached, and have decided to convene, at the beginning of 1955, a further Meeting on an even broader scale than the present one.

The Meeting instructs its Bureau and Secretariat to take all necessary measures to this end.

ADDRESS TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE

Those taking part in the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension held in Stockholm from 19th to 23rd June, 1954, send their greetings to the representatives of the nations now assembled at Geneva to work out a peaceful solution of the question of Indo-China, to re-establish peace in Asia and thereby make a contribution to the easing of international tension.

This Meeting asks the Governments represented at Geneva:

1. To unite their efforts to obtain as soon as possible a cease-fire in the three countries of Indo-China by an agreement between the belligerents.
2. To avoid all moves and all actions likely to lead to the continuation or extension of the conflict in Indo-China, which would further increase the danger of a world war.
3. To ensure that a Peace Treaty be signed as soon as possible between France and the three nations of Indo-China on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, national independence and unity of each of the three peoples of Indo-China, for their democratic freedoms and their right freely to choose their political and social system.

The Meeting further draws the attention of the powers represented at the Geneva Conference to the urgency of ending the sufferings of the Korean people and of preventing the very grave danger of a renewal of hostilities in this part of the world. It calls for the immediate reopening of negotiations to secure a peaceful solution of the Korean problem and to give to the people of Korea their security, their full independence, their unity and the right to choose their social and political system by free, democratic elections throughout their country.

It is evident that agreement on the conditions of withdrawal of all foreign troops is necessary to ensure to the Korean people the possibility of free expression of their wishes.

To create an atmosphere favourable to the solution of the Korean problem, the strict application by both parties of the terms of the armistice must be assured, especially in relation to the sending of armaments to the belligerents.

ADDRESS TO THE UNITED NATIONS ON THE EVENTS IN GUATEMALA

Those taking part in the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension held in Stockholm from 19th to 23rd June, 1954, deeply concerned by the invasion of Guatemala and the bombing of its capital, condemn all help given to the aggressor by any power whatever, address an urgent appeal to the Security Council of the United Nations to take all measures for ending hostilities, for the withdrawal of the invading forces and the re-establishment of the former peaceful state of the country.

The Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension asks the peoples of all countries to support this request to the Security Council.

Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension

The Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension was held in Stockholm from June 19th to 23rd and was attended by 150 persons from 30 countries. The proceedings were directed by a Bureau which published regular statements tracing the discussion at the Meeting.

The Meeting divided into three working sections: a political section, an economic section and a cultural section.

The recommendations drawn up by these sections were adopted by the Meeting in plenary session, as also were a Resolution and two Addresses, one of which was sent to the Geneva Conference and the other to the Security Council.

The Meeting had the support of a number of important people including **M. Edouard Herriot,** Former President of the French National Assembly, and received many messages, including messages from **Mr. Tetsu Katayama** of Japan, **Sig. Ferruccio Parri,** Italy, **M. Paul Boncour** of France and **Mr. Matine-Daftari** of Iran, all former Prime Ministers; from **Sr. Josué de Castro** of Brazil; and from the writers **François Mauriac** and **Thomas Mann,** Nobel Prize-Winner.

The World Council of Peace was represented at the Meeting by the following delegation:

Sr. Jorge Amado, Brazil; **M. Gabriel D'Arboussier,** French West Africa; **Professor J. D. Bernal, F. R. S.,** Great Britain; **Mme Isabelle Blume,** Belgium; **M. Laurent Casanova,** France; **Mme. Eugénie Cotton,** France; **Dr. James Endicott,** Canada; **Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg,** USSR; **Mr. Yoshitaro Hirano,** Japan; **Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew,** India; **Dr. Kuo Mo-jo,** People's Republic of China; **M. Jean Laffitte,** France; **M. Antoine Tabet,** The Lebanon, and **Herr Joseph Wirth,** Germany.

We give the three principal documents adopted by the Meeting on the opposite page. The following is a list of the members of the Bureau:

THE BUREAU OF THE MEETING

Professor Angelos Angelopoulos, former Professor at the University of Athens.

Professor J. D. Bernal, F. R. S., of the delegation from the World Council of Peace.

Dr. Raul Bustos Fierro, Deputy of the Peronista Party in the Argentine.

M. René Capitant, former Minister, Professor in the Faculty of Law of the University of Paris.

Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg, Deputy in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Mr. Jacob Friis, former Social Democratic Deputy in the Norwegian Parliament.

Mr. Masano Ikeda, Liberal Deputy from Japan.

Professor Doctor Hans Iwand, Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn.

Mr. Eric Johnson, Quaker from the United States.

Mr. Alexander Korneichuk, Deputy in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences and Vice-President of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Mr. Hisao Kuroda, President of the Labour-Farmer Party and Member of the Japanese Parliament.

Professor Oscar Lange, Deputy, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Warsaw.

Mr. Liao Cheng-chih, President of the Chinese Democratic Youth League and Permanent Member of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Sig. Riccardo Lombardi, Deputy, former Minister, member of the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party.

M. Jacques Madaule, writer and teacher from France.

Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Counsellor in the Ministry of Reconstruction, former President of the Indian Women's Conference.

Sr. Eusebio Rocha, Brazilian Labour Party Deputy.

Mr. Sydney Silverman, Labour Member of Parliament from Great Britain.

Dr. Anup Singh, Indian Congress Party M. P., and former President of the United Nations Commission in Korea.

Indian National Convention against US-Pakistan Pact and for the Lessening of International Tension

The Indian National Convention against the US-Pakistan Pact and for the Lessening of International Tension was held in New Delhi on May 7th, 8th and 9th, 1954. The total number of delegates was about 350 including Members of Parliament from all States and delegates from the Punjab, Pepsu, Rajasthan, U. P., Bihar, Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad, Bhopal, Bombay and Madras.

This important Convention was sponsored by a Preparatory Committee which included 50 members of Parliament nearly a hundred members of State Legislatures belonging to all parties as well as prominent men and women from all walks of life.

The Convenor of the Preparatory Committee was Syed Nausher Ali M. P., a member of Parliament belonging to the Congress Party and formerly Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, assisted by four Secretaries, Shri Nandlal Joshi, M. P., Syed Ahmed, M. P., Dr. Choithram Gidwani, M. P., and Pandit C. N. Malviya, M. P.

Lala Sham Nath, President of the Delhi Municipal Committee and member of the Congress Party, was Chairman of the Reception Committee formed in New Delhi.

The aim of the sponsors was to mobilise public opinion in the country against the US-Pakistan Pact. A very large number of leading citizens of various views having responded to the appeal. State Conventions were held in a number of States — Bengal, Madras, Punjab and Gujerat.

After the Convention

The Preparatory Committee met after the Convention and converted itself into the National Committee of the Convention against the US-Pakistan Pact and for the Lessening of International Tension. Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru and Mr. Syed Nausher Ali, M. P. were elected Joint Convenors. It further decided to propagate the resolutions of the Convention and to organise similar conventions on State and district levels all over the country.

THE PROCEEDINGS

The inaugural session was attended by over 1,000 persons on the Constitution Club lawns. Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, leader of the Indian women's movement, presided.

The session was opened by the singing of a national song by Pandit Omkar Nath Thakur, after which several speakers addressed the session, including Professor Hiren Mukherjee and Dr. Choithram Gidwani.

On May 8th, the delegates from different States reported on their work and then divided into various drafting sub-committees to draw up resolutions on the US-Pakistan Pact; on Colonialism and Racialism; on Foreign Pockets; on Asian Problems; on Cultural Relations; on Economic Relations; and on Weapons of Mass Destruction.

On May 9th, after a Plenary Session, the Convention ended in a Mass Rally attended by over 10,000 people. It was presided over by Shri C. Krishnan Nair, President of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee, and addressed by Major General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey, M. P., Dr. Anup Singh, M. P., Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Dr. S. D. Kitchlew, Pandit Sundarlal, Shri H. K. Vyas, Member of the Legislative Assembly, the Reverend J. S. Williams, General Secretary of the Federation of National Churches, and others.

The Resolutions Adopted

The National Convention adopted 7 resolutions, from which the following quotations are taken:

On US-Pakistan Military Pact

"The National Convention of the Indian people declares its firm opposition to the US-Pakistan Military Aid Pact, as it threatens the security and independence of all the countries of Asia, increases international tension and menaces world peace . . .

"India is vitally affected by this Pact as it is a step which brings war right to the frontiers of India. It also makes amicable solution of Indo-Pakistan differences through direct negotiations more difficult than ever before.

"This Convention wholeheartedly supports the Prime Minister's forthright rejection of President Eisenhower's offer of military aid . . ."

On Asian Problems

"While regretting the absence from the Geneva Conference of many Asian countries vitally interested in decisions on Asian problems, this Convention welcomes the participation in the Conference of the representatives of the People's Republic of China. It declares its firm belief that the People's Republic of China must be admitted to its rightful place in the United Nations Organisation . . .

"It calls for an immediate end to the war in Indo-China, and demands her full freedom, and a guarantee against intervention by foreign powers . . .

"It calls for immediate steps to prevent the resumption of hostilities in Korea and to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops from there, so that the Korean people may be free to determine their own destiny . . .

"This Convention calls upon the Big Powers now assembled at Geneva to respect the right of the Asian peoples to self-determination and to complete independence as the basis for the establishment of peace in Asia."

On Weapons of Mass Destruction

"This National Convention joins all other bodies and all people in calling upon the United Nations Organisation to ban all weapons of mass destruction under effective international control."

It calls on the peoples to give wholehearted support to Prime Minister Nehru's demand *"for an immediate stand-still of any further experimental explosions."*

On Colonialism and Racialism

In this resolution the Convention *"strongly condemns the attempts . . . to keep the colonial peoples in subjection."*

On Foreign Pockets on India's Soil

This special resolution says:

"This National Convention of the Indian people considers . . . that these foreign possessions are likely to be used as military bases and transit centres for the imperialist powers, thus constituting a danger to the security of Asia" and *"urges the French and Portuguese Governments to withdraw from the areas under their possession without any further delay, and facilitate the integration of these areas with the rest of India."*

Lastly, the National Convention demanded the raising of the restrictions on cultural and economic exchanges, since the promotion of these exchanges *"is one of the principal ways in which we can lay the foundation of durable peace among nations."*

Indo-Pakistan Friendship

Excerpt from speech of Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru at the National Convention

"We are conscious of the fact that Pakistan is an independent country and has every right to manage its affairs according to its own choice. But we should never forget that independence does not mean isolation. We, the Asiatic countries, have many ties that bind us together. Our religion and culture, our sense of values, our way of simple living and our love for peace knit us together."

Excerpt from Resolution on the U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact

"This Convention firmly believes that the peace and progress of the peoples of the two countries are interdependent and can be achieved only through mutual friendly co-operation, and that all disputes between the two countries can be settled by direct negotiations.

"The Convention sends cordial and affectionate good wishes to the people of Pakistan and assures them that the people of India will unceasingly strive towards the strengthening of the bonds of friendship and co-operation between the two countries."

IN THE MIDDLE EAST

THE LEBANON

Campaign against the H-bomb

In the Lebanon, 60 persons have issued an appeal against the H-bomb and atomic weapons. It is addressed to the Government and is couched in the following terms:

"We, the undersigned, joining the 180,000 Lebanese who have already signed the world appeal demanding the prohibition of these weapons, ask the Lebanese Government to perform its duty to the nation and to mankind by making its contribution to the efforts being made to preserve mankind from the danger of extermination. It will thereby realise the aspirations of our whole people to live in security and express their fidelity to the cause of peace and the easing of international tension."

The signatories include three Moslem dignitaries, 11 doctors of medicine, 6 businessmen, 21 professors and teachers, engineers and barristers. The appeal, which was published in three newspapers of varying outlook — *"Al Hadaf"*, *"Al Telegraph"* and *"Al Sarkha"* — was immediately signed by more than 400 persons and approved at many meetings.

*

The Syrian Press comments on the Berlin Session

The Syrian press has paid particular attention to the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin. Newspapers like *"Al Nasr"* of Damascus, *"Al Tarbia"* of Alep, and *"Al Alam"*, organ of the General Federation of Trade Unions, published information on the work of the Session, stressing the broad representation of the various countries and the importance of the discussions on international affairs.

IRAQ — Call for international solidarity

"Saut Al Ahali", organ of the National Democratic Party, has published an "Appeal from the Iraqi Defenders of Peace" from which we give the following excerpts:

The Pakistan representatives who were not able to arrive in Berlin in time to take part in the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace, May 24th—28th, have communicated to the Secretariat of the Council that, after being informed of the work of the Session, they give their wholehearted support to the resolutions.

The Pakistan delegation was composed of Mr. Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bashani, President of the Awami League of East Pakistan and a leader of the United Front; Mr. Muzaffar Ahmed, Member of Parliament and professor at the University of Dacca; Mr. Zamiruddin Ahmed, lawyer and Assistant Secretary of the United Front; Mr. Khondker Elias, Acting General Secretary of the East Bengal Peace Committee.

"A grave danger threatens our country, the danger represented by the Turkey-Pakistan Pact and the attempts being made to incorporate our country in it . . .

"A strong resistance to Iraq's participation in this aggressive pact has developed among the people and even in the Parliament. Today, throughout the country, parties, organisations, the national press and public figures are rising up in unanimous opposition . . .

"The Iraqi Defenders of Peace, like other citizens, realise that this is their battle and are therefore taking their place in the first rank of the struggle, working hand in hand with all sincere patriots to foil these dangerous designs.

"Despite their unshakeable confidence in the rightness of the cause for which they are fighting, they cannot, in present circumstances, do without the fraternal support of the defenders of peace in all the countries of the Middle East, North Africa and South-East Asia . . .

"The Iraqi defenders of peace are sure that their call will be heard and will meet with a response."

Danish National Peace Conference Appeals to Parliament

On May 29th and 30th a National Conference was held in Odense, on the island of Fyn. The call for the Conference had been launched by a Sponsoring Committee composed of 167 persons representing various pacifist groups and movements which are working for peace.

Of the 700 people who attended the conference, approximately 350 represented trade union, peasant and other organisations.

It powerfully demonstrated the determination of large sections of the Danish people to oppose the obstacles in the way of a genuine relaxation of international tension.

This determination is expressed in the resolutions adopted by the participants.

One of these resolutions, which was sent to the Danish Parliament, says:

"We want to see Denmark making a stand in the United Nations Organisation for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction under control and for the control of the use of atomic energy.

"We ask Denmark to refuse to ratify the treaties making German rearmament possible, and, as far as possible, and in co-operation with other countries, to use every occasion to replace the policy of blocs by peaceful negotiation and by free commercial and cultural exchanges between the nations."

In an Appeal, the Conference asks the Danish people **"to demand that conflicts between the nations be resolved by peaceful negotiations and not by military force . . ."** After stressing the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the peoples in spite of different ideologies and systems, the Appeal continues:

"In German rearmament, the general armaments race, and especially the new and terrible weapons of mass destruction, we see a danger to the security of Denmark. We call on the people to demand the prohibition of these weapons, the control of atomic energy and the beginning of disarmament . . ."

The Conference elected a National Commission of 40 people whose task it will be to carry out the resolutions adopted and to prepare new activities in the struggle for peace in Denmark.

Japan — June was a month of struggle against atomic weapons

On the initiative of the Japanese General Council of Trade Unions, June was made a "month of peaceful struggle against atomic weapons".

The month of May had already seen the holding of the Conference of Students for Peace, Tokyo, May 2nd-5th; the Young Women's Congress, May 9th and 10th; and mass meetings against atomic weapons in Osaka, Kyoto, Tokyo and the district of Kansai.

During June this activity has grown in breadth: June 5th, Peace Congress of the Island of Hokkaido; June 7th-9th, National Peace Congress organised by the Japanese Peace Committee, the Japanese Peace Liaison Committee, the Movement for the Defence of the Peace Constitution of Japan, the Association of Democratic Scientists and various other organisations; June 19th, a day of meetings against atomic weapons organised by the Movement for the Defence of the Peace Constitution of Japan.

Further, on June 1st, a campaign of petitions against atomic weapons was launched. The aim is to collect ten million signatures during June, July and August.

Burma — the Peace Movement prepares for its National Conference

In Burma, regional peace conferences are being held in preparation for a National Conference which will include not only representatives of the local Peace Committees but also people who have never yet taken part in the activities of the All Burma Committee of the World Peace Congress.

Conferences of this kind have already been held in the districts of Tharawaddy, Myitkyina and Tennassrin. This last, which was held in Chaungzon, was financed by the voluntary contributions of 36 villages.

On the occasion of the Pagoda Festivals, the Burmese Peace Movement organised exhibitions and petitions for an agreement between the Five Great Powers, in Pegu, Shwebo, Monywa, Sagaing, Letpadam, Sitkwin, Thonoze, Prome, and many other places.

A great demonstration was held to celebrate the birthday of Mr. Thakin Kodaw Hmaing, the President of the All Burma Committee. In addition to the leaders of the Peace Movement, it was attended by the religious heads of all the monasteries of Rangoon and by many intellectuals, journalists, businessmen and so on.

National Campaign in United States against H-bomb and War in Indo-China

The Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade called for the greatest possible outpouring of expression in every form from the American people demanding an end of H-bomb tests, a world ban on such weapons and a halt of US involvement in Indo-China. Widespread support of the Geneva Conference was urged to win a cease-fire in Indo-China and peace in Asia . . .

The American Peace Crusade has encouraged the widest public discussion, through forums, debates or meetings, of the peace issues facing the American people . . .

In Washington, 5,000 leaflets against US involvement in Indo-China and for a cease-fire there have been distributed.

In New York, thousands of leaflets on the H-bomb and Indo-China are being distributed; postcards to the President on the H-bomb are being signed.

The American Vets for Peace have handed out leaflets at Herald Square and picketed with posters reading "*Ban the Hell Bomb*" and "*No more Koreas*".

In Atlanta, the Peace Council has distributed 2,000 leaflets on the H-bomb, has sent press releases to the local papers, has taken 500 copies of the Peace Ballot, as well as postcards calling for the banning of the H-bomb.

Letters sent to Senators George and Russell of Georgia brought acknowledgements expressing opposition to sending US troops to Indo-China.

In Los Angeles, a series of factual bulletins are being issued and sent to churches, trade unions and peace organisations by the Southern California Peace Crusade.

In San Francisco, thousands of leaflets on the H-bomb and on Indo-China have been issued by the Northern California Peace Council. They are also distributing 5,000 H-bomb postcards to the President, and arranging appointments with their Congressmen.

In Baltimore, 4,000 leaflets on "*Trade Means Peace and Jobs*" have been distributed at shop gates by the Baltimore Peace Council.

3,500 leaflets on the H-bomb and Indo-China distributed door-to-door in a steel and longshoremen residential area are being followed up by canvassing with postcards on the same subject.

In Chicago, the Illinois Assembly of the American Peace Crusade held a meeting on April 3rd, attended by 500, on trade with China and for peace in Asia. Leaflets on "*No Troops to Indo-China*" are being distributed.

In New Jersey, a petition addressed to President Eisenhower asking for support of every move to settle the Indo-China war by negotiations and the removal of all US armed forces from Indo-China, is being circulated throughout the state.

In Louisville, the Peace Crusade distributed leaflets at factory gates dealing with Indo-China and the Geneva Conference.

In Philadelphia, the Philadelphia Women for Peace held a Mother's Day meeting on May 8th on Indo-China and the H-bomb. Mr. Louis Wheaton, recently returned from a 10 month's stay in China, was the principal speaker.

Peoples condemn aggression against Guatemala

A new theatre of war, which threatens the peace of an entire region of the world and the independence of several countries, has broken out in Latin America; armed forces have invaded Guate- to overthrow the legitimate government of the country. For more than eight months, the Guatemalan Government had been informing world opinion of the act of aggression being plotted against it.

Preparations for Aggression

On May 25th last, according to Reuter's, United Press and Associated Press, the American State Departement announced that in accordance with the Nicaragua-Honduras-United States mutual assistance pact, they would speed up the shipment of weapons to Nicaragua and Honduras.

At the Congress of the Rotary Club on June 10th, in Seattle, Mr. Foster Dulles stated that the United States Government were of necessity interested" *in the overthrow of the regime in Guatemala*".

At the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin (May 24th—28th) the Guatemalan delegate, M. Virgilio Guerra, stated:

"*The governments of Honduras and Nicaragua are, in the main, those who are mounting the most provocations against Guatemala . . . From this platform, the platform of ordinary people the world over, we are working for the well-being and happiness of mankind; we denounce the North American imperialists' use of force against Guatemala.*"

The day after the invasion of Guatemalan territory, "*Le Monde*" wrote:

"*It appears that, the attempt at an internal uprising having failed, the men and States interested in the liquidation of the progressive government in Guatemala have decided to take extreme measures . . .*"

"'The emigrés' *have the backing of foreign weapons, troops and money.*"

The British newspapers, "*The Observer*" (June 20th) and the "*Manchester Guardian*" (June 21st) voiced very similar opinions.

The Movement of Solidarity in Latin America

The movement of solidarity with the people of Guatemala took shape when the danger of foreign intervention first began. In December, 1953, in Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, etc. . . . "Societies of Friends of Guatemala" were formed.

It is impossible to mention the thousands of leading figures and the hundreds of organisations in Latin America which have taken part in this movement.

We give the names of only a few of them.

General Cardenas, former President of Mexico and Senator Pedro de Alba, former leader of the Pan American Union, gave resounding support to the "Society of Friends of Guatemala". In Cuba, four former ministers are members of the Society. During the Caracas Conference, many Colombian intellectuals who are renowned throughout America were among 72 leading figures who signed a message of solidarity to the Guatemalan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sr. Toriello.

In Chile, 68 MPs sent a similar message to the Guatemalan delegation and a "Committee of Friends of Guatemala" was set up in the Chamber of Deputies.

In Ecuador, the House of Culture, the Federation of Students and the Confederation of Workers took part in setting up "Committees of Friends of Guatemala" which operate in Quito and Guayaquil.

The Aggression is condemned

The news of the act of aggression has only increased the movement of solidarity. Among the first news received from Latin America, we may mention the motions of the Uruguayan House of Representatives and the Chilean Parliament condemning the aggression; the 24 hour strike of the Students of Montevideo to express their solidarity with the Guatemalan people; and the forming of the "Association for the Defence of Guatemala" in Montevideo.

The Argentine Radical Party has declared its solidarity with Guatemala; in Quito, the students opened a recruiting centre for volunteers for Guatemala; the Confederation of Latin American Workers, through its President, called on all the peoples of the continent to support the Guatemalan government.

Foreign interference in Guatemala's internal affairs is on the agenda of the conference of Latin American MPs which will be held from 1st to 4th July in Santiago de Chile, on the initiative of Chilean M.P.s.

*

We should also mention that among the first messages or acts of solidarity reported, were those of the World Federation of Trade Unions, the French CGT (TUC), the Viennese workers and the Austrian Peace Council.

"No! to atomic war"

This poster, designed by the artist Hans Erni, has just been published by the Swiss Peace Movement and several thousand copies of it have been posted up in Swiss towns. A postcard size reproduction of it has been widely distributed throughout the country, and the money collected goes towards financing the poster campaign.

From Douala to Johannesburg

THE PEOPLES OF AFRICA IN THE WORLD STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Action in the Cameroons for the banning of the H bomb and the ending of the war in Indo-China.

In 1950, when the Cameroons Peace Committee had only been newly set up, a campaign was organised during which 50,000 signatures were collected for the Stockholm Appeal. Since the murderous H-bomb experiments in the Pacific, a new, wider campaign of protest has grown up.

Meetings have been held by the Peace Committee, the trade unions, the Women's Democratic Movement and the National Movement, during which resolutions condemning these monstrous weapons were adopted.

Right from the beginning, the Indo-Chinese war has been condemned by public opinion in the country. The Cameroons Peace Committee has given new force to this campaign in recent months by the publication of pamphlets and numerous articles in the local press.

The Government has attempted to open a subscription for service-men in Indo-China. The appeal lauched by the Committee against this subscription has had such an effect that the Government's pressure did not even succeed in making State officials subscribe.

A view of the hall during the meeting in Douala on April 20th

Great Meeting in Douala

On April 20th last, a public meeting was held in Douala. A number of speakers addressed the audience, among whom were: Mr. Kingue Abel, Vice-President of the Union of the Peoples of the Cameroons; Jacques N'Gom, General Secretary of the Federation of Trade Unions and member of the World Council of Peace.

At the end of the meeting, resolutions condemning EDC, A and H bombs and other weapons of mass destruction were adopted. A further resolution was adopted for the relaxation of international tension; the ending of the war in Viet-Nam, and lasting peace in Korea. Resolutions on these same questions were adopted at the May 1st demonstrations.

South African Peace Council stimulates national campaign for the use of uranium for peaceful purposes

Enlighten the people

30,000 leaflets entitled "We want to live" were distributed at street corners, from house to house, at bus stops, at meetings and from tables placed in the streets. Large numbers were distributed by branches of the Peace Council and also by branches of the South African Indian Congress, the African National Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

Over 4,000 letters which included the Dean of Canterbury's speech, World Church Leaders' Easter Messages, Professor Bleksley's Press Statement and the Peace Council's leaflet, were sent out to scientific, political and religious organisations and to numerous personalities from all walks of life.

Telegrams were sent to a number of Labour and United Party M. P.s and at least two of them raised the question of a meeting of the Great Powers to ban the bomb, in a debate on foreign affairs.

Meetings and Conferences

Two large public meetings were held in Durban on the question of weapons of mass destruction. The Transvaal Peace Council organised a symposium which was addressed by Professor Bleksley, Professor Gilmar and Ruth First. Well-attended meetings were also held in Alexandra Township.

Resolutions for the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons were passed by the Students' Representative Council of the University of Witwatersrand, the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats, a Conference of the Transvaal Festival Youth Workers, branches of the African National Congress, various Trade Union branches, and the National Conference of Women which was recently held in Johannesburg.

A folder . . .

A folder has been published putting forward questions which the public are invited to answer. It says:

"War has been moving towards us for the past few years. Steadily, but increasingly, South Africa is being drawn into the heart of a possible new world war.

"There is war in Africa today . . . destroying human life, human values, homes and families . . . What we know of war, and what we have learned about Kenya, shows us that.

"Nearer still, in our own country, on our own doorsteps, as it were, is the mining of uranium for the making of atom bombs. The centre of our industry and our most populous area — Witwatersrand — has become, through its production of uranium, a direct target for bomb attacks on a mass scale . . .

"It is not enough for us to hate war, and to recognise its evils. We must also act together against war . . . There is no problem that cannot be settled by negotiation."

. . . and a programme

The South African Peace Council calls on all peace-loving South Africans to support these policies:

1. *Negotiations between the Big Powers to settle their disputes peacefully.*
2. *The inclusion of China as essential in establishing lasting world peace.*
3. *A Pact of Peace between the Big Five Powers.*
4. *An end now to the destructive colonial wars in Malaya, Viet-Nam and Kenya.*
5. *No incorporation of new territories into South Africa against the wish of the inhabitants.*
6. *The production of uranium for atomic power for peaceful purposes.*
7. *Friendship between the peoples of different countries.*

It continues:

"If you are in favour of this programme, put a cross opposite each of the points and send this form to your Peace Committee."

The Popular Referendum in Germany

From different parts of the Federal Republic information is being received on the progress of the referendum on the question: "A Peace Treaty or EDC."

Here are a few of the results:

In the factories and mines

Out of 820 workers asked in the Scholven factory in Gelsenkirchen 710 voted for a peace treaty. Out of 630 miners in the "Kaiserstuhl II" mine in Dortmund, 599 voted for a peace treaty, 24 for EDC and 7 did not vote. At the "Karolinenglück" mine in Bochum 637 miners out of 731 are for the peace treaty, and so on.

In the towns and villages

Out of 125 people who voted in the Streekermoor commune in Oldenburg, 101 stated their preference for a peace treaty. At Bordesholm in Schleswig-Holstein, 69 out of 72 inhabitants expressed their opposition to EDC.

At Herringen by Hamm, 1876 inhabitants out of the 2535 who voted wanted a peace treaty, 70 wanted EDC and 589 abstained.

At a protest meeting in the neighbourhood of the US training ground, "Wildflecken", the peasants of the villages of Rathenbach, Retnersbach, Alsfeld and Burg Sinn condemned EDC and demanded the withdrawal of the occupation troops.

In the German Democratic Republic a great patriotic campaign is developing in the course of the preparations for the referendum which will be held throughout the Republic on June 27th—29th, following on a decision of the People's Parliament.

During the great Meeting of Young Germans which took place at Berlin at the beginning of June, 700,000 young people, including 25,000 from the Federal Republic, demonstrated the strong opposition of all young Germans to EDC and their determination to struggle for a united and peaceful Germany.

Against atomic weapons

In the Federal Republic a growing number of people are speaking out in condemnation of atomic weapons. Professor Otto Hahn, Nobel Peace Prize-Winner, has recently called on the statesmen to reach agreement in order to avert catastrophe.

Dr. Nikolaus Ehlen, the sociologist, of Velbert, associated himself with a statement condemning atomic weapons.

Rector Lindenberger of Aschaffenburg has issued a petition which has already been signed by 13 other professors.

In a statement signed by Bishop Dibelius and Bishop Lillje, the Council of the Evangelical Church of Germany asks the leaders of all Christian Churches to exert sufficient pressure on the Governments to make them reach agreement.

An appeal issued by the Catholic writer, Frau Christa Thomas, has won the support of many people from Catholic circles.

Many municipal councils are also condemning the H-bomb and weapons of mass destruction. They include the Municipal Council of Bad Kreuznach and the District Council of Diebürg.

At a women's trade union conference in Kassel, 77 delegates from the Paperworkers' Union, the Chemical Workers' Union and the Union of Ceramics Workers, who came from all over the Federal Republic, adopted a resolution condemning the manufacture of atomic weapons and atomic experiments.

At its last provincial congress, the Hamburg district of the Social Democratic Party demanded the international control of atomic energy and the prohibition of its use in wartime.

FRENCHMEN

As we reported in our last number, the 10.000 delegates from every province in France who met in Paris on June 12th and 13th decided to make July 12th a national day of struggle for peace.

We give below supplementary information on the Demonstration of June 12th and 13th and on the preparations to make July 12th a great national day of civic action for independence and peace, as indicated in the Recommendation, the full text of which is given opposite.

"The destiny of France is in the hands of its people"

In his opening speech, M. D'Astier de la Vigerie made a strong appeal for the unity of all Frenchmen:

"The destiny of France", he said, "is in the hands of its people. To the extent the people, eager for peace, unite, whether they are on the extreme Right or the extreme Left, will the great drama that is dogging our footsteps in these first days of the summer, the drama of a world war breaking out in Asia, be averted."

Responding to M. D'Astier de la Vigerie's exhortation, all the speakers expressed the determination of those who had sent them as delegates to stand ever more firmly together in the struggle for the peace and independence of their country.

The speech of M. Casanova, in particular, met with unanimous applause. He concluded by saying:

"We shall have to clear out the splitters, those who whisper to the Communists: 'So you are playing into the hands of the fascists', while at the same time they shout to the others: 'So you are playing the Communist game.'

"To that we must answer, and answer together: 'We are playing the game of peace and of France, and that is all'."

A Call from the National Peasant Committee

On June 17th, the Secretary of the National Peasant Committee made public the following statement:

"The Secretariat of the National Peasant Committee for the Preservation of Peace and Agriculture is happy that, in spite of the fact that this is the season of hardest work for peasants, many peasant delegates took part in the National Demonstration for Peace, held in the Vélodrome d'Hiver in Paris on June 12th and 13th on the initiative of the Peace Movement. They attended together with thousands of delegates from other professions in response to the call made by the National Peasant Committee.

"The Secretariat of the National Committee was itself associated with this demonstration; in his speech, M. Jacques Bourdelle, its General Secretary, explained the reasons why the peasants are playing an active role in work for peace...

"The Secretariat of the National Peasant Committee invites all Departmental and Local Peasant Committees, and all friends of our movement, to take part in the national day on July 11th by informing municipal and county councillors, members of Parliament and the authorities of the peasants' determination to win national independence and peace and their desire to see this determination reflected in the actions of the Government.

"In this way, together with all Frenchmen, they will make July 11th a great national day for peace."

A Message from Catholic Priests

The many messages received by the National Demonstration for Independence and Peace included one from 16 Catholic priests from Marseilles. They wrote:

"As Christians, desirous of doing Christian work, we cannot look on the events of recent months without anguish."

After expressing their hope **"that peace in Indo-China will be achieved through direct negotiations between the real combattants"**, they say:

"We believe that it is useful for Christians to proclaim that the time has come to put an end to the armaments race and to bring in a great and humane policy of peace between the peoples."

*

Messages were also received from many organisations, municipal councils, Members of Parliament and Senators, barristers, pastors, teachers, writers, artists and many public figures, including M. Pierre Cot, M. Claude Bourdet, director of the newspaper "*L'Observateur*", M. J. M. Domenach, Editor of the review "*Esprit*", and so on.

UNITE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

Recommendations . . .

All parts of France and all points of view

The 10,000 delegates, who represented all parts of France and all points of view, included **Mme Irene Joliot-Curie,** Nobel Prize for Physics; **Mme Bigard,** whose 23-year-old son fell at Dien Bien Phu; **Mme Yvonne Dumont,** from the Bureau of the Union of French Women; **Mme Battle,** Secretary of Pax Christi for the Eastern Pyrenees Department, and so on.

M. Jacques Chaumel, former MRP senator; **M. Guental,** from the Central Committee of the League of Human Rights; **M. Degueldre,** former MRP President for the Sambre Basin; **M. Laporte,** President of the Fruit Growers of the Upper Garonne; **M. Cotta,** former Socialist Mayor of Nice; **Professor Sadron,** professor at the University of Strasbourg; **M. Coulon,** Socialist Town Councillor of Bagnolet; **M. Pichon,** RPF Town Councillor of Versailles.

Admiral Moullec; Colonel Planet of the URAS, Town Councillor of Venissieux; **Commander Diener-Ancel** of Strasbourg; **Father Houlette** of Marseilles; **M. Bard** of Fives, and **M. Tachon** of Clermont-Ferrand, both Christian trade unionists; **M. Lazarelli** of Chambéry, a "Force Ouvrière" trade unionist.

M. Grumaud, Town Councillor from Aix-les-Bains, belonging to the UDSR; **M. Meyer,** Secretary of the General Confederation of Agriculture of the Upper Garonne Department.

*

The President of the MRP (Popular Republican Movement) is M. Bidault, that of the RPF (Rally of the French People) General De Gaulle. The URAS (Union for the Republic and for Social Action) is a group of Members of Parliament who were formerly members of the RPF. The UDSR (Democratic and Social Union of the Resistance) is a centre group composed of Centre and Right Wing elements.

. . . to make Sunday, July 11th, a great day of civic action for Independence and Peace

"We call on all Frenchmen to unite and make Sunday, July 11th, a great Day of Civic Action for Independence and Peace. We ask them to go the Town Halls, since the Town Councils, which represent the people, have the power to inform the authorities of the voters' wishes.

"So that this day may therefore be the authentic expression of the country's desire for peace, we suggest that all Frenchmen who have France's future at heart and who are determined to work for peace should:

1. Organise, in the coming days, many meetings, petitions and deputations, so that, between now and July 11th, further united actions may be added to those that have already taken place;

2. Set up broad Departmental and Local Committees to sponsor the activity on July 11th. They should be composed of people of every opinion and from all walks of life and who are known and respected in their Department and locality. They should show initiative and take the particular circumstances of their Department or locality into consideration;

3. These people will call on their fellow citizens to set up deputations of workers, peasants, tradesmen, ex-servicemen, women, young people and all other social classes and professions. The deputations will go to the Town Halls on the morning of July 11th to communicate the desires of the people to the Municipal Council;

4. The Sponsoring Committees will ask the Mayors to give the deputations a favourable welcome and transmit their wishes and petitions to the Prefect and all Members of Parliament in their respective Departments. They will call on the people to attend public report-back meetings by the deputations which could be organised for the same day.

"In this way, the Day of Civic Action for Independence and Peace will, in every commune in France, be a powerful demonstration of the French people's will for peace. It will have a great influence on the nation's destiny."

. . . to end the war in Indo-China

"The National Demonstration, being resolutely opposed to the continuation of the war in Indo-China, notes with satisfaction the resignation of the Laniel Government, voted out by the National Assembly. It is a great victory for public opinion, whose increasing pressure and vigilance put the Members of Parliament on their guard against the threat to peace involved in the attitude of France's representatives at Geneva . . .

"Recognition, by the French Government, of the independence of the peoples of Indo-China and respect for their right to self-determination would make possible the establishment of a genuine and lasting peace. This, in turn, would make possible the maintenance of friendly political, economic and cultural relations between these countries and France.

"At a time when vital negotiations are under way and when the security of the Expeditionary Corps is gravely threatened, it is necessary that all Frenchmen — whose resolute action has already been reflected in the Parliamentary vote — should further intensify this action and help to impose peace through their unity."

. . . to ban atomic weapons

"The members of the Commission note that the manufacture of thermonuclear devices a thousand times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb brings within the realm of possibility the destruction of all life on earth.

"They note that the recent tests in the Pacific made hundreds of victims in peacetime, and that thousands of miles away from the explosion. The spectacular way in which they were organised partakes of the political blackmail which is in danger of dragging the world into a general atomic war . . .

"They recall the vital role of public opinion, as expressed in the Stockholm Appeal, in preventing the use of atomic weapons during recent conflicts.

"They ask that a great effort be made to inform the country through booklets, articles, exhibitions, meetings, films and so on, so that people may know the choice that is offered to mankind between mass destruction and the immense possibilities of science in peacetime. All specialists, and particularly all scientists, should be called upon to take part in this effort; they must be made to feel their collective moral responsibility . . .

"It is therefore, in the first place, the duty of the people to exert immediate and ceaseless pressure on all elected representatives and in all circles in order to get the French Government to put forward or support all proposals for the immediate conclusion of an international agreement containing a solemn pledge not to use atomic or thermonuclear weapons and to put an end to experiments with these weapons."

. . . to reject EDC

"The treaty setting up the European Defence Community, signed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs two years ago, was to be ratified within six months. The National Assembly has not yet discussed it. Only the Foreign Affairs Commission has discussed it . . . and rejected it.

"This important fact is the result of the great wave of national protest to which the Peace Movement has made a big contribution and which has given rise to demonstrations of exceptional breadth . . .

"The promoters of EDC have much to say of their desire to build Europe, whereas EDC truncates it by reducing it to six countries.

"They claim to be the champions of Franco-German reconciliation. In fact, EDC would place our two peoples in a state of permanent conflict . . .

"Though they are incapable of convincing the French people, the promoters of EDC have not, however, given up trying to force a rapid decision of the French Parliament through pressure and intrigues . . .

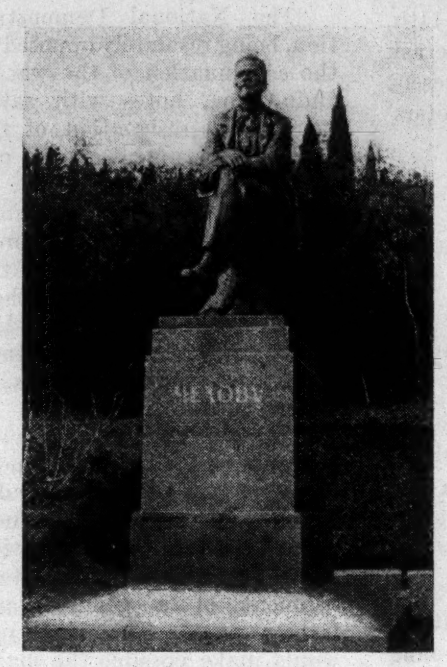
"The close unity of all Frenchmen is indispensable if we are to obtain the final rejection of this fatal treaty. We hail the unprecedently powerful actions that have already taken place, uniting the most diverse circles in a common protest . . .

"Detailed study of the question — as witness the university meetings, the meetings of lawyers, engineers, doctors, civil servants . . . workers' and peasants' conferences, and so on — should continue among all sections of the population . . .

"More and more numerous, more representative and better informed deputations should visit the Members of Parliament, support those who have already condemned EDC, and convince those who are still hesitating. Every Member of Parliament must be made to squarely face his heavy responsibility.

"It is the action of ALL that will obtain the final rejection of EDC, bring about the resumption of the Berlin negotiations and open the road to peace and security for France."

The humanism of CHEKHOV



The monument to Anton Chekhov in Yalta

The short story and the drama of the 20th century have been strongly influenced by Chekhov. This influence is not only to be explained by his great mastery as a writer, but also because his books always extol the noblest and most effective humanism.

Chekhov said that man must create and not destroy, that his vocation is to perfect life and not to degrade or disorganise it. These truths find a response in the hearts of ordinary people and progressive men of culture and the arts. In this century of struggle for justice and peace, the voice of writers is weighed on the scales of history. Chekhov's voice calls the forces of light on to victory. Although profoundly romantic, his humanism was never diffuse or vague. Chekhov knew perfectly well what should be despised and hated. He loved man's aspirations for liberty and peace; he had faith in work which brings joy and the greatest satisfaction; he abhorred all that was slavery and bondage and scorned men with tormented consciences who trample down human dignity. That is why many monologues and retorts of Chekhov's characters ring out clearly today, and his passionate dream of a better life has lost nothing of its stirring force.

Chekhov's plays have been performed by great artists. Bernard Shaw said his drama, "Heartbreak House", was written under the direct influence of Chekhov's works. The works of the American short story writer, Sherwood Anderson, also underwent the influence of Chekhov. The evidence of Kuo Mo-jo, writer, scientist and peace fighter, is significant: "Chekhov's influence on modern literature and art in China is really immense... Chekhov could be compared with our greatest writer, Lju Hsun." They both "implacably denounce the falsity, the rottenness and the ignominy of the reality which surrounds them", and "dream of the radiant future of human society."

Great Anniversaries

United States

The American Peace Crusade organised a public meeting in New York on June 24th, to commemorate the anniversaries of Aristophanes, Fielding, Dvorak and Chekhov.

American artists, musicians, actors and singers co-operated in a musical and theatrical programme composed of works by these great cultural figures. Paul Robeson sang songs by Dvorak, and some of the composer's piano pieces were played. A new adaptation of Aristophanes' play, "Peace", was presented for the first time in the United States. Excerpts from the theatrical works of Fielding and Chekhov were also performed.

★

In Brazil

The Ministry of Education radio broadcast a Dvorak concert conducted by Sr. Arnaldo Estrela, pianist and member of the World Council of Peace.

Articles on the lives of Fielding and Chekhov and studies on "Antonin Dvorak and the struggle for Peace" appeared in the leading newspapers of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

Great Britain

Following on the success of the evening in commemoration of Fielding held in London, various cultural and dramatic associations are, in turn, organising readings of Fielding, Aristophanes and Chekhov.

In order to popularise the work of Chekhov and confer more éclat on the commemoration of his anniversary, an exchange of visits, lectures and performances is planned between British and Soviet specialists on Chekhov.

Similarly, the British-Czechoslovak Friendship Association is drawing up a programme of musical events to pay homage to the memory of Antonin Dvorak. Already, the BBC has broadcast an interesting talk on various aspects of Dvorak's work and a number of concerts devoted to his compositions.

China

The anniversary of Antonin Dvorak's death was solemnly commemorated at a meeting in Peking on May 24th, with Mr. Ting Hsi-lin, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, in the chair. The meeting was attended by representatives of Chinese Peace Committees, many persons from cultural and artistic circles, and delegates from Czechoslovakia and other countries.

A number of speakers paid homage to Dvorak's musical genius, to his love for his country, for his people and for peace. After the ceremony, a Dvorak concert was given by the Orchestra of the Central Troupe of Music and Dancing.

Other Dvorak concerts have been given in various big Chinese cities; Chinese reviews and newspapers are publishing articles on the composer; and a Dvorak exhibition has been going on in the Peking Library since May 25th. During June, a lecture on his life and work, illustrated by records, was given in Peking.

Cuba

For Chekhov's anniversary the Cuba Peace Review is publishing one of Chekhov's short stories, "The Ladies", and a famous article on him by Maxim Gorki.

Czechoslovakia

The commemoration of the anniversary of the great national composer, Antonin Dvorak, is being made the occasion for various activities, such as the reconstruction of the Dvorak Museum in Prague, the restoration of the castles and houses in which Dvorak lived and which have been transformed into State Museums, and the building of a monument to the great composer. In addition, the 60th anniversary of the European première of Dvorak's "New World Symphony" will be celebrated in Karlovy Vary.

*

● The "Comédie de l'Est", a French theatrical group which is taking part in the International Festival of Dramatic Art, presented one of Anton Chekhov's plays, "The Seagull", in the Théatre Hébertot.

*

● An adaptation by Rudolf Bach of Aristophanes' comedy, "Lysistrata", is now being performed at the People's Theatre in Vienna.

In Iran, the thousandth anniversary of Avicenna is still being marked by various events. For example, the Iranian Government held a congress on Avicenna, in collaboration with the "Association for Historic National Works". The cultural representatives of 45 countries took part. In his lecture on the theme: "The Commemoration of Avicenna in Europe", Mr. Said Naficy, Member of the World Council of Peace, stressed the great interest shown in this anniversary in all countries and the wide activity to which it has given rise. Proof of this was to be found in an exhibition of Iranian and foreign journals containing articles on Avicenna.

In addition, the Iranian Peace Council's Cultural Commission is distributing a book by Mr. Mohamed Shaverdi entitled "The Philosophy of Avicenna."

Cultural Exchanges

Exhibitions

An exhibition of the works of Picasso has been opened in Paris, at the Maison de la Pensée Francaise. It comprises fifty paintings, a large number of which have been loaned for the occasion by the Moscow and Leningrad museums. The canvases, which date from the first years of the 20th century to 1914, allow the viewer to study the origins and stages of the evolution of Picasso's art — the constant study and research of a vast and ever renewed work.

*

The Prague National Gallery is at present holding an exhibition of French plastic art of the 19th and 20th centuries: paintings by Delacroix and Daumier; landscapes by Corot; works by Cezanne and Gauguin, sculptures by Rodin, etc....

*

A large number of European and American museums will participate in a great exhibition of Courbet's works, organised as part of the forthcoming Venice Biennial Festival, by lending canvases of the great French realist painter.

*

The 12th Salon Populiste which is at present being held in Paris is arousing great interest by the presence of the works of thirty-two Hungarian painters, along with two hundred French paintings. The former include portraits, genre paintings, landscapes, still life paintings, frescoes and decorative mosaics.

*

After the presentation of French tapestries in Warsaw, an exhibition of Polish graphic art in Paris offers a selection of posters, as well as illustrated books for children and various productions of Polish popular art.

The Sciences

A delegation from the USSR Academy of Sciences has gone to Paris on the invitation of the Congress of the French Association for the Study of Physics and Chemistry.

*

The Director of the Paris Observatory, M. André Danjon, attended the ceremony of inauguration of the Leningrad Observatory which has been rebuilt on the site of the former one, destroyed during the last war. On his return to Paris, M. Danjon stressed the cordial welcome given to foreign scientists by the Soviet astronomers.

*

An International Congress of Psychologists was recently held in Montreal. On their return from Canada, the seven Soviet scientists who took part in the Congress will stop in Paris where they will give a series of lectures.

Chess

The Soviet chess players, Smyslov, Petrosian, Keres, Taimanov and Kevitz, who are on a visit to the United States, played against an American team composed of Reshevsky, Byrne, Auerbach, Bisguier and Evans.

Theatre

An International Festival of Dramatic Art, organised by the city of Paris, is being held there from June 10th to 25th. Foreign participation in the Festival is very strong: besides the French Theatre Companies, which include provincial, amateur and university troupes, there are many troupes from various countries. They include the Gino Cervi Company (Italy), the Det Nye Theater (Norway), the Copenhagen Ny Theatre (Denmark), the Berlin Ensemble (Democratic Republic of Germany), the Theatre Royal du Parc (Belgium), the Warsaw Polski Theatre (Poland), the Stuttgart Staatstheater (West Germany), the Henry Sherek Company (Great Britain), the Habimah Theatre (Israel).

*

The Prague Theatre has performed plays by Czechoslovak authors in Vienna.

50th Anniversary of Pablo Neruda

On July 12th, the Chilean poet, Pablo Neruda, International Peace Prize-winner, the greatest living poet in the Spanish language, will be 50 years of age. To commemorate this anniversary, which coincides with one of the most fruitful periods of Neruda's poetic creation, his friends from Chile and other Latin American countries are organising a cultural meeting of an international character from July 11th to 18th, in Santiago de Chile.

The works of Neruda have been translated into dozens of foreign languages, so that admirers of the poet are to be found in all parts of the world. A great number of European and Asian countries, not to mention the Americas, will be represented by their writers at the meeting, during which there will be lectures by foreign visitors, recitals, concerts, popular fetes, literary discussions, theatrical performances, etc.

Music

The International Festival of Music in Strasburg, which took place from June 11th to 20th, gave much time in its programme to Spanish, Italian, French and English music. The first international audition of the 10th Symphony of Shostakovich was also to be given, with the composer present. This musical event did not take place. Dmitri Shostakovich had to give up the idea of attending the Festival since he could not get an official guarantee that the precedent of cancelling the Soviet ballet in Paris last month would not be repeated.

Many musicians and conductors, including Gustav Wolf, Vlado Perlemuter and Roland Manuel, expressed their regret and disappointment at the absence of Shostakovich and the conductor, Mravinski, from the Strasburg Festival. On the failure to give the guarantee in question, M. Louis Martin, conductor of the Strasburg Radio Orchestra, commented: It is heart-breaking to see musicians deprived of great works for reasons which form no part of the spiritual climate which alone can lead to a better understanding between the peoples. Strasburg was looking forward to welcoming Shostakovich. His coming would have avoused the same enthusiasm as that which met Gillels some weeks ago. In the name of music, we are all very distressed."

*

On leaving London, where they were a great success, the 47 young dancers and musicians of the Moscow "Beriozka" Company continued their tour of Europe by a stay in Brussels. The enthusiasm aroused by their performances, given in the presence of the most distinguished official figures in Belgium, was such that the artists had to put on extra performances.

*

Opening the season of the Brazilian Concert Association, the Polish pianist, Halina Czerny Stefanska, gave a Chopin recital at the Rio de Janeiro Municipal Theatre.

*

A group of British musicians are going to the Soviet Union to give a series of concerts.

*

In Paris from May 15 to 23rd, the company and musicians of the East Berlin Opera gave two concerts and a series of lyrical and musical performances in particular, Mozart's "Don Juan" and "Cosi fan Tutte". They had a great success.

*

Representatives of 400 PEN Clubs met at their International Congress in Amsterdam. These writers' associations exist in a great many countries. Opening this annual Congress, the British novelist, Charles Morgan, who was presiding, declared that the first duty of writers today was to work for Peace.

Around the World

Sweden

On May 23rd, on the Götaplatsen in Gothenburg, 20,000 people took part in the Nordic Demonstration for Peace organised by the Workers' Commune, the local branch of the Social Democratic Party and the Trades Council. The slogans were: "Co-operation between all peoples and all races"; and "For international control of the atomic and hydrogen bombs".

After the opening speech made by a local speaker, the Prime Ministers of Norway, Sweden and Denmark and the President of the Finnish Parliament spoke.

Indonesia

After its session in Djakarta on June 20th, the Indonesian Peace Committee stated:

"Today more than ever, when the forces of aggression are threatening the integrity of the Republic and want to use its territory for their criminal designs against the peoples of Asia, the people of Indonesia must strengthen their unity."

In the statement, the Indonesian Peace Committee expresses its agreement with the proposals for the establishment of peace in Asia made at the Geneva Conference by the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

It particularly stresses the danger of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs. It demands the immediate banning of these weapons and that atomic tests be stopped.

Pakistan

At its meeting on June 10th in Lahore, the Central Council of the Jamiat Islami Party condemned the military agreement with the United States which prejudices the national and cultural independence of Pakistan.

U.S.S.R.

Mr. Alexander Karev, General Secretary of the Union of Baptists of the Soviet Union, has just published in the Soviet Review "News", an article entitled "The Christian Conscience and the H-Bomb". Emphasising the importance of a stand for peace on the part of Christians — of whom there are 600 million in the world — Mr. Karev states:

"Atomic and hydrogen weapons are incompatible with the ideas of Christianity and . . . no one who approves those infernal weapons can consider himself a true Christian."

*

A Congress of dignitaries and representatives of the Moslems inhabiting the European part of the Soviet Union and Siberia has been held in Ufa.

The many guests included the religious chief of the Moslems of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, the Mufti Ishan Babakhan. Those present at the Congress issued an appeal to all Moslems in the world, irrespective of social and political differences, asking them to intensify their activity for peace.

Australia

An "Assembly of Peace and Goodwill", organised by religious circles, will be held in Melbourne from July to September. The Czechoslovak theologian, Dr. Joseph Hromadka, and the leading British Quaker, Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, have been invited to take part.

Switzerland

At its meeting in Geneva, the Executive Committee of the World Federation of United Nations Associations adopted a resolution demanding the reduction of all conventional armed forces, the banning of the use and production of atomic and hydrogen bombs, bacteriological weapons and other means of mass destruction, and the adoption of an effective system of international control and inspection.

"*The resources freed by disarmament*", the resolution points out, "*must be used for peaceful development in the economic, social and cultural fields*".

The Executive Committee also demanded the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Organisation and that the peoples of Asia should enjoy the right of self-determination.

Egypt

A Manifesto of the National Peace Committee calls on the Egyptian people to support the decisions of the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace. It states:

"The Egyptian people, like other peoples, want the world to enjoy peace and prosperity, and they know that, if a Third World War broke out, Egypt would be the scene of the most ferocious battles. That means not only destruction, death and famine, but continued exploitation and oppression . . ."

*

According to the Lebanese Press, the Egyptian Radio and the Cairo daily, "Al Jumhuriya", have announced that the Egyptian Government have refused to authorise aeroplanes transporting war material and munitions for the French Expeditionary Corps in Indo-China to fly over the territory of Egypt.

Luxembourg

On May 16th, the General Assembly of the "Awakening of the Resistance" adopted a resolution protesting against the ratification of EDC and the modification of the Constitution by the Luxembourg Parliament. The resolution states that these two decisions are "a voluntary renunciation of national independence in favour of a foreign supranational body."

Germany

The Trade Union Conference of all the countries of Europe has just taken place. It was attended by more than 500 delegates from workers' organisations of all tendencies. There was one point on the agenda: the role and tasks of the trade unions in the establishment of peaceful relations between all the countries of Europe and of real guarantees of security, and in the improvement of the standard of living of the working people.

The report on this point was presented by M. Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

*

Also in Berlin, workers' representatives from France, the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic met at a conference held just before the Trade Union Conference of all the countries of Europe. It gave further proof of the determination of French and German workers to work together for the defeat of EDC.

Israel

On April 26th in Tel Aviv, the National Rally of the Peace Committees of Israel launched a "Popular Referendum for the Preservation of Peace". By June 13th, 52,227 favourable votes had been collected. The signatories are asked to condemn the remilitarisation of West Germany, Israel's entry into regional military pacts, and to demand the peaceful settlement of the disputes between Israel and the Arab countries.

The National Rally also sent to the Geneva Conference a manifesto expressing the hopes of the people of Israel.

A MESSAGE

The workers of the district of Niari, in the Middle Congo, met on May 1st in the town of Dolisia. After passing resolutions on their immediate demands, they adopted a message to the World Council of Peace which the Secretariat of the World Council has received together with many others.

The Niari workers "warmly congratulate the World Council of Peace on the great successes obtained in the fight for peace". They "salute the firmness of the great scientist, Joliot-Curie, who, in spite of pressure, has refused to put his knowledge at the service of those who live on the poverty of others and destroy thousands of human lives".

The message ends with these confident words:

"We want the World Council of Peace to know that the workers of Dolisia will remain firmly attached to the cause of peace."

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

[Paul Robeson, p-11]

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

N° 14 JULY 1954

Consistent Activity of the Peace Movement

At present the National Peace Movements are conducting campaigns for definite aims, following the lead given by the World Council.

All these aims link up, for they lead to the same goal — the relaxation of international tension. They are bound up with a preoccupation which is to be found in every country, that of ensuring the security of all nations. In all countries, too, the peoples are expressing their unanimous will for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, above all the H bomb.

The campaigns based on these aims are being strongly supported by public opinion, for they coincide with the interests of every people, which are — to ensure their security with respect for their independence, and to end the atomic menace which hangs over all mankind.

The breadth of these campaigns is obviously to be measured by the extent of the forces that are moved to act, and this mainly depends on each National Peace Committee's ability to promote undertakings likely to bring about broad popular participation.

Experience proves that, where organisation is concerned, this question of consistent activity is the basic rule of the Movement. The activities of the National Movements, regular reports on which are given in this Bulletin, are based on this principle, and they show that by continually fixing new objectives, by tackling one undertaking after another, the life and development of the Movement are ensured. As soon as one objective is attained, another is immediately proposed. It is first set for the whole Movement and then for every Peace Committee.

For example, a signature-collecting campaign gives rise to the sending of deputations to elected representatives. In the same way, a period of rallies or regional demonstrations on one or more definite themes leads to the preparation of a national demonstration. The national demonstration, in turn, sets objectives such as the organising of a day of action or some other demonstration which, if it is to be successful, necessitates the participation of every Peace Committee.

In this way, the Peace Movement develops on the basis of activities which are continually being renewed, and is enriched by each new experience. This renewal is at the same time of great importance for strengthening the organisation of the Movement at every level.

The lessons of the present campaigns and the experience accumulated in the Peace Movement's five years of activity confirm the correctness of this conception.

The development of each Peace Movement and the broadening of its influence depend on this idea being put into operation. For this very reason, it will help them to make a more effective contribution to the achievement of the peace aims which are their raison d'etre.

IN THIS BULLETIN

*

- **July 11th, 1954 — a great day for independence and peace in France. — Demonstration in Hué for peace in Indo-China.**
- **British Peace Committee launches "World Security Campaign". — Congress for peace and the German people's right to self-determination.**
- **The USSR announces concrete achievement in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy. — The Guatemalan people's activity for peace.**
- **The Recommendations adopted by the various working sections of the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension.**
- **Nordic peoples demand a genuine relaxation of international tension. — Dutch people on their guard against the revival of German militarism.**
- **Towards Second Congress of Syrian Peace Movement. — Indian peasants and trade unionists support the decisions of the World Council of Peace.**
- **News from Switzerland, Iran, Venezuela, Brazil, Israel, Uruguay, Japan, Burma, Luxembourg, Poland . . .**

*

- **Cultural Information.**

What the Press is saying...

The aggression against Guatemala, the overthrowing of its legitimate Government by force and the attitude to this adopted by certain members of the Security Council of the United Nations have angered public opinion. This is reflected in the excerpts from the world Press given below.

We can see quite obviously that the entry of the "liberation army" is very opportune for this powerful company (United Fruit Company Ed.). *It had been practically liquidated in Guatemala through large-scale expropriation. The company is strong enough to survive such a blow, but the example could be contagious. For the United Fruit Company has interests not only in Guatemala, but in all the other "Banana Republics". It has great influence. Like the Anglo-Iranian Company in Iran, it plays a certain civilising role, but it is also an exploiter and, because of its wealth and interests, it has great political influence.*

POLITIKEN,
June 22nd (Denmark)

*

El Debate, organ of the Uruguayan National Party, had the following to say of the aggression against Guatemala in an editorial entitled "America Mourns":

We rebel against this terrible and crude farce. To preserve peace, this war was let loose; in the name of liberty they want to destroy the only really democratic regime in Central America, while all the neighbouring regimes are dictatorships enjoying the favour and support of the almighty and of the United Fruit Company.

EL DEBATE,
June 26th (Uruguay)

*

Two of the Central American Republics have compromised themselves more gravely than is the custom in the affairs of a neighbour. The United States has tarnished its reputation among its "good neighbours". Under its leadership the Security Council has run away from the issue by refusing on Friday even to hear the Guatemalan complaint; and Britain has heroically abstained after stating that the Council should not divest itself of its responsibility.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN,
June 29th (Great Britain)

*

Above all, the United Fruit Company, with its huge banana plantations, imposes on Guatemala a system of exploitation which is in every way similar to that practised by the classical colonial powers.

Many people find it difficult to believe that the 3,700,000 Guatemalans are a threat to the security of the USA.

NY TID,
June 24th (Sweden)

*

The aggression against Guatemala is rousing a wave of popular protest in Latin America. Washington's denial that any military aid was given to the insurgents will certainly not convince the local inhabitants. The evidence is too clear. Yesterday evening, at an angry meeting, the students of the University of Tegucigalpa unanimously condemned the aggression and sent a message of sympathy to the Guatemalan people... It is symptomatic.

LE MONDE,
June 23rd (France)

*

The Washington Government was quite clearly involved in the conflict, whether the arms it recently delivered to Honduras are used or not.

SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG,
June 22nd (German Federal Republic)

*

These days, a little Central American country — Guatemala — is the centre of the thoughts and feelings of people the world over. In the few days that have elapsed since June 18th, the day on which the armed intervention against Guatemala was launched, inspired and directed by the aggressive circles of the United States, the facts about this event have become absolutely clear. The responsibility of US ruling circles in the aggression against the Guatemalan people has been irrefutably proved, and Washington's manoeuvres to evade this responsibility are doomed to failure.

IZVESTIA,
June 26th (U. S. S. R.)

*

What is happening can only harm the cause and reputation of the West. There is no hiding the fact that it is an act of aggression starting from the territory of other countries. The fact that the Security Council is not intervening can create a dangerous precedent.

Since US financial circles are directly involved, it is particularly necessary that the US Government should act correctly. The thoughtless action against international navigation (this was a demand for control of navigation on the high seas), which failed, and the refusal to let the matter be dealt with by the Security Council, show that the old dollar imperialism is still alive.

VERDENS GANG,
June 29th (Norway)

*

This is far from being the first time that a powerful US corporation has undertaken to change things in a little Latin American State, through a successful revolution. Whatever the colour of the Government party in these weak Republics, they will struggle in vain against the resources of the corporations.

The expropriation of the United Fruit Company's plantations was part of a great agrarian reform aimed at giving land to the huge agricultural proletariat in Guatemala. That is a measure which could as well be taken by a liberal regime, but which was used by propaganda as a proof of Communist power in the country. The army which Armas is now leading against the capital calls itself anti-Communist and an army of liberation. Its leaders quite obviously belong to extreme Right Wing circles which, not long ago, held Guatemala under a dictatorship. It is doubtful whether broad sections of the population look upon this army as a liberation army worthy of confidence. But it is quite certain that it is prepared to liberate the United Fruit Company.

STOCKHOLMS-TIDNINGEN.
June 22nd (Sweden)

*

Criticising the dangerous abstention of Great Britain and France in the Security Council's vote on Guatemala, *Le Monde* writes in its editorial of June 27th:

In Honduras and in all the Republics of Central America revolt is brewing among peoples who are nearer to slavery than to "the American way of life". It is their poverty and not Communism which could be blamed for creating the revolt. The much talked-about Point Four and the American principle of the peoples' right to self-determination should first of all be applied to them.

On the other hand, the Security Council's decision amounts to recognising the right of the United States to impose their policy by whatever means in the so-called "Monroe zone".

LE MONDE,
June 27th (France)

*

The glorious struggle of the Guatemalan people against American imperialism cannot be suppressed by any force.

The Guatemalans have brought the United States before the bar of justice and exposed its shameful moral defeats.

JEN MIN JIH PAO,
July 2nd (People's Republic of China)

*

It is nothing but an act of aggression and intervention. The real cause of the aggression on Guatemala is the latter's disapproval of American policy.

SULUH INDONESIA,
June 23rd (Indonesia)

*

The people of Guatemala have the right to the Government of their choice. But the United States want to deprive them of this right so as to keep the country under their thumb. The people of Guatemala have the right to be master of their own land, but the United States want to exploit it in their own interest.

AL BAAS
(Syria)

July 11th, 1954

A great day for Independence and Peace in France

In France July 11th was observed as a great day of civic action for peace. In the big towns and in the small, deputations went to the Town Hall to present to the Municipal Council their wishes, petitions, resolutions and peace notebooks, asking that the desires of the people be communicated to the Prefect and to the Deputies.

Many sponsoring committees, widely-based, had been set up to prepare for this day and to ask the mayors to receive the deputations. These were received in hundreds of Town Halls all over France: at the Hotel de Ville in Paris; by President Edouard Herriot in Lyons; by M. Daladier in Avignon; in Amiens by the Socialist mayor. In many places the Municipal Councils had agreed beforehand to receive the deputations.

On July 11th and the days immediately following, the deputations called on the people to attend public report-back meetings.

Thus, once again, the people of France were given the chance to rally in a great movement directed towards their elected representatives and the authorities so as to inform the latter in a more direct way of the unity of views of the French nation.

Why it was a success

Only a month elapsed between the National Demonstration of June 12th and 13th and the National Day of Action, which arose out of it.

The National Demonstration, which was held in the Velodrome d'Hiver in Paris and attended by 10,000 delegates, put forward, in its "Call to Frenchmen", the national demand of which July 11th was to be the effective expression. This is:

a) The rejection of EDC, a negotiated solution of the German question, and collective security for all the countries of Europe;

b) A cease-fire in Indo-China and a political settlement which will allow the peoples of Indo-China freely to choose their regime and government and restore to France her prestige and influence in the Far East;

c) An end to atomic tests in preparation for war, the outlawing of atomic weapons and an equitable agreement on disarmament.

The changes in the situation in France have opened up new prospects for the rallying of all peace forces to act on the basis of such a programme. Persons and organisations who had not formerly made a stand, joined the Sponsoring Committees, signed the petitions and took part in the deputations.

This great day of action could be prepared in a few weeks because the peace forces are growing in numbers and activity literally every day. Stage by stage, these forces have arisen and united in action to replace the cold war and adventurism by a policy of negotiation aiming at an easing of tension.

Each stage has helped public opinion to understand the issues and to give expression to its desires, and in each new recruits have joined the general movement for peace. In the course of these successive actions the organised basis of the Peace Movement has been strengthened.

The success of the National Day of July 11th is the result of continuous effort.

Consistent activity for common peace aims

After the two great National Conferences on the German problem and for negotiation in Indo-China which were held in Paris in November 1953, and the popular Departmental or regional rallies of last autumn, the growing influence of the Peace Movement was seen in the increasing number of declarations by elected bodies, national organisations and various public figures.

Action committees against EDC or for peace in Indo-China grew up in the country districts, in the towns and factories; others were formed on a professional or trade basis. Conferences were held.

Then there were the demonstrations of March 13th and 14th. During these two days, "as a token of their disavowal of German rearmament", many deputations of patriots placed wreaths of red, white and blue flowers on the war memorials, which recall that Frenchmen have died as a result of German militarism and Nazism.

A week later, French participation in the Conference of members of Parliament and personalities from the countries affected by EDC, held in Paris on March 20th and 21st, reflected this advancing national unity.

In the two months that followed, the Peace Movement called great Departmental rallies, thus consolidating the great upsurge of patriotic feeling and preparing for the Demonstration of June 12th and 13th.

In the course of these various activities, the consistent action of the French people took widely differing forms — petitions, lobbying of elected representatives, signature campaigns, local and peasant rallies, factory gate meetings, patriotic unity committees, joint statements by personalities, congresses, public meetings and so on.

One of the most recent forms of action was the organisation of deputations to Geneva. There have been 450 of these in two months, or an average of 7 per day, and they brought to the Foreign Ministers' Conference the authentic expression of the French people's will for peace.

July 11th — a day which has prepared for further, more powerful action

Like all the activities and initiatives of the Peace Movement, July 11th was not an end in itself, but a stage.

The following dates enable the French Peace Movement to measure the ground that has to be covered:

July 20th — dead-line on the Indo-China question fixed by the Mendes-France Government;

July 20th — the United Nations Disarmament Commission resumes its work;

August — probable debate on EDC in the French parliament.

A new period of action has opened up which demands that the French Peace Movement organise ever broader and more powerful activities.

HUE — IMPOSING DEMONSTRATION FOR "PEACE IN INDO-CHINA"

in the zone occupied by the French Expeditionary Corps

On June 18th, a peace demonstration in which more than 10,000 people took part was held in Hue, on the coast of Annam, in a region occupied by the French Expeditionary Corps.

The demonstrators, who carried banners and posters expressing their opposition to forced enrolment in Bao Dai's army and the continuation of the war, met in the morning in the Dong-Da Market Square.

Later, the meeting turned into a huge demonstration of 10,000 people which wound its way through the streets of the town.

Units of the Expeditionary Corps joined the demonstrators, and so one had the spectacle of European and African soldiers marching behind the demonstration with their tanks and armoured cars, while the number of those taking part grew all the time.

The demonstration went on till the early afternoon, demanding a cease-fire and peace in Indo-China.

"Le Monde" comments

Dealing with the attitude of the Viet-Namese population in the territories occupied by the French Expeditionary Corps, *Le Monde* said on July 3rd:

"*Men formerly described as fence-sitters are now proclaiming their support for the Vietminh. They have been won over to the idea of a cease-fire, to be followed by the evacuation of the Expeditionary Corps and the holding of a general election . . .*

"*Lastly, they are convinced that the Vietminh would agree to sign a peace which was honourable for France, and guaranteeing certain advantages to the French.*"

Young people oppose the H-bomb

In an open letter to international youth organisations, the Secretariat of the World Federation of Democratic Youth says:

"All young men and girls in the world, whatever their opinions or the organisation to which they belong, are justly alarmed at the mortgage which the atom danger puts on their life and future . . .

"We therefore think that the time has come for all who lead youth organisations to try and get united action to avert the danger which threatens us all, whoever we may be and whatever we may think about any other problem."

This open letter was addressed especially to the World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, the World's Young Women's Christian Association, the World's Student Christian Federation, the World Federation of Liberal and Radical Youth, the World Assembly of Youth, the International Youth Hostel Federation, and the International Union of Socialist Youth.

People carrying posters at a recent demonstration in Birmingham

Congress for Peace and the German People's Right to Self-Determination

The "*Congress for Peace and the German People's Right to Self-Determination*" was held in Cologne on June 27th. It was attended by 895 delegates and many observers and guests from all parts of West Germany.

Eminent figures like Ex-Chancellor Wirth and Herr Oskar Müller, former government minister, sent greetings to the Congress.

In his speech, Herr Von Ameln announced that in the last few days 40,000 people had declared their opposition to EDC and their desire for a peace treaty.

Representatives of all sections of the people, and of many parties and organisations, spoke in the discussion. All stressed the fact that, irrespective of political and ideological differences, they were ready to co-operate with all those who are taking part in the struggle against the Bonn and Paris Agreements.

Here are two excerpts from the Manifesto unanimously adopted by the Congress:

"The Congress for Peace and the German People's Right to Self-Determination affirms the German people's legitimate right to self-determination in conformity with the principles of democracy, and demands that it be respected. To this end, it is necessary to hold a free vote in which our people will show

whether they want the Bonn and Paris Agreements or a peace treaty

and whether they want the occupation to go on, or the withdrawal of all occupation troops from Germany . . .

A policy of understanding and peace, a really German policy . . . that is the real alternative to the policy of strength, the policy of EDC and the Bonn and Paris Agreements."

*

Repercussions of the Berlin Session in the German Democratic Republic

During and immediately after the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin, the friends of peace in the German Democratic Republic organised 110 public meetings and demonstrations.

The great interest shown in the cause of the World Council of Peace by the people of the German Democratic Republic is to be seen in the fact that, during the session, 645,000 signatures were collected for the prohibition of the hydrogen bomb.

"No country can be secure unless all are secure"

British Peace Committee launches "World Security Campaign"

A special session of the Executive Committee of the British Peace Committee, attended by a number of invited guests, decided to launch a national campaign under the title 'World Security'.

The 'World Security Campaign' will link together the issues on which the Peace Movement will concentrate:

the banning of atomic, hydrogen and germ weapons;

the organisation of security for all nations in Europe and Asia instead of the creation of opposing blocs;

an extension of trade and cultural exchange between all countries.

In launching this campaign the British Peace Committee underlines the fact that today, more than ever before, no country can be secure unless all countries are secure.

Campaign Activities

Among the new steps taken by the British Peace Committee to popularise the policy of the Peace Movement are:

The issue of a Manifesto in leaflet form, based on the resolutions of the Berlin session of the World Council of Peace;

the publication of folders containing the speeches of Jean-Paul Sartre on the H-bomb, Paul Robeson on Peaceful Co-existence and Charles Chaplin on the award of the International Peace Prize;

the issue of many posters with slogans on the policy of the movement.

During the campaign a prominent place is being given to poster parades and open-air meetings. Among the main centres in which meetings are being held are Sheffield, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Manchester, Birmingham, London. Many leading figures of the peace movement are speaking, among them Dr. E. H. S. Burhop, the well-known atomic scientist, Mr. Gordon Schaffer and Professor J. D. Bernal.

Increased Co-operation

During peace activity in Great Britan in recent months a significant trend has been the increased co-operation between the different movements and organisations. For example in Reading the Peace Committee joined together with the Labour Party, the Trades Council and the Co-operative Men's Guild to organise a peace demonstration. In Plymouth the peace committee and the different pacifist organisations joined together to organise a meeting addressed by the Labour M. P. for Plymouth, Mr. Michael Foot. In Coventry a big meeting organised by the Anti-Hydrogen Bomb League was addressed by the Bishop of Coventry, Mr. Anthony Greenwood, Labour M. P., and Dr. E. H. S. Burhop, Vice-President of the British Peace Committee.

The extent to which popular support is rallying to the campaign against the hydrogen bomb can be seen from two facts:

The entire congregation of the Church of St. Crispin with Christchurch, in East London, of which World Council member the Rev. John Bliss is the vicar, unanimously signed the petition against the Hydrogen Bomb.

ITALY: Provincial and Municipal Councils in the Peace Campaign

The Italian Peace Movement's campaign is developing broadly round the themes of the prohibition of atomic and thermonuclear weapons and collective security. The aggression against Guatemala has roused the anger of the masses of the people and various democratic circles; this anger is being widely demonstrated in the course of current activity.

Every day public opinion is becoming more aware of the close link between the danger of the use of weapons of mass destruction and EDC.

The Italian people understand that it is the same forces which fomented the aggression against Guatemala that are urging the countries of Europe to ratify EDC; so the aggressive nature of EDC is becoming even more obvious to all. The many declarations by Municipal and Provincial Councils are a significant indication of the growing alertness of public opinion.

The Provincial Council of Novara voted unanimously for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction; so did that of Chieti, which also rejected a motion in favour of EDC.

The Provincial Councils of Piacenza, Cosenza, Matera, Catania, Perugia and Avellino, and the Municipal Councils of Avezzano, Mantua, Cosenza, Caserta, Frignano, Capua and others, adopted motions for the prohibition of atomic weapons.

The Municipal Council of Lacedonia (Avellino) unanimously passed a motion to be sent to Parliament, asking "that Italy should not ratify the EDC treaty".

On the subject of EDC, the Venice Peace Committees organised what was virtually an electoral campaign, with ballot papers. The great majority of the voters were opposed to EDC.

In Como, the mothers and widows of war victims conducted a campaign against weapons of mass destruction and EDC.

In Empoli (Florence), a referendum was held, the results of which showed that a majority of the people are opposed to the rearmament of the German revenge-seekers. Priests, leaders of Catholic Action and cultural figures have also condemned EDC. In the commune of Cerreto Guidi, 1072 people out of 1096 expressed their opposition to thermonuclear weapons and to EDC.

In Lucera, a Civic Committee against EDC was set up, composed of personalities of various political views.

In Rome, the International Art Circle held a debate on the theme, "Art and the H Bomb"; many of the capital's artists took part.

At Forli, in the Romagna, an important lawyers' debate was organised under the chairmanship of His Excellency Saverio Brigante.

Austria protests at Weapons of Mass Destruction

In Austria, many resolutions demanding the prohibition of hydrogen bombs have been adopted.

The Tyrol Peace Council states in an appeal "that the growing number of American atomic cannon in West Germany, a whole battery of which have been stationed at Oberammergau on the Austrian border, is a warning to all fathers and mothers and to all young people. To guarantee a future of peace, we must ceaselessly demand the prohibition of atomic weapons and an international control of atomic energy."

The Municipal Council of Ebensee, in Upper Austria, adopted an appeal to the Austrian Parliament asking it to speak out in favour of the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. Herr Neuhauser, the Socialist Mayor, stated that no one could be against this appeal, and he took upon himself to transmit the resolution to Parliament.

Resolutions along the same lines have been adopted by the following:

The Shop Stewards' Committee of the linen factory of Lambrach; the Municipal Council of Stadl Paura; the 1,200 war victims who took part in the general assembly of the Graz Branch of the War Victims' Association; the participants in a meeting of the personnel of the Siemens-Schuckert factory in Vienna, and so on.

U.S.S.R. — a concrete achievement in the field of the peaceful use of atomic energy

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has issued a communique stating that an industrial power station using atomic energy is now working in the Soviet Union. It is the first of its kind and has a working capacity of 5,000 kilowatts. The communique says:

"On June 27, 1954 the atomic power plant was put into operation and generated electric current for industry and agriculture of adjacent districts.

"For the first time an industrial turbine is operated not by the burning of coal or other kinds of fuel but by atomic energy — the fission of the atomic nucleus of uranium.

"With the commissioning of the atomic electric power station a real step was made in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

"Soviet scientists are working on the development of atomic energy industrial electric power stations with a capacity of 50—100 thousand kilowatts."

This communique has given rise to many commentaries throughout the world—proof of the great importance attached to this historic event by world public opinion.

The Guatemalan People's Activity for Peace

In the weeks before the aggression was launched, upsetting the normal functioning of democracy in Guatemala and depriving the country of its sovereignty, the people of this little Central American Republic conducted intense activity for the improvement of international relations and the consolidation of world peace.

The peasant associations issued a statement demanding the ending of hostilities in Indo-China in the following terms:

"The people of Indo-China are fighting to win their independence as Guatemala did in 1821. In general, we Guatemalan peasants have the same ideals and the same problems as the peasants of Indo-China. We support them and want them to win in the struggle for peace."

Against weapons of mass destruction

Organisation of all kinds, including the various political parties and workers', peasants', students' and women's organisations, published manifestoes demanding the immediate prohibition of A and H bombs. The National Peace Committee distributed thousands of copies of a pamphlet containing the Pope's Easter Message and Professor Joliot-Curie's statements on the atomic problem.

For peace and sovereignty

On June 6th, the region of Retalhuleu had its first assembly in defence of peace and national sovereignty. More than 600 delegates and guests from the towns and Indian communities attended, including many small land-owners.

That same day, a provincial assembly was held in San Juan Sacatepequez. The two hundred delegates took important decisions to intensify the struggle for the preservation of peace and national sovereignty.

Confronted by threats to Guatemalan sovereignty on the part of certain international circles, the people took part in many popular demonstrations in the provinces and villages and greatly intensified their struggle against intervention.

On June 26th, the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace received the following telegram:

Paying no heed to the Security Council's agreement, Honduras and Nicaragua are continuing to give support to the invading mercenaries.

From bases in these countries, aeroplanes piloted and equipped by the North Americans are bombing and machine-gunning the civilian population, the hospitals, schools and churches.

We urge action by Defenders of Peace the world over to put an end to the aggression against our country.

Guatemalan Peace Committee

For Peace and Friendship between the Peoples of Central America

Faced with manoeuvres to make relations between the countries of Central America more difficult, the people of Guatemala demonstrated concretely their desire for peace and friendship with these countries. With the support of all classes in the country, the Guatemalan Government proposed to the Government of Honduras — whence the aggression was to be launched and where there was a stockpile of foreign arms — the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression. This proposal was very favourably received by the people of Honduras.

Such were the activities of this peace-loving people during the very days when, abroad, there was being prepared the blow that was to interrupt the normal course of its democratic life.

The People of Luxembourg say no to EDC

At assemblies, meetings and gatherings, thousands of Luxemburgers — workers, intellectuals, civil servants, peasants, artisans and middle-class people — are continuing to express their opposition to EDC, in spite of the fact that it has been ratified by the Parliament.

Many letters from people of all circles show the people's hostility to the EDC treaty.

During these last four weeks, hundreds of people have added their signatures to the National Peace Movement's Appeal.

These facts demonstrate that it was not empty talk on the part of the National Peace Movement when it stated, in a leaflet issued after the vote in the Parliament, that, though a majority of the House had ratified the European Army agreements, the people of Luxembourg would never do so.

Australian woman sets an example

The following two excerpts are taken from an article on the experiences of an Australian mine-mechanic's wife which appeared in *Peace News*, bulletin of the New South Wales Peace Council:

Mrs. Buchanan, a mine-mechanic's wife in West Wallsend (NSW), wrote out a simple petition calling for peaceful action to abolish the H-bomb threat, then took it from door to door in her township. She got 458 signatures and about 20 refusals; six people had no opinion and she missed about 60 houses because the occupiers were out. Here is her report:

"Everyone was kind, and welcomed me with understanding and relief. They felt my petition was getting something done. It was giving them an opportunity to protest about something that filled them with real fear and confusion.

"Nearly everybody invited me in for tea or a cold drink and all asked me to sit and rest while we discussed the petition. It would be hard to find more human people anywhere. I came home in the evening loaded up with plants and cuttings of some sort, after a very happy, satisfactory day."

Recommendation adopted by the Political Section

The participants in this Meeting, convinced that peace is indivisible, hold that the peaceful solution of the problem of Germany is essential for the relaxation of international tension.

The development of the negotiations at Geneva makes possible, and therefore necessary, the early resumption of the negotiations broken off in Berlin between the four Great Powers. In order to associate the German people in the shaping of their own destiny, it would be desirable that the governments of the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic should take part in these negotiations.

The negotiations must lead to the peaceful reunification of Germany by democratic methods, and to a treaty of peace guaranteeing the security of Germany's neighbours and of all Europe.

In order to arrive at these results, it is essential that no step be taken, before or during the negotiations, towards the rearmament of Germany in any form or her inclusion in any military pact.

Recommendations ad

THE MEETING FOR A REL

Recommendation on the United Nations Org on Security and on National Independence adopted by

The participants in the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension consider

that the Charter of the United Nations Organisation must be applied in the letter and in the spirit in order to correspond to the aspirations of the peoples;

that the People's Republic of China must without any further delay take its rightful place in the United Nations Organisation;

that all States, whatever their social and political system, who ask to be admitted to the United Nations Organisation must be admitted in order that it may take on a universal character.

In this way the United Nations Organisation could play a role of prime importance for the easing of international tension.

*

The Meeting takes cognisance of the fact that the division of the world into two hostile blocs and the military measures which this provokes are a grave threat to peace. It opposes any military pact or military coalition which has the aim or effect of prolonging or aggravating this state of affairs.

It declares itself in favour of pacts of non-aggression and security, provided that such pacts are open to all interested countries irrespective of political or social systems, based on the principle of equality and conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

Recommendation on Disarmament and Weapons of Mass Destruction adopted by the Political Section

The participants in the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension firmly adhere to the principle embodied in the Charter of UNO which rejects war as a means of settling international disputes. We hold further that the accumulation of excessive and burdensome armaments, and especially the rapid development and stocking of atom and hydrogen bombs, and the experimental explosions which have already caused many casualties and widespread alarm, all accentuate international tension which may lead to war.

Accordingly, they call on the Governments of all nations capable of producing atom and hydrogen bombs to agree to suspend any further trials of such weapons and to issue a simultaneous declaration that they will not employ them in war.

They urge the Governments to push forward the present negotiations of the Disarmament Commission of the Assembly of the United Nations and to conclude without further delays an agreement to secure the permanent abolition of all such weapons, with the necessary safeguards of unhampered and continuous inspection.

They further call on the Governments of all nations to conclude an agreement embodying a substantial and equitable measure of disarmament extending to armed forces and to all types of weapons.

Although only certain states are involved in the production of atomic weapons, every country in the world may suffer from their effects. Those taking part in the Meeting therefore support the appeal of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, that all the peoples of the world should "express their concern and add their voices and influence in as effective a manner as possible to arrest the progress of this destructive potential which menaces all alike."

The effectiveness of public action will be measured by the degree to which the peoples everywhere become aware of the dangers of atomic warfare, and of the steps needed to eliminate it. Those taking part in the Meeting therefore request the Governments, and associations of all kinds, particularly those of scientists, to do everything possible to create a soberly informed public opinion on this subject.

They welcome every proposal for the constructive use of atomic energy but recognise that these are less likely to be acceptable or effective if they do not follow an agreement prohibiting its military use. Only when this is achieved will it be possible to make full use of the resources of science and technology for the satisfaction of the urgent needs of mankind.

Recommendation adopted

The participants in the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension draw attention to the economic difficulties resulting from the present international situation. The cold war and the international tension which it causes have resulted in the creation of artifical barriers to normal trade relations between countries with different economic and social systems, obstacles to the development of world trade, unbalanced economies in many countries, the unproductive use of resources for armaments; have impeded the progress of underdeveloped countries and caused a reduction of the standard of living in many parts of the world. These consequences, in turn, contribute towards an increase in internationl tension. Elimination of these economic consequences of the present international situation, therefore, would be in itself an important contribution towards relaxing international tension.

While there has been a substantial improvement during the last year in international trade and in economic co-operation between nations, the possibilities of economic measures designed to reduce international tension are far from being exhausted. The annual volume of East-West trade could be rapidly increased by three to five milliard dollars. Such an increase by no means represents the limits of the possibilities in this field.

With a view to contributing to the relaxation of the present international tension, the Meeting proposes:

1. Immediate utilisation of all existing possibilities of increasing trade between countries, irrespective of their economic and social system. This means the use of possibilities implied in existing trade agreements, and the negotiation of new commercial agreements, as well as the extension of trade by private firms.

2. Abolition of all measures of discrimination and embargoes designed to prevent normal trade relations between countries with different economic and social syste Battle Act, adopted by the Congress of resolution of the General Assembly of t bargo against China, should be ended. trade relations with countries because of be removed.

3. Adoption of positive measures to pr all countries, such as a gradual remova of prohibitive tariffs, increase in import etc. Special attention should be devoted countries as well as multilateral and pay different economic and social systems.

The work of the United Nations Econ international trade should be continued an of the United Nations, such as the Econon and the Economic Commission for Latin behalf of international trade.

4. Maintenance of diplomatic relation differences in their economic and social s ment of trade relations and trade agreeme in the United Nations for all countries willi In particular it must be realised that no world economy is possible without the es relations with the Chinese People's Republic atives to the United Nations.

5. Normal trade relations between all co advantage. These are indispensable for t countries. Without trade relations with all c countries cannot sufficiently develop their fair prices for their exports, develop the economic foundations of their national in

ions adopted by the various working groups of

RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

In our previous number we gave a brief report on the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension which was held in Stockholm last month, together with the principal documents adopted by the full session of June 23rd.

In this bulletin we publish the recommendations made by the various working sections of the Meeting, which were also adopted by the plenary Assembly.

Nations Organisation
adopted by the Political Section

ts rightful
d Nations

whatever
ical system,
tted to the
rganisation
order that
universal

United Na-
could play
ortance for
tional ten-

cognisance
division of
ostile blocs
sures which
rave threat
any mili-
y coalition
r effect of
vating this

n favour of
ssion and
that such
interested
of politi-
ms, based
uality and
e Charter
s.

By this means the cold war would be ended and the spirit of co-operation between all countries of the world would develop.

*

The Meeting proclaims that the inalienable right of the peoples to self-determination and to an independent existence is of no value unless it is genuinely implemented.

Consequently it considers that peoples who are still dependent must gain their freedom, manage their own affairs as they wish and themselves freely dispose of the products of their labour and of their natural resources.

The Meeting declares that the acts of violence at present being committed against the aspirations of the peoples in various territories must cease and that all racial discrimination must be abolished.

The national independence of all peoples and the free exercise of their national sovereignty are at once the essential condition and the surest guarantee of world peace.

Recommendations adopted by the Cultural Section

I.

Today, the peoples of the world desire with all their hearts relief from international tension. The Meeting in Stockholm from 19 to 23 June, 1954, has stressed the primary importance of the part played by cultural exchanges between different countries in creating throughout the world the atmosphere of confidence and understanding necessary for the establishment and maintenance of peace.

When scientists, artists, workers of all kinds, students, sportsmen and others stay in foreign countries, this makes it possible to bring people into direct contact with one another. This gives them the opportunity to obtain precise information and enables them to become familiar with and to respect ways of life which differ from their own.

The International Meeting, in order to increase the number of such exchanges and to make them more fruitful, appeals to all organisations throughout the world active in the field of culture. It asks them to use all their authority in order to obtain the necessary facilities and authorisations from Governments.

The communication of creative ideas and the exchange of works will help to bring people together and to give them an even clearer understanding of those treasures of culture which all must defend and enrich.

II.

The participants in the Meeting appeal to all creative workers, to all engaged in research, to all engaged in teaching. It calls upon them to use all their resource and all their talent with ever greater devotion, in their creative, research and teaching work, so as to give full weight to everything which brings men closer to one another: the sense of the unity of man, the respect and love for one's own people and one's own culture, and equally for all peoples and all cultures.

They therefore urge them to oppose with all their strength the propagation of everything contrary to these ideas and these feelings, everything which would promote distrust and hatred between the peoples.

In this way they will be able to work effectively to strengthen peace for mankind — the essential condition for the development of culture.

adopted by the Economic Section

d social systems. In particular, such measures as the
e Congress of the United States of America, and the
Assembly of the United Nations imposing a trade em-
d be ended. Also, other measures of discrimination in
ies because of their economic and social system should

neasures to promote the development of trade between
radual removal of various trade restrictions, reduction
se in import quotas, organisation of international fairs,
ld be devoted to long-term trade agreements between
teral and payments agreements without regard to their
al systems.

Nations Economic Commission for Europe on behalf of
e continued and further developed; various other agencies
as the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East,
ion for Latin America, should develop similar efforts on
le.

matic relations between countries without regard to
c and social systems, which is essential for the develop-
trade agreements between nations, as well as membership
countries willing to accept the obligations of the Charter.
alised that no sound development of world trade and
without the establishment by all countries of diplomatic
ople's Republic, and without the admission of its represent-
ns.

between all countries on the basis of equality and mutual
pensable for the economic progress of underdeveloped
tions with all countries of their choice, the underdeveloped
develop their resources, especially food resources, secure
s, develop their manufacturing industries, and lay the
eir national independence.

The economic and social progress of underdeveloped countries requires special international measures. Such measures must include technical as well as economic assistance from economically more advanced countries, on a basis guaranteeing freedom from interference in the internal and external policies of the countries receiving aid and the full respect of their national sovereignty. Effective aid should also be made available to non-self-governing territories.

The measures indicated would help to relax international tension. They provide at the same time a solution for certain economic problems resulting from such relaxation. The development of normal trade relations between all countries, without regard to differences in their economic and social systems, can provide the industrially highly developed countries with employment for many years to come; secure for countries with a surplus production new markets for their products; provide new sources of imports for countries lacking certain particular currencies; and help in the economic and social progress of underdeveloped countries.

These measures and the perspectives which they offer are such as to allay the apprehension of those who fear depression and mass unemployment in consequence of a reduction in the production of armaments; as well as of those who look forward with apprehension towards the end of certain dollar resources which might result from the end of the war in Indo-China and from the abandonment of the proposed "European Defence Community".

Peaceful co-operation between all countries, whatever their economic or social system, for the development of the standard of living and welfare of their people will serve the cause of the reduction of international tension and promote the establishment of durable peace among the nations.

Address from members of different Churches taking part in the Meeting to the believers of every religion in the world

We religious people from the Churches of different countries and peoples — Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Germany, Hungary, Japan, Korea, Poland, the Soviet Union, and Sweden, who have come together at the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension, appeal to the believers of every religion in the world.

Let all of us, in our own country, do everything in our power to bring about international understanding, to prevent the use of atomic, thermonuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and to put an end to experiments with atomic and hydrogen bombs. The religious conscience is opposed to the very idea of the use of this terror weapon.

Let us once again work, by every means at our disposal, to make the spirit of peaceful negotiation between countries for the solution of all present differences prevail.

The spirit of love and peace, which inspires every religion in the world, demands it.

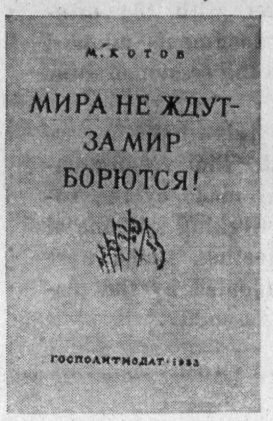
We call upon the Churches and religious organisations of all countries to support the cause of peace in a spirit of unity.

We consider it necessary to increase the number of small meetings between groups of religious figures, in order to consolidate the bonds of friendship between Churches and religious organisations and to establish contacts in action for peace — the supreme good of all mankind.

We are convinced that all these measures will contribute to the common cause — the attainment of a relaxation of international tension.

YOU CANNOT WAIT FOR PEACE, YOU MUST FIGHT FOR IT!

This is the title of a booklet published in the Soviet Union; we reproduce its cover in our photograph.



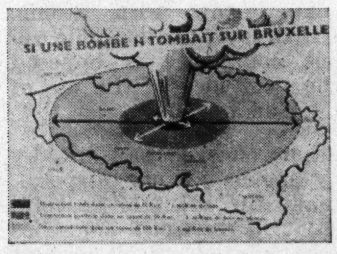
In it Mr. Kotov, General Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee, shows how the forces of peace are being consolidated throughout the world, and describes the activities of the Peace Movement, especially the Peace Movement in the Soviet Union. He calls for constant vigilance against the intrigues of the war forces. "Peace can be saved! Peace must be saved!" Such is the conclusion of this pamphlet which reflects the ideas of a peace-loving people.

If this were your child . . .

Facsimile of the first page of a folder published by the South African Peace Council and calling on all South Africans to demand the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and the peaceful use of uranium.

*

We reproduce the cover of a pamphlet produced by the Belgian Liaison Committee of Peace Organisations. In a few illustrated pages, it gives some telling facts on the H bomb, and proves that no one is safe from the radio-active clouds produced by the test explosions. It demands that these tests should be prohibited. The pamphlet also contains an appeal to the Belgian Government and to public opinion, pointing out that Belgium "is responsible for the fact that Congo uranium is being used to manufacture these deadly devices", and demanding that it be used for peaceful purposes.



"Guess with us"

In the German Democratic Republic a 16-page folder with an attractive cover and entitled "Guess with us" has been produced. It contains twelve questions dealing with the proposals for the security of the nations of Europe and with the principle that international differences can only be solved by negotiation.

The last question in this game, for which many prizes are offered, is in the form of a cross-word puzzle. The solution is: "Germany must become a peaceful country", and the 43 words which have to be guessed (names of persons, towns and institutions etc.) are all related to the Peace Movement.

Nordic peoples demand a genuine relaxation of international tension

Public opinion in the Nordic countries, as in the rest of the world, is pressing for the elimination of obstacles to a genuine relaxation of international tension.

This ever growing demand is reflected in recent declarations by a number of pacifist organisations.

The Norwegian Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has just sent an urgent appeal to Parliament, asking it not to ratify the supplementary protocol involving the European Army.

In Sweden, the National Congress of the "Svenska Freds- och Skiljedomsföreningen", a pacifist organisation, has adopted a declaration from which we take the following two excerpts:

"*The huge sums required for atom and hydrogen bomb tests must be devoted to the peaceful use of atomic energy for the good of mankind . . .*

"*We call on the interested parties to do everything possible to obtain an armistice and peace in Indo-China.*"

The question of East-West trade has also been raised within the general framework of the struggle to achieve a relaxation of international tension.

In Denmark, an agricultural country in which the question of trade is vitally important for the majority of the population, authoritative and official voices are beginning to be heard. For example, Mr. Hans Pinstrup, President of the Danish Agricultural Council, stated at the Council's conference on June 23rd:

"*It is in the interest of Danish agriculture to increase trade with Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union in particular.*"

On June 25th, the Danish Minister of Commerce, Mrs. Lis Groes, pointed out, in her speech at the opening of the Soviet Trade Exhibition in Copenhagen, that her country "*hoped, in the course of the trade talks in Moscow, to obtain a treaty involving a considerable increase in the possibilities of trade.*"

Public assembly for peace in Bucharest

A public assembly was held in Bucharest on June 14th to hear the report of the Rumanian delegation at the Berlin Session of the World Council. The meeting adopted a resolution which reads as follows:

"*We wholeheartedly share the opinion of the representatives of all peace-loving people who met together at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace, the opinion that collective security must be organised by all interested states irrespective of the differences between their social and political systems.*

"*Our people, who have twice in a generation suffered from German militarism, are resolutely opposed to the creation of the European Defence Community, which is a screen for the revival of Hitler's armies . . .*"

SWITZERLAND — doctors in the canton of Vaud against the H bomb

At its ordinary meeting of June 3rd in Lausanne, the Medical Society of the canton of Vaud unanimously adopted a resolution moved by Dr. Thillot, President of the Peace Movement of the canton. All 193 members of the Society were present. The resolution reads as follows:

"*Indignant at the terrible danger to mankind involved in the use of the atomic weapon, the Medical Society of the canton of Vaud expresses the wish that the use of blind weapons of mass destruction, particularly atomic weapons, and A and H bomb tests whose effects are unpredictable and uncontrollable, should be prohibited by an agreement between the powers.*"

Dutch people on their guard against revival of German militarism

With the return of fine weather, the Dutch Peace Movement has held a series of open air meetings, the most important of which were those at the Hague on May 31st and in Zaandam on June 24th. The meetings formed part of a campaign against the revival of German militarism which included a "Vigilance and Resistance Month" — the month of May — also organised by the Peace Movement.

On May 4th, Holland commemorated her dead and on the fifth the anniversary of her liberation from the yoke of German militarism. As May 5th drew near local "vigilance conferences" were held in the Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Arnhem. A special edition of "Vrede", the organ of the Peace Movement, containing an Appeal from the Movement and facts proving the remilitarisation of West Germany, was widely distributed, mainly at factory gates.

In spite of the Parliament's decision to discontinue the observance of May 5th as a national holiday, thousands of workers did not work that day following a call by the two trade union centres, NUU and EVG. In the towns there were empty schools and many shops were shut.

In Amsterdam, the day was marked by a rally of 25,000 children and imposing torch-light marches. The Mayor of the city took part in these demonstrations.

Eight literary and artistic reviews put out a joint edition in which the greatest Dutch intellectuals expressed their determination that May 5th should remain a national holiday.

On May 14th, the anniversary of the bombing of Rotterdam in 1940, flowers were laid at the memorial created by the sculptor Zadkine who associated himself with this step. The Rotterdam Peace Committee sent a letter to the Dresden Peace Committee in the German Democratic Republic, for Dresden is another city which suffered terribly from intensive bombing.

July 16—17: Second Congress of Syrian Peace Movement

On June 11th, the Syrian Peace Committee held a joint meeting with representatives of the regional committees. After hearing a report from the Syrian representatives at the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin, May 24—28, the National Committee examined the present situation of the Movement in Syria and the preparations for the Second Peace Congress. The Congress was convened for July 16th and 17th and the Committee stressed the possibilities it offered for making the Syrian Peace Movement a broad mass movement with a strong organisation based on regional and local committees. After the meeting the Committee issued a statement on the decisions of the Berlin Session of the World Council which was given much attention in the Syrian Press. The newspapers *Al Nasr*, *Barada*, *Al Nadara* and *Al Fathaa*, all nationalist, published it in full.

A campaign for the prohibition of atomic weapons is now being carried on. For example, Mr. Abdul Wahab Homad, Member of Parliament and former Minister, recently denounced the atomic bomb in a broadcast speech. In Aleppo petitions are going round.

At a meeting held in Damascus to celebrate International Children's Day, more than 4,000 women passed a resolution asking "the Government and Parliament to take the necessary steps in international organisations to express the Syrian people's determination to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons."

Similar resolutions were adopted at ten other women's meetings which were held on the same occasion and in which women's organisations of every tendency took part.

All India Peace Council will meet in Calcutta on July 30th

The All India Peace Council will meet in Calcutta on July 30th.

The West Bengal Peace Council has made a call to the local Peace Committees and to the people to support this meeting and ensure its success.

Peking "People's Daily" on peaceful co-existence

The Peking *People's Daily* has just published an editorial on the peaceful co-existence of all nations. It says:

"We do not launch aggression against others and are firmly opposed to all aggressive action. We do not interfere in others' internal affairs and are firmly opposed to all interference in others' internal affairs. We stand for peace and hold that peaceful co-existence is possible between different social and political systems. As Premier Chou En-Lai declared at his press conference in New Delhi:

"'All nations of the world can peacefully co-exist, no matter whether they are big or small, strong or weak, and no matter what kind of social system each of them has. The rights of the people of each nation to national independence and self-determination must be respected. The people of each nation should have the right to choose their own state system and way of life, without interference from other nations. Revolution cannot be exported; at the same time, outside interference with the common will expressed by the people of any nation should not be permitted. If all the nations of the world put their mutual relations on the basis of these principles, intimidation and aggression by one nation against another would not happen, and peaceful co-existence of all nations of the world would be turned from a possibility into a reality.'

"Because China consistently pursues this foreign policy of peace, she has won the approval and support of all peace-loving states and peoples of the world."

Japanese Students' Appeal

The All Japan Federation of Students' Associations has just launched an Appeal for the banning of A and H bombs, from which we give two excerpts:

"In addition to the A-bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the recent Bikini H-bomb experiments have, for the third time, caused Japanese people to suffer from the dreadful consequences of this terrible weapon . . .

"Again, to relieve all the world from the terror of these bombs so that peace be brought about, enabling students everywhere to pursue their studies, we appeal to the students of all countries to promote every possible movement to this end — the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the realisation of an international control to implement this ban."

Indian peasants and trade unionists support decisions of World Council of Peace

"At a time when the world is looking towards Geneva for a peaceful solution of the problems of the Far East, the Berlin Session of the World Council of Peace has presented a policy which can unite the peoples of Asia and assure their peace and security." This was said by Mr. N. Prasada Rao, General Secretary of the All India Kisan Sabha (Peasants' Association) in a recent statement.

The Indian peasant leader said that his Association *"directs all its units, peasant, community and agricultural labourers to support the decisions by holding meetings and rallies in response to the call of the Berlin session."*

Support for the Berlin decisions of the World Council of Peace was also expressed by the West Bengal Committee of the All India Trade Union Congress.

The Burmese people want peace in Asia and throughout the world

Statement by President of the All-Burma Peace Committee

On June 23rd, at a Press Conference in Rangoon, Mr. Thakin Kodaw Hmaing, President of the All-Burma Committee of the World Peace Congress, made an important statement on the situation in Asia. He said:

"The peoples of Asia have not yet forgotten the dead, the poverty-stricken families and the ruined homes of the Second World War. These ruins, which have not yet been restored, are a daily reminder of the horrors of the war. Further, it was on an Asian country, Japan, that the first atomic bomb was dropped during the Second World War. That is why the peoples of Asia do not want another world war. They do not want another conflagration which would be an opportunity for using atomic and hydrogen bombs. They want peace in Asia and throughout the world . . .

"I call on the peoples of Asia, particularly the Burmese people, to make a great effort to foil the plans for the establishment of military bases, and to reach an understanding between the States of Asia with a view to regulating their relations with each other on the basis of the principles contained in the agreement between India and the People's Republic of China."

WARSAW Friendly meeting between the architects of 26 countries

An International Meeting of architects, town planners and municipal councillors has just been held in Warsaw on the initiative of an Organisation Committee Composed of architects from various countries and with its office in Paris. The two hundred participants came from the following countries — Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, the Lebanon, Norway, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Sweden, Switzerland, Syria.

Speaking on behalf of the Organisation Committee at the opening session, the French architect, André Lurçat, said:

"This gathering is not a congress but a meeting of personalities in the field of town planning and architecture, including all those who take an interest in these professions — architects, students of architecture, representatives of communities and engineers. We hope that such a composition will broaden our discussion and increase its interest, that the diversity of the participants will provoke criticism or assent and avoid a too technical discussion, placing it rather on the loftiest human plane."

Professor Jean Tschumi, President of the International Union of Architects, who was among the guests, made this statement:

"I sincerely believe in the efficacity of such meetings as this, in the usefulness of such fraternal exchanges and discussions . . .

"The mutual help to which they give rise, the moral atmosphere they create and the service they render encourage the International Union of Architects to advocate them, help them and support them."

When the meeting was not in session the participants visited Warsaw and other towns and regions of Poland.

At the end of the Meeting, which took place in an atmosphere of understanding and friendliness, the Conclusions given below were reached.

Conclusions Reached

"We architects, town planners and municipal councillors, 200 in number and belonging to 26 different nations, met in Warsaw from June 17th to 26th.

"Inspired by interest in the problems of town planning and architecture, we exchanged our ideas and experiences on a question of particular interest to us on account of its importance to the life of the people of our time, namely, the post-war town, in its three characteristic aspects — the reconstruction of towns that have been destroyed; the redevelopment of existing towns; and the construction of new towns.

"As a result of the discussions arising from a friendly exchange of views, we have arrived at the following conclusions:

"The Warsaw Meeting has fulfilled the hopes of its organisers and of those who have taken part in it. We recognise the unquestionable value of such meetings for the broadening of our professional views and of our knowledge, and for a better appreciation of our social mission and the problems it involves. It has revealed to us new prospects and undreamt of possibilities.

"The general report, the debates in the plenary sessions, the group discussions, the conversations and the examination of concrete cases have shown us the variety of forms taken by the reconstruction of destroyed towns, the redevelopment of existing towns and the construction of new ones. Though it is true that there are partial solutions which have features in common, yet every town is an individual case requiring individual solution.

"We raised the question — so important for the appearance of our towns — of the reconstruction, preservation and enhancement of historic monuments, the witnesses of a glorious past. In connection with this, we discussed national cultures, the architectural heritage of the past, its relation to and possible influence on the creation of works in our time.

"We express our gratitude to the Organising Committee and to our Polish colleagues for giving us the opportunity of meeting in such numbers.

"We congratulate the latter on their bold reconstruction of Warsaw, Gdansk and other towns so cruelly stricken by a militarism whose revival can threaten peace.

"The study of the post-war town in general, and of the reconstruction of destroyed towns in particular, shows that the essential condition for the proper exercise of our profession and of the various activities connected with it, is peace founded on active friendship between the nations.

"Yet we know that ever growing rearmament is inciting men to use for destructive ends technical, financial and scientific resources which, if used for peaceful construction, would speedily bring men a better and more secure life. We know that such behaviour leads to the search for ever more powerful weapons of mass destruction. We ask that such weapons be banned.

"As builders, organisers and administrators of the framework in which men live their lives, we architects and municipal councillors cannot accept the idea that so many works of past and present culture, the fruit of so much creative effort, and the glorious symbols of our civilisation, should be for ever wiped out.

"We have decided to make even greater efforts for the establishment and maintenance of lasting peace.

"We promise to increase, by all means and in all possible forms, the opportunities for meetings, discussion and the exchange of ideas, not only between people of our profession, but also between people of different professions who are interested in the same problem. We promise to strengthen the bonds of friendship so as to establish — as we have done in our own field — an atmosphere of mutual confidence, understanding and respect favourable to the friendly and effective solution of the problems of the relations between people and countries, whatever their political and economic systems."

Conference of architectural students in ROME

The young people of many countries, especially students, are showing in the most diverse ways their desire for closer relations and the exchange of knowledge. This explains the success of the International Conference of Architectural Students held in Rome a few weeks ago. It was organised by the architectural students of the Italian capital with the support of the International Union of Students, and was attended by 248 delegates, observers and guests from 27 countries of the East and West, representing 57 architectural schools and organisations.

There were two-and-a-half days of discussion in plenary session on the basis of the main report: "Contemporary Architecture and the National Tradition", and one day devoted to discussion in the three commissions.

The most important Recommendations were those of the Commission on Exchanges and Co-operation between Architectural Students. The Conference decided to organise a similar meeting in 1955, either in Great Britain, France or Czechoslovakia, on the theme: "The Structure of the New Town".

Among other recommendations on the exchange of delegations, documents, publications, films, and so on between schools of architecture, the Conference approved a number of proposals for bilateral exchanges, and asked the International Union of Students to help in fulfilling the agreements reached.

At the opening session, presided over by Mr. Angus Teece, a delegate from the Australasian Architectural Students' Association, the Conference was welcomed by Professor Marconi of Rome University, M. Lagneau, delegate from the International Union of Architects, and Sig. Giovanni Berlinguer, President of the International Union of Students.

One of the unanimously adopted texts explains the intention of the Conference:

"In spite of the present tension, the efforts being made to lessen it are joyfully welcomed by all. Architectural students are more than ever desirous of meeting their colleagues from every country in the world, so as to become acquainted with their work and attain mutual understanding where full agreement is possible."

Two Letters from Paul Robeson

This year the Jury for the International Peace Prizes awarded the Peace Prizes for 1953 to the famous British artist Charles Chaplin and the eminent Soviet composer Dimitri Dimitrievich Shostakovich.

Paul Robeson, who himself received the International Peace Prize in 1950 for his songs for peace, has sent to the two new prize-winners the letters given below.

For four years Paul Robeson, member of the World Council of Peace and of the Jury for the international Peace Prizes, has been unable to travel outside his country, the United States Government having withdrawn his passport.

This measure prohibits the great artist from making his country's art known throughout the world, from accepting the many invitations he receives from various countries to take part in concerts, plays, films or operas and from attending the sessions of the World Council of Peace and the Jury for the International Peace Prizes.

A "Provisional Committee to restore Paul Robeson's Passport" has been set up in New York at the following address: Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, NY, USA. It has launched a world campaign to defend Paul Robeson's right to sing his people's songs anywhere in the world. The Secretaries of the Committee are Howard Fast, Charles White and Maud Green.

Already, many Peace Committees and eminent personalities, among whom is Charles Chaplin, have sent messages of support to the Committee and to Paul Robeson and have protested to the Government of the United States.

To Dimitri Shostakovich

Dear Dimitri Shostakovich,

I deeply regret that the continued denial of my passport did not permit me to be present on the recent occasion when you were awarded the Peace Prize of the World Council of Peace: Though I was privileged to serve as a member of the awards committee, I would have liked so much to congratulate you in person on your winning of this new honor, so richly merited by your steadfast devotion to the most urgent cause of humanity.

But permit me now to salute you from afar, and to express in these few lines some measure of the affection and esteem I hold for you. As an artist, I am always inspired by the soaring beauty of your music; as a friend of the Soviet Union, I see in your genial art the flowering of a great people's culture; and as a partisan of peace, I am ever strengthened by the magnificent leadership which you and the other masters of socialist culture bring to our ranks.

It has been a pleasure for me to greet the Soviet chess masters who are here in New York today as guests of our foremost American players. How heartening was the warm applause of the spectators at the opening session of the tournament when the spokesmen of both teams expressed their strong desire for peace and cultural exchange between our countries! Here was a token of that for which all peacelovers yearn, a forecast of that happy time — so surely coming — when artists and audiences the world over shall be enriched by the exchange of peoples' cultures.

Yes, dear Dimitri Dmitrievich, in the words of your glorious song which I frequently bring to listeners across this land: "The breeze of peace is blowing . . ." And with that breeze is the surging tide of the colonial liberation movement — in Asia, in Africa, in Latin America, and here at home where my own oppressed people are demanding immediate equality and freedom.

So, for peace, for freedom, for culture — I clasp your hand!

Paul Robeson

To Charles Chaplin

Dear Charles Chaplin,

I want to thank you and tell you how deeply I was moved by your recent message supporting the struggle now being waged to restore my right to a passport.

As you know, this case involves much more than the injustice done to me as an individual, just as the shameful action of the State Department in your own case is part of a larger picture. The so-called cold war, which has victimized us as artists and citizens, involves the welfare and, indeed, the very lives of uncounted millions. In the fateful drama of our times artist and audience are part of the same cast.

And how happy I am to see you starring in the role of champion of peace! With all my heart I congratulate you on your winning of the Peace Prize of the World Council of Peace.

I recall that in his epic poem, "Let the Railsplitter Awake", Pablo Neruda, the great Chilean poet who was a previous winner of the same prize, noted with sorrow that in the United States "Charles Chaplin, last father of tenderness in the world, is defamed." But I also remember that fascists everywhere hated you for your anti-Nazi film, The Great Dictator. Well, Hitler and his gang are gone, but Chaplin and his art lives on! And your name will be honored — yes, here in America, too — long after McCarthy and his kind are buried in oblivion.

The New York Times was never more false than when it recently wrote "farewell" to your career. More than ever the world looks to your unequalled artistry for new gifts of the love and laughter, the tears of compassion, and the ennobling spirit of humanity with which you have blessed us through all the years.

The affirmation of life and beauty, so poignantly portrayed in your classic Limelight, united you inseparably with mankind everywhere; and it is that commom affirmation which guarantees the victory of peace and brings ever closer the day when human brotherhood shall be a passport for all.

May we meet again soon!

Paul Robeson

THE FESTIVAL AT KARLOVY VARY

The Eighth International Film Festival at Karlovy Vary, July 11—25, is of exceptional brilliance this year. It has the fine motto: "For Peace, for Friendship between the Nations, for the lofty Aspirations of Mankind", and brings together the films and cinematographers of 27 countries.

These include Albania, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil; Bulgaria with the film, "The Heroes of September"; China, with "Men of the Steppe" and "The Conquest of Point 270"; Czechoslovakia; Denmark, with "Pale, alone in the World"; Finland, with "White Reindeer"; Egypt; France, with "Destinées" and "L'Affaire Maurizius"; the German Democratic Republic; Great Britain, with "The Cruel Sea" and "Genevieve"; Holland; India, with "Two Acres of Land"; Indonesia; Japan, with "Children of Hiroshima" and "Crabfishers"; Mexico; Pakistan, with a feature and a documentary; Peru; Poland, with "Happy Mother" and "The Chase"; Rumania, with "The Bugler's Grandson"; the Soviet Union, Sweden and Switzerland.

An international jury of cinematographers, journalists and artists will award the prizes, which include the Peace Prize, the Prize for Friendship between the Nations, and others.

This being Czechoslovak Music Year, the Festival Programme includes concerts commemorating the anniversaries of three great musicians — Bedrich Smetana, Antonin Dvorak and Leos Janacek. The Festival also honours the memory of the great writers Aristophanes, Henry Fielding and Anton Chekhov: one of the exhibitions being presented is devoted to them. In addition, the Soviet Union is presenting a new film based on a short story by Chekhov.

★

The Fourth World Festival of Youth and Students, which was held last year in Bucharest, is living again on the screen in the colour documentary, "For Peace and Friendship".

The film describes this great meeting of the young people of all countries: its preparation in various parts of the world, the enthusiastic welcome the delegates met with in Bucharest, the atmosphere of happiness and brotherhood, meetings between delegations, and the countless artistic programmes which made of this youth meeting a true festival of world culture.

The film was made by Soviet and Rumanian film producers, with contributions from young Albanian, Austrian, British, Chinese, Czech, French, Mongolian and Swedish operators. It proves once again the fruitful results of international co-operation based on peace and friendship.

Around the World

Marshall Islands

The people of the Marshall Islands have sent a petition to the United Nations demanding the immediate ending of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests, which have seriously harmed the inhabitants of the islands.

Uruguay

In a motion of support for Guatemala, the Uruguayan House of Representatives "protests against the attack on Guatemala, expresses its solidarity with a brother country, and decides to send this declaration to all Parliaments on the American continent".

Other Latin American Parliaments, particularly those of Chile, the Argentine and Brazil, have adopted similar resolutions.

Japan

A group of well-known physicists, including Dr. Hideki Yukawa, has signed an appeal against the use of thermo-nuclear weapons. The appeal marks the beginning of a big signature campaign against the H-bomb in Japanese scientific circles.

Great Britain

More than 170 Divisional Labour Parties have already gone on record against the rearming of Germany.

A major victory on this issue was scored by the decision of the 85th Co-operative Congress (representing 11,000,000 British co-operators) on June 9th, deploring "the suggestion that Great Britain should be party in agreeing that West Germany should be rearmed", and calling upon the Co-operative Party to take action "to prevent this agreement coming into force."

The Fire Brigades Union, representing 20,000 British fire-fighters, by an overwhelming majority endorsed the sentiments expressed by their General Secretary, Mr. John Horner, when he said: "The rearming of Germany is no good for peace, no good for democracy and no good for Britain", at the union's annual conference on June 23rd.

On June 17th, the Annual Conference of the United Society of Boilermakers (90,000 members) also overwhelmingly opposed German rearmament and strongly resisted the idea of including Germany in EDC. At the same time the conference demanded the outlawing of the H-bomb.

USSR

At a ceremony in the Sverdlov Hall of the Kremlin Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg handed the Stalin International Peace Prize to Mr. Leon Kruczkowski, the Polish writer.

Brazil

In a recent speech in the Federal Senate Senator Hamilton Nogueira, one of the best known Catholic leaders in Brazil, denounced hydrogen bomb tests as a permanent threat to mankind.

Venezuela

Monsignor Pellin, the Archbishop of Caracas, Monsignor Henriquez, Father José Francisco Fernandez and other religious figures have associated themselves with the Peace Movement's campaign for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

In an article published in the daily, "Ultimas Noticias", General Rafael Gabaldon, President of the Venezuelan Peace Movement, writes of events in Guatemala:

"When economic interests can demand — and there is someone to hear them — the intervention of the American continent to block an agrarian law which one of our countries put into operation, as it had a sovereign right to do, then a blow is struck at the sovereignty, not only of the country where the intervention takes place, but of all countries."

Switzerland

The Grand Council of Neuchâtel has unanimously adopted a resolution expressing the "fervent wishes of the people of Neuchâtel for "a wide relaxation of tension in the international situation" and asking for "atomic energy to be used for exclusively peaceful ends."

Germany

In a referendum held in the German Democratic Republic from June 27th to 29th, 98.7% of the people over 16 years of age took part.

Of these, 11,276,926, that is 93.2%, voted for a peace treaty and the withdrawal of the occupation troops from Germany; only 6.8% voted for EDC.

The result of this referendum is a victory for the forces of peace in the whole of Germany.

Holland

In a letter to Protestant Churches, the Bureau of "The Church and Peace" expresses its anxiety at the hydrogen bomb tests.

The danger of perfecting this weapon is so great, states "The Church and Peace", that it is not enough to demand international agreements. The time has come for a statement by the Churches against atomic war.

Poland

In several towns there have been meetings at which members of the Polish Peace Movement acknowledged the decisions of the Berlin Session of the World Council of Peace and examined the tasks they entail for the Polish Peace Movement.

Italy

In Rome, Turin, Milan, Florence, Padua, Bologna and dozens of other places there have been demonstrations in defence of Guatemala's sovereignty and of support for the Guatemalan people who are the victims of foreign aggression.

In Venice, individuals and delegations laid flowers in a pavilion of the "Biennale" in which canvases by Guatemalan painters were on show.

Iran

The Iranian newspaper "Donyaya Emruz" writes:

"The Iranian people are quite aware that entry into any military alliance would mean the loss of national independence and sovereignty . . . In these tense days, when plots are being woven for the purpose of incorporating Iran in the Ankara-Karachi military pact, we call on the Iranian people to be extremely vigilant and not to allow our country to become a toy in the hands of aggressive diplomacy."

Israel

In Israel, the collection of signatures for the "Popular Referendum to ensure Peace" is continuing. On July 2nd 109,551 signatures had already been collected. The referendum is on the following questions: opposition to the remilitarisation of West Germany, for a peaceful settlement of the issues outstanding between Israel and the Arab countries, and against Israel's entry into regional military pacts.

Birds made radioactive by Bikini explosion

It is not only fish that have been made radioactive by the Bikini H-bomb explosions. Many migratory birds passing over the region have been found to be radioactive.

Tests with Geiger counters on birds which arrived in Japan during the recent migratory period showed traces of radioactivity. The birds probably passed through radioactive clouds.

These are only survivors, for many birds were killed by the Bikini test. Thirty per cent fewer swallows than in previous years arrived in Japan with the migrating flocks this year, and a great number of migratory birds have been found dead in various parts of the country.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNC

N° 15

Long live Peace!

Today these familiar words ring with new meaning. For the first time in 23 years, there is not a country where hour by hour and day by day war brings its relentless train of destitution, ruin, anguish. To the deep happiness of men and women, husbands and wives, on 20 July a cease-fire was signed at Geneva to put an end to the bitter and bloody war in Indo-China.

Such a success does not come out of the air. It is born of a long sequence of hard work, of struggle. It is the result of manifold actions — actions in Indo-China and in other countries of Asia, actions in France, actions in every country in the world — to get negotiations started and to make them succeed.

Once again the pressure of opinion has built up strength enough to stop a war — and in creating and building up that pressure the World Peace Movement has played a leading part.

Despite all the obstacles, all the twisting and scheming, now it is crystal clear that the will to peace which moves the people is irresistible — strong enough to put a stop to the attempts of all who wish to argue with weapons rather than with reason. Recent shifts in viewpoint, new attitudes taken up, have shown that agreement can be reached when both sides really want it.

This cease-fire, outcome of such tremendous endeavour, is a common victory for all the forces of peace. At the same time its importance as a step on the way to a relief of world tension is seen by all.

But does the cease-fire mean peace? Not yet. Great success though it is, it has not turned aside the threat of new dangers. The Geneva agreement opens out a favourable prospect — if the agreements made are duly observed. We must keep good watch. Other dangers, too, remain: dangers that other centres of war may spring to life in Asia, in Europe or elsewhere.

So the success gained is not an end. It is a beginning full of promise. It is a great incentive to greater effort.

From the first the Peace Movement worked for a peaceful settlement of the war in Indo-China. At the same time it has worked persistently for such a solution to every other dispute which by its nature carries the risk of new conflict. In Europe, in particular, it has worked and works for a peaceful solution of the problem of Germany. It works to turn the Governments on to the path of negotiating disarmament and, as first objective, the banning of atomic weapons. In every country it works for the security of all nations with mutual respect for their sovereignty and their independence.

Agreement at Geneva has made easier the solution of every other problem. The negotiations which led to this agreement have given unchallengeable proof that the People's Republic of China must take its place in the world as a Great Power. Once more the stand made by the Peace Movement for the People's Republic of China to take its lawful place in the United Nations Organisation has been vindicated.

Great tasks remain. Today's victory shows that there is no objective which those who go resolutely forward on the road to peace cannot gain. It opens a magnificent vista of new successes. But, as Indo-China has proved to us all, these successes will not come of themselves.

They will come from unceasing action. They will come when all efforts for peace converge, to ensure that henceforth the spirit of negotiations shall prevail in every sphere over the policy of "strength", to ensure that peace may live.

IN THIS I

*

- **Consistent action Movement to end t China.**
- **In the Middle E people support the the Meeting for th International Tens**
- **Declarations in su in Indonesia — Conference of Me liament and others**
- **Growing unity in a in Great Britain — Peace Week in Ge**
- **Consistent activity Peace Movement — disarmament in Sw**
- **Campaign against in Austria — Th want peace — paign in Iceland.**
- **Action and strugg Japan — Letter fro Meteorological Soc**
- **The armistice conc is the joint victory of peace.**

*

- **Cultural informatio**

What the Press is saying...

The signing of the armistice ending the war which has been going on for eight years on the territory of Viet-Nam, Pathet Lao and Khmer marks an important step on the road to the relaxation of international tension. Tremendous enthusiasm among the people greeted the agreement concluded at Geneva. This is reflected in the comments of the international press of which we give a few excerpts.

In general, these (the terms of the armistice Ed) *are good terms — better, indeed, than could have been expected... We must be thankful that patience has brought peace to Indo-China, and on good terms.*

What next? The agreement at Geneva is, of course, only the beginning of making peace and keeping it. The armistice in Indo-China ought to be followed, if possible, by seeking a more general settlement in Asia. This favourable opportunity should not be lost...

To shut all doors on the Chinese and ignore them, as many Americans want, would be a policy of weak timidity. By all means let us negotiate...

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, July 21st
(Great Britain)

*

There would be no sense in ensuring peaceful coexistence in Southeast Asia if the cold war were to continue and be aggravated in Europe. One question now stands out over all others: will Germany be rearmed...?

LE MONDE, July 22nd
(France)

*

Under the heading "Important Victory for the Forces of Peace", the July 22nd number of Pravda writes:

The agreements signed at Geneva end a bloody war which has been going on for eight years and represent a great victory for the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Indo-China. For the latter they make possible a peaceful economic and cultural upgrowth and lay the foundation for the development of peaceful co-operation between them and France.

The agreements are also of far-reaching importance for the peoples of Asia, where another war theatre has been eliminated. They are also a great step forward in the strengthening of peace and the development of international co-operation. The attainment of these agreements is a victory for the whole camp of peace, and they fulfil the hopes of all mankind desirous of living in peace. It is for this reason that the peoples of the world are today wholeheartedly welcoming the victory won at Geneva.

The reaching of agreement on the question of Indo-China opens the way to the solution of other outstanding international issues.

PRAVDA, July 22nd
(USSR)

*

It (the cease-fire Ed) *is a result of far-reaching importance. It means the restoration of peace and the elimination of the last theatre of hot war in the world.*

LA STAMPA, July 20th
(Italy)

*

It (the cease-fire Ed) *is a very fortunate event, for the continuation of this war under present conditions would have been both absurd and inhuman...*

JOURNAL DE GENEVE, July 22nd
(Switzerland)

*

The whole world will rejoice at the ending of the war in Indo-China.

ARBEIDERBLADET, July 21st
(Norway)

*

The whole world will salute this event as a victory of the peace forces...

International public opinion will see in the cease-fire of July 20th an event of first rank importance — and it will not be wrong.

LE PEUPLE, July 21st
(Belgium)

*

The Conference is a very great victory and must contribute to the settlement of the principal international issues and the establishment of peace and security in the world...

With the successful ending of the Conference began a new era in which the nations of Asia are going to play a historic role in international affairs.

NEW CHINA
(People's Republic of China)

*

Under the heading "Triumph of Negotiation over War" a Hindustan Times despatch declares:

"*These are the fateful meanings of a great world event, the conclusion of a cease-fire in Indo-China, that will enter history under the date-line: Geneva, July 20th, 1954.*" It added that "*the way of creating peace through negotiation has at last been shown.*"

HINDUSTAN TIMES, July 21st
(India)

*

The cease-fire... and the ending of the massacre can only inspire a feeling of relief.

IL POPOLO, July 20th
(Italy)

*

There is cause for deep thankfulness in the news about Indo-China...

Great perils have been averted at Geneva. France is being given some release from a crushing burden.

THE TIMES, July 21st
(Great Britain)

*

Generally speaking, we may say, as Mr. Eden and M. Mendès-France did in Geneva yesterday, that the agreement which has been reached is the most satisfactory that could be hoped for. And we can justifiably say that it is much less stringent than the military situation made us fear it would be.

LE MONDE, July 23rd
(France)

*

At last! That was the unanimous cry — or rather, sigh of relief — of Frenchmen yesterday when they learned of the agreement on the cease-fire.

What ordinary common sense and a correct appreciation of the "national interest" — not that which makes a great song and dance — have for years been telling us to try was successfully achieved in a few days...

LE POPULAIRE, July 22nd
(France)

*

On the announcement of this news the country will give a great sigh of satisfaction and relief.

COMBAT, July 21st
(France)

*

For all these reasons, the cease-fire in Indo-China will bring a feeling of happiness and satisfaction everywhere.

HAVBHARAT TIMES, July 21st
(India)

*

All who hold world peace dear will be profoundly satisfied to learn that, thanks to the efforts of those who took part in the Geneva Conference, the task of restoring peace in Indo-China has been accomplished with success. The victory of the cause of peace on the question of Indo-China was won by the determined struggle of the peace forces. It was won in the teeth of opposition from aggressive circles which have not the least interest in the peaceful solution of international issues.

IZVESTIA, July 22nd
(USSR)

*

The most important advantage for both sides is the replacement of the ferocious rivalry of interests and doctrines by peaceful competition.

LE MONDE, July 22nd
(France)

*

Great relief and gratification were expressed in official circles in New Delhi and will be felt throughout India with the achievement of the cessation of fighting in Indo-China.

INDIAN EXPRESS, July 21st
(India)

*

The Indo-China cease-fire has provided another example for settling international disputes by means of negotiation.

The signing of the armistice agreements in Indo-China has strengthened the will of the Korean people to fight for the peaceful unification of their country.

MINDU CHOSEN, July 22nd
(Korea)

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

END THE WAR IN VIET-NAM!
THIS WAS THE WILL OF THE PEACE FORCES

The World Peace Movement has always demanded the ending of hostilities in Indo-China. It has always advocated the settlement of major international issues by Great Power negotiation. The proposals and campaigns of the Movement to a large extent helped to create the powerful trend of opinion which decisively influenced the peaceful settlement of the war in Indo-China.

1949

THE WORLD CONGRESS OF THE DEFENDERS OF PEACE LOUDLY PROCLAIMS THAT THE DEFENCE OF PEACE IS HENCEFORTH THE CONCERN OF ALL THE PEOPLES.

Manifesto of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace
Paris-Prague, April 20-25

The World Committee addresses itself to the elected bodies of all the countries of the world. It invites them to discuss peace proposals which express the wishes of peoples everywhere. It urges them to require of their Governments that they support these proposals, that they remain faithful to the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and also that their national policy be inspired by them.

These proposals should include:

Immediate and direct negotiations under international auspices to bring about the ending of current wars, especially in Greece, Viet-Nam, Indonesia and Malaya...

General Resolution
Session of the Committee of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace
Rome, October 28-31

End the wars of intervention against the peoples of Indonesia, Malaya and Viet-Nam by direct and immediate negotiations under international auspices.

Appeal for World Peace
Bureau Meeting of the Committee of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace
Paris, December 15

1950

We call for the ending of the intervention by US armed forces on the Chinese island of Taiwan (Formosa) and the ending of hostilities against the Republic of Viet-Nam — military operations which also carry the threat of world war.

Address to the United Nations
Second World Congress of Defenders of Peace
Warsaw, November 16-22

1951

The proposals for a peaceful settlement of the war in Korea and the other major Asian problems (Taiwan, Viet-Nam and Malaya) and for a peaceful settlement of the German and Japanese problems, as well as the attempts at conciliation by certain Asian, Arab and other peace-loving countries, contribute at one and the same time to the maintenance of peace and the free self-determination of peoples.

Resolution on the Struggle for Peace in the Colonial and Dependent Countries
First Session of the World Council of Peace
Berlin, February 21-26

Concerning the current conflicts in Southeast Asia, the World Council of Peace notes that the development of the war in Viet-Nam, involving Pathet Lao (Laos) and Khmer (Cambodia), is increasing the danger of a new world war.

The World Council of Peace calls for an immediate cease-fire in Viet-Nam and simultaneous opening of negotiations for a general settlement of the conflict — a settlement which would make obligatory the withdrawal of foreign troops.

Resolution on Southeast Asia and Viet-Nam
Second Session of the World Council of Peace
Vienna, November 1-6

Appeal of the World Council of Peace

A great hope has been born. Everybody now sees that agreement is possible. The slaughter can be ended. The Cold War can be stopped.

In this hour we solemnly call upon the peoples to demand of their Governments that they negotiate and agree.

It is for us all to support every move — from whatsoever Government it may come — to solve disputes by peaceful means. It is for us all to frustrate the efforts of those who prevent or delay agreement.

Peace is within our reach. It is for us to win it.

Fourth Session of the World Council of Peace
Budapest, June 15-20, 1953

The above quoted Appeal, adopted just before the conclusion of the armistice in Korea, gave rise to a world campaign in favour of negotiation which is reflected in the results obtained at Geneva.

1952

On Viet-Nam:

a) Immediate cessation of hostilities in the three countries of Viet-Nam, Pathet Lao and Khmer;

b) Immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from the three countries of Viet-Nam, Pathet Lao and Khmer; the two parties to assume responsibility for avoiding any further loss of human life and further material damage during the withdrawal;

c) Complete and genuine independence for the three countries.

Congress expresses the wish that, after the withdrawal of foreign troops from the three countries, Viet-Nam, Pathet Lao and Khmer, and the restoration of their full independence, these three countries and France establish agreements in an atmosphere of peace, with a view to cultural and economic exchanges on a basis of equality and mutual interest.

Recommendations adopted by the Commission of the Congress of the Peoples for Peace entrusted with examining problems relating to the Ending of Wars now going on
Congress of the Peoples for Peace
Vienna, December 12-19

1953

The war between France and Viet-Nam, which has been raging for seven years, can only be ended by direct negotiations between the belligerents.

General Resolution
Fifth Session of the World Council of Peace
Vienna, November 23-28

1954

The Four Power Conference in Berlin was a success for the peoples' will for peace... It was possible to reach agreement on the holding of a Conference in Geneva on Far Eastern questions, with participation of the Five Great Powers and other interested States...

For the first time, there is an opportunity for the Big Five, meeting in discussion with other interested States, to reach an agreement on general security in the Far East. Such security can come about as a result of the normalisation of relations among all the countries of Asia, their independence recognised, their security guaranteed. Korea must be reunited peacefully and must freely decide her own destiny after the withdrawal of foreign troops. An immediate cease-fire in Indo-China would make possible peace negotiations between France and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

The Geneva Conference can and must constitute an important stage on the road to relaxation of international tension and disarmament.

Resolution of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace
Vienna, March 28-30

The pressure of world public opinion, which secured the armistice in Korea and the opening of negotiations on European and Asian problems, can today secure:

— a successful outcome to the Geneva Conference, that is to say, a cease-fire in Indo-China and a peaceful settlement of the Korean and Indo-Chinese conflicts...

Resolution on Security
Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace
Berlin, May 24-28

IN THE MIDDLE EAST

SYRIA — Appeal convening the second Congress of the Peace Movement

The second Congress of the Syrian Peace Movement took place on July 15th, 16th and 17th following a call by the National Peace Committee. The call reads as follows:

"*There are signs of a relaxation of international tension on the horizon — the ending of the Korean war, the Berlin Conference and the meeting of the Big Five for the first time, in Geneva.*

"*At the same time the widest circles, including Government and Parliamentary circles, are going on record for peaceful co-existence between all the countries of the world in general, and the countries of East and West in particular, and the expansion of trade and cultural relations, and are demanding that the peoples should be free.*

"*At the present time, the Arab countries and the whole Middle East are the object of great activity and pressure on the part of those who want war, the aim being to bind us to aggressive coalitions and bilateral military and economic treaties . . .*

"*By co-operating with all honest patriots, the Syrian Peace Movement, in which are to be found groups with different political views and social backgrounds, has done much to alert our people to the dangers of war plans and colonisation and has helped to frustrate these plans up till now. In this way, it has made its contribution to the cause of peace throughout the world.*

"*Faced with this growing pressure on our country and the dangers threatening the Arab countries in general, faced with the warmongers' attempts to aggravate international tension by sabotaging any peaceful agreement in Indo-China, by doing everything in their power to force through a South-East Asia bloc and by organising armed attacks on the independence of peoples, as in Guatemala, Tunisia and Morocco;*

"*In order to avert the threat of war to our country, to frustrate the plans for an imperialist coalition and to support the world campaign to stop H-bomb tests and to prohibit this weapon;*

"*To foster trade and cultural relations between all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems;*

"*The Syrian Peace Movement calls for the convening of its Second Congress, certain that it will receive wide support from all honest and patriotic people — writers, students, workers, industrialists, tradesmen, artisans, peasants and landed proprietors — in a word, from all men and women in our country . . .*"

EGYPT:

Manifesto on Atomic Weapons and Tests

The Egyptian National Peace Committee has issued a manifesto addressed to the Egyptian Government condemning the manufacture, testing and use of weapons of mass destruction. The manifesto says:

"*To carry on experiments on H-bombs threatens to bring catastrophe upon mankind. The radioactive dust reached Japan and perhaps even New York. The tests gave rise to a wave of fear throughout the world. Governments and peoples demanded that the tests be stopped and that an agreement be concluded for outlawing atomic, thermonuclear and bacteriological weapons of mass destruction, together with a reduction of armaments.*

"*We want the Egyptian Government to do its duty and intervene on this subject, mankind's main concern today . . .*

"*The Egyptian National Peace Committee supports Mr. Nehru's appeal for the stopping of the tests and the prohibition of these weapons. It asks the Egyptian Government to associate itself with this appeal and co-operate with governments and international organisations which are trying to attain these objectives . . .*

"*Because of the danger, stronger and more united efforts are necessary in order to win a victory for civilisation and defeat barbarism. For this reason we hope that the Egyptian Government will make its decision known soon.*"

THE LEBANON:

Preparations for a National Congress of the Peace Movement

A meeting of the Lebanese National Peace Committee was held on June 28th, together with members of local Peace Committees and guests. The meeting studied the resolutions and recommendation adopted by the Berlin Session of the World Council and approved them unanimously.

They also decided to convene Peace Congresses in all parts of the Lebanon in preparation for a National Congress of the Peace Movement.

Mr. Hussein Mruye, the writer and member of the Lebanese delegation at Berlin, gave a report on the work of the session. After explaining the resolutions, he drew attention to the vital paragraphs of the most important speeches delivered at the session, and to the unanimity of views of the delegates, who had come from 56 countries and embraced different political opinions, on mankind's principal preoccupations — the prohibition of the H-bomb and collective security.

Mr. Abdallah Adra, industrialist and delegate at the Berlin Session, showed that the maintenance of peace is an essential prerequisite for building up the national industry, and that trade between all countries, on a footing of equality and mutual interest, consolidates friendly international relations and helps to ease tension.

Mr. Antoine Tabet gave a report on the International Meeting in Stockholm and pointed out that the decisions reached were in agreement with the aims of the World Peace Movement. He then proposed that a Congress of the Lebanese Peace Movement should be convened.

This proposal was supported by Mr. Abdallah Alaili, a religious scholar; Sheikh Mussa, another religious figure; Mr. Ramez Shaban, Mr. Subhi Rifai and Mr. Shafik Murtada, lawyers belonging to no party, and adopted unanimously.

Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension Chinese support for resolutions

A report-back meeting of the Chinese delegation to the Stockholm Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension was held in Peking on July 13th at the invitation of the Chinese Peace Committee.

The meeting was attended by over 800 people including representatives of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions.

Mr. Kuo Mo-jo, who headed the Chinese delegation to the Stockholm Meeting, spoke after an opening speech was delivered by Mr. Chen Shu-tung, member of the delegation to Stockholm.

Mr. Kuo Mo-jo said that the Stockholm resolutions answered the demands of the peoples and were favourable to the progress of the Geneva Conference. The Stockholm Meeting, he added, had broadened the basis of the movement for peace throughout the world. He ended his speech by listing among the principal demands typical of the present world situation: the universal demand for agreement through negotiation, a ban on atomic and hydrogen bombs, free trade and cultural exchanges, the admission of the People's Republic of China to U.N.O.

The meeting adopted a resolution of support for the Stockholm decisions. It says that these decisions — for an early cease-fire in Indo-China and against the continuation or extension of the war there; for the early reopening of the Korean negotiations and the prevention of a renewed Korean war — accord with the interests of the people of China, India and the rest of the world and are favourable to the development of the Geneva Conference.

The holding of the Stockholm Meeting, notable for its wide range of representation, was opportune, the resolution points out. It showed that the desire for peace of people throughout the world was so strong that no national, professional, political or religious differences could prevent them from closing their ranks in the interest of peace.

The resolution states in conclusion that by their action the Chinese people will support the decisions of the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension.

(*Hsinhua*, July 14th, 1954)

Israel — Success of Referendum

During June 123,143 positive answers were collected for the referendum organised by the Israeli Peace Movement. We recall that the referendum deals with the following three points:

— Opposition to the revival of German militarism;

— The establishment of lasting peace between Israel and the Arab countries;

— Opposition to Israel's entry into a regional military alliance.

The signatories include 120 doctors, 40 lawyers, 50 engineers and architects, 500 teachers, and many tradesmen, craftsmen, employers, religious personalities and soldiers.

Four Rabbis of Jerusalem have taken part in the campaign for the referendum. One of them, Rabbi Shalom Aboutboul of Talpiot, has issued a manifesto to all believers asking them to take part.

Indonesia — Declarations in support of Peace

The Indonesian National Peace Committee met in Djakarta on June 20th to discuss the preservation of peace and security in Asia. It decided to express unqualified support for the resolutions of the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin and called on the Indonesian people to carry them out.

The meeting welcomed the efforts of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China for the establishment of peace in Asia at the Geneva Conference, and called for the greatest possible support for the Conference.

A resolution was adopted demanding the immediate prohibition of hydrogen and atomic bombs and voicing opposition to the testing of these weapons in the Pacific by the Americans.

The meeting elected Professor Purbodiningrat as Chairman of the Indonesian National Peace Committee.

Statement by the Prime Minister

The Indonesian Prime Minister, Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, declared on July 7th that "*in the last few weeks, the balance of power in the world seems to be shifting to new positions*".

He mentioned Premier Chou En-lai's visit to India and Burma, which took place while Churchill and Eisenhower were meeting in Washington, and the Chinese trade delegations to London and Djakarta.

"*It is to be hoped that these shifts will develop to the advantage not only of Indonesia, but of Asia and the world as well*", the Prime Minister said.

"*Our desire for peace*", he continued, "*will be nearer satisfaction if these shifts are materialised on the basis of Asia's interests. These interests could best be served by abandoning the out-dated policy of subjugating Asia's wishes to those of other continents.*

"*I think the time has come for the countries to co-exist as independent nations and to begin, in harmonious unison, to set about the task of building a peaceful world where each nation can prosper and live in freedom.*

"*The Republic of Indonesia is determined to continue its efforts to reach this goal...*"

"*Indonesia pins great hopes on the Geneva Conference*", concluded the Prime Minister. "*This Conference directly concerns Indonesia as it is discussing the vital problems of Asia. We therefore want the Geneva Conference to be as successful as possible.*"

Peace in Indo-China is necessary for the whole world

Statement by Minister of Foreign Affairs

Dr. Sunarjo, Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs, said in an interview that a cease-fire should be carried out in Indo-China, followed immediately by a peaceful political settlement of the Indo-China question by the Indo-Chinese peoples themselves.

He added that he greatly hoped the Geneva Conference would bring about peace in Indo-China; it was badly needed both in South-East Asia and in the world at large.

Chairman of Foreign Affairs Committee opposes foreign bases

Indonesia cannot provide military bases for foreign countries, declared Otto Rondonuwu, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Indonesian Parliament, in an interview with the press on June 26th.

He pointed out that the occupation of West Irian by the Netherlands in relation to the proposed SEATO and political manoeuvres in South-East Asia have made the Indonesian people suspicious.

Rallies and Meetings in Burma

A peace rally of over 1,000 people in the Municipal Hall of Rangoon on July 4 adopted resolutions supporting the Geneva Conference and the joint statements issued by the Chinese and Indian and Chinese and Burmese Prime Ministers.

The rally, held under the auspices of the Rangoon branch of the Burma Peace Committee, opposed the organisation of the so-called "Southeast Asian Defence Bloc", called for a ban on atomic weapons and condemned U.S. aggression in Guatemala.

The rally was presided over by U Shwe Pyu, Chairman of the Rangoon Peace Committee. He pointed out that the world forces of peace were more powerful than a year or two ago, but peace-loving people must not relax their vigilance. They must redouble their efforts in the defence of world peace, he said. Referring to the joint statements, U Shwe Pyu declared: "*These statements are greatly helpful to world peace and are welcomed by all the Burmese people.*"

Thakin Kodaw Hmaing, Chairman of the Burma Peace Committee, and other prominent people also spoke at the rally.

Resolutions supporting the joint statements of the Chinese Premier and the Indian and Burmese Prime Ministers were adopted on July 4 at a meeting of the Shwebo District Committee of the Burma Peace Committee. A peace meeting held by the Bhamo District Committee of the Burma Peace Committee on July 3 passed resolutions opposing U.S. intrigues to foment a new war in Asia. Over 600 representatives from 27 villages attended the meeting.

The Latin American Conference of Members of Parliament and Others

(Santiago de Chile, July 8—12)

A Conference of Members of Parliament and well-known individuals of Latin America was held in Santiago de Chile from July 8th to 12th. It was convened by an important group of Chilean MPs for the purpose of studying both the situation in Guatemala and the general economic and political problems involved in the struggle against interference by the U.S.A. in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America.

Well-known people from Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and other countries took part in the conference.

Professor Marcos Armando Hardy of Argentina, whose recent book, *Bilateral Military Aid Pacts*, has roused great interest in legal circles, made the point that foreign interests are placing obstacles in the way of the development of national economies. He illustrated this by describing the situation in his own country, where the national industries are dying.

Similarly, the attacks on national cultures were condemned by the participants in the Conference, especially Senator Angel Cusano from Uruguay, who attacked the foreign hold on the press and radio.

The Conference was strongly in favour of the protection of each country's natural wealth and the right to free trade with all countries, and condemned colonialism in all its forms.

It declared its unanimous opposition to the decisions of the Tenth Inter-American Conference in Caracas, which are a screen for interference by the United States in the internal affairs of a number of Latin American States, and strongly affirmed the right of each people to the political system of its choice and its sovereign right to recover its national wealth, to nationalise and exploit it for its own benefit.

The Conference strongly condemned North American intervention in Guatemala and refused to recognise the military junta which has been set up there.

This important meeting ended with a great popular demonstration in Santiago de Chile.

Statement by Foreign Minister of Nepal

Speaking on June 19th at a meeting at Chabhil, about three miles from Katmandu, the capital of Nepal, the Nepalese Foreign Minister, Mr. D.R. Regmi, said that the interests of both Nepal and India demand that they should not be involved in the maelstrom of war. He expressed his opposition to any policy aimed at making South-East Asia into a war base.

Growing Unity in Action for Peace in Great Br

Response to Campaign for World Security

"*The most urgent duty facing every patriotic man and woman today is to unite against German rearmament. The threat of the Hydrogen bomb and all that it involves makes this all the more necessary. No bans or proscriptions can be allowed to stand in the way.*" With these words Mr. William Wainwright, secretary of the British Peace Committee, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, opened a big open-air meeting in Manchester on 11 July. Preceded by a march through the streets this rally was one of the numerous current events in the British Peace Committee's "World Security Campaign".

Underlining the strength of the resistance of the British people to the rearming of Germany, Mr. Wainwright recalled the following facts:

— in the last three months 16 national trade unions with a total membership of over 2,500,000 have opposed German rearmament;

— in June the Congress of the Co-operative Union, representing 11 million members, rejected German rearmament;

— the majority of the local branches of the Labour Party are opposed to E.D.C.;

— there is a section of the Conservative Party which is opposed to E.D.C.

"*But in spite of this*", Mr. Wainwright added, "*very great efforts to force through the remilitarisation of West Germany and rearm the Nazis are being made. And when rearmed they will have atomic guns and atomic air bases. Think of Coventry and think of what a revived German army armed with the H-bomb means.*

"*It can be stopped. What is needed is not only protest but common action between all, whatever their political party or religious belief.*"

Forms of Common Action

Other events in the campaign for World Security show that the Peace Movement's call for common action is meeting with a growing response.

...In Swansea (West Wales) a poster parade organised by the Peace Council was headed by the Liberal M.P., Sir Percy Morris, who afterwards spoke at a meeting together with Mrs. Llewellyn of the West Wales Peace Committee.

...In Loughton, Essex, the Peace Committee took a deputation to the local town council. The deputation was supported by the Labour group on the Council and the appeal of the Peace Committee was adopted by a majority of the town council, including five conservative councillors.

...In a big rally at Battersea Town Hall, South London, the main speakers were Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., President of the British Peace Committee, and a leading Labour Party Councillor.

Developments of greater unity are taking place particularly in relation to the campaign against the Hydrogen bomb. In London alone, during June, united committees to campaign against the Hydrogen bomb in association with local peace committees have been set up in nine boroughs. In Bristol the Peace Movement is organising a city-wide campaign against the H-bomb. The Bristol Borough Labour Party has set up a special sub-committee for the purpose. The City Engineer gave special permission for the use of bomb sites and open spaces to be used for collecting-tables and publicity.

In Birmingham, a programme of poster parades and signature collections leading up to a big meeting in Aston Park addressed by Mr. D. N. Pritt on 17 July, has been supported by leading members of the Labour party.

On 11 July the annual meeting of the Surrey Peace Council was addressed by Alderman H. B. W. Cresswell, former Lord Mayor of Coventry.

H-Bomb Coffin

Thousands of shoppers in the crowded streets of Camden Town, working class district of North London, on Saturday afternoon 10 July, saw a cortege pass carrying a black-draped coffin beneath a banner with the words "BETTER AN ACTIVE LIFE THAN A RADIOACTIVE DEATH". Headed by a band, and with many banners and posters calling for the banning of the H-bomb and against German rearmament, the procession was organised by St. Pancras Peace Council, supported by the Labour parties of St. Pancras and Holborn.

Further demonstrations and poster parades of this sort are taking place in London on 17 and 24 July and 7 August.

The British Peace Committee has appealed to all organisations without exception to join in observing 7—8 August as 'Hiroshima Weekend', the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima.

The nation
gen bomb, la
under the p
head of the
by the Briti
wide suppor
those who h
to the petiti
Mr. Julian H
Sir Max Bee

On 7 July
Methodist C
adherents,
governments
those of the
unequivocall
ces would th
mic weapon.

A similar
by the annu
tional Union

Broads

In conne
Campaign th
published a
vividly pres
the people a
the British t

The broad
article by C
dent of Co
Deputy Lor
of the World
ment's Civil
which he de
farce". He e
outlaw ato
defence aga
that the G
were so "
City Council
was needed
tion. This le
to disband
which it has

The Preparation of "Peace Wee

The German Peace Council has decided to organise a "Pe
and the beginning of September on the occasion of the 40t
last two world wars. During this "Peace Week" big dem
of collective security, the improvement of relations betw
and the unification of Germany.

Preparatory committees are being set up in towns and
tion of representatives from all sections of the people — wo
intellectuals, young people and others. The "Peace Week'
or rally in every locality, and these will be followed by p
tions and dramatic performances.

These various events will recall the sacrifices imposed
world wars and the happy prospects offered by a peacef

A group of professors, all members of the Committee f
German Problem, has been set up in the German Academy
Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Pea
bomb tests in the Pacific. They demand the banning of w
ending of the war in Viet-Nam and the peaceful reunifica

Consistent Activity of the Italian Peace Movement

Since the beginning of the year there has been an important development in the work and organisation of the Italian Peace Movement, the reason for which is that the whole Movement has been spurred into action by concrete objectives.

From explanation . . .

The campaign against the EDC treaty was given a new lease of life, in an organised way, at the end of 1953. The first thing was to make the treaty known to the people, and a campaign of explanation was begun consisting of many hundreds of meetings and conferences at all levels. The text of the treaty, either with or without commentary, was distributed on a wide scale.

This phase of explanations resulted in the discussions which the defenders of peace were seeking. The various movements and political parties were publicly invited to take part in public debates, and in this way it was possible to interest new sections of the people in EDC and to communicate the arguments of the Peace Movement to people who had never heard them.

. . . into action

On the other hand, Italy is this year celebrating the 10th anniversary of the national liberation struggle, and throughout the country demonstrations have been held at which members of the Peace Movement raised the question of German rearmament and EDC. Other organisations — former resistance fighters, ex-service men, the women and the young people, etc. — took part in these demonstrations, giving their own reasons for opposing German rearmament.

Thus the campaign against EDC took on a mass character. Deputations were sent to the authorities and to the MPs; petitions were distributed and were soon filled with signatures; motions and resolutions gave expression to the people's wishes. This activity went on even in the homes, from family to family. In this way the campaign mobilised the whole people.

From the H-bomb . . .

It was at that moment that public opinion was put on its guard by the Bikini hydrogen bomb tests. The National Council of the Peace Movement immediately made its views known and more especially spoke to the Catholic masses, calling on all who want peace to unite. Many deputations representing all sections of the people and all political viewpoints asked the Church leaders to condemn atomic and thermonuclear weapons. And so the campaign for peace grew in scope, especially after the Pope's Easter Message. Many municipal and provincial councils went on record against the A and H bombs and more and more petitions went round every day, gathering an ever increasing number of signatures. This growing activity of the Italian people was reflected in the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies demanding the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

. . . to the dangers of a divided Europe

Within the broader framework of the fight for peace the campaign against EDC was conducted with renewed vigour.

The dangers of a Europe divided into two blocs became more obvious — the war implicit in them could be an atomic war.

After going on record against weapons of mass destruction, Municipal and Provincial Councils adopted motions condemning EDC.

The campaign against EDC and that against atomic weapons became indissolubly joined together in such actions as the "Peace Days" in Turin, the referendum in Empoli (Florence), the ballot in Venice, and so on.

The National Council of the Peace Movement made a clear stand against the aggressive attack on Guatemala, and demonstrations of solidarity were immediately held in many places. This new campaign also helped to strengthen the struggle against EDC, for it showed where the real forces of aggression lie and the danger of aggression contained in EDC.

The reasons for this development of the Italian Peace Movement and its successes in recent months are the consistent setting of clear political objectives, the correct linking up of the different problems and a constant search for further ways of promoting common action among wider circles thereby enriching the work of the Movement.

FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

A number of people from political, economic and cultural circles met in the Study Centre for Relations with China in Rome on July 8th, to examine the measures to be taken for the development of relations with the People's Republic of China.

Those present included: Dr. Giuseppe Alberti, Senator; Professor Antonio Banfi, Senator and Professor at Milan University; Senator Alberto Bergamini; Professor Piero Calamandrei, Deputy and Professor at Florence University; Professor Canaletti-Gaudenti, Senator, former President of the Institute of Statistics, Councillor of State; Professor G.M. De Francesco, Deputy and Rector of Milan University; Sig. Raffaele Guariglia, Senator and former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Sig. Enrico Molè, Vice-President of the Senate; Professor Ferrucio Parri, Deputy, former President of the Council of Ministers; Professor Raffaele Pettazzoni, Professor at Rome University; Professor Ugo Spirito, Professor at Rome University; Sig. Umberto Terracini, Senator and former President of the Constituent Assembly.

Many persons also sent messages of support to the Assembly.

Switzerland — a Proposal for Disarmament

M. Samuel Chevallier, a Swiss journalist, launched a popular appeal for disarmament in his paper, "Le Bon Jour".

"Bearing in mind the need for positive action in favour of peace and a reduction of armaments, and Switzerland's moral obligations as a neutral country", the initiators and signatories of this document demand:

1) A 50% reduction of the normal military budget for 1955 (or 1956).

2) The elimination of any extraordinary expenditure for this same year.

3) Half on the economies thus realised to be used in Switzerland for the benefit of the children and for the construction of houses to be let at moderate rents, and the other half for reconstruction in neighbouring countries devastated by the war.

Lastly, they express the wish that this year of respite should be given over to a new examination of the problem of national defence with a view to reducing expenditure in this field.

This proposal roused a violent polemic in Switzerland but was widely supported among the mass of the population and by many organisations which sincerely desire peace and a relaxation of international tension. The document was issued in the form of a petition which has, to date, won 76,222 signatures. According to Swiss law, the Federal Council must consider issueing as a referendum of the whole electorate any petition which receives 50,000 signatures. If the petition then wins a majority of the votes it can become law.

This proposal, though its form somewhat limits its effect, certainly reflects the Swiss people's opposition to excessive military expenditure. The most diverse circles seized the opportunity to show their profound desire for peace.

It is clear therefore that this Swiss journalist's initiative has become a positive action helping to rally the Swiss people in favour of peace.

BELGIAN YOUTH FESTIVAL FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP

The Belgian popular Youth Organisation recently organised a Belgian Youth Festival with the slogan: "For Peace and Friendship." Many young Socialists and Catholics took part in it.

The Festival ended with a mass demonstration at which representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the youth organisations of France, West Germany, Holland and Italy were among the speakers.

*

Iceland — signature campaign for the withdrawal of foreign troops and against atomic weapons

The Iceland Peace Committee is organising a signature campaign throughout the country for the withdrawal of foreign troops and the prohibition of atomic weapons.

As a result of the policy of war preparations, the economic situation in Iceland has been getting worse since 1946 and the people are suffering its harsh consequences.

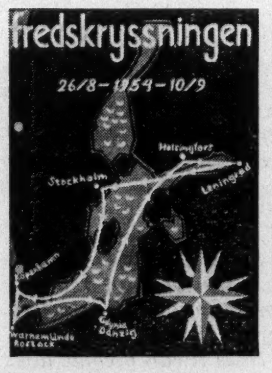
The atomic bomb threat is particularly felt in Iceland because of this little country's strategic importance in the event of a world war.

More than once the people of Iceland have clearly shown their will to regain full independence and to replace the policy of strength by negotiation. This new signature campaign will be powerfully supported by the most diverse sections of the people and will be another step forward in the organisation of a great movement of national unity to defend peace.

*

Baltic Peace Cruise

The folder whose cover we reproduce was published by the Swedish Peace Committee to popularise the great peace cruise in the Baltic from August 26th to September 10th, in which more than 800 Swedes, Danes, Norwegians and Finns will take part. The itinerary is as follows: Stockholm, Copenhagen, Warnemünde, Rostock, Gdynia, Gdansk, Helsinki, Stockholm.



The tourists will sail in the Polish ship, the *Batory*. The travellers will be welcomed by the Peace Committees at the various ports of call and they will have plenty of time to visit the cities. The cruise is open to all friends of peace and it will reinforce peaceful, friendly relations between the peoples of the Baltic.

Austria — Campaign against War Propaganda

A strong fight against the propaganda of war and annexation conducted by the so-called soldiers' associations which are organised and directed by the revenge-seeking circles of West Germany, is being led by the Austrian Peace Movement.

In Upper Austria the Regional Peace Council mobilised public opinion against one of these "Ex-service-men's Meetings" which was to have been held in Gmunden on June 12th. Workers from many factories and deputations of women went to the Mayor of Gmunden and asked him to ban the meeting. As a result of the unanimous determination of the population only 23 people turned up for the meeting.

Women in Salzburg demonstrated their opposition to war propaganda and soldiers' meetings by a silent march through the town. One of their posters said: "No more meetings of soldiers, no more militarism — we've had enough!"

An Austrian Peace Council poster bearing the legend: "From soldiers' meetings to a mass grave!", was placed on the ruins of the Burgtheater in Vienna and created a great sensation.

On June 27th in Amstetten there was a demonstration of former resistance fighters and victims of fascism against soldiers' meetings and annexationist propaganda.

Poster placed on the ruins of the *Burgtheater* in Vienna by the Austrian Peace Council

"This demonstration", said Dr. Wilhelm Steiner, President of the Federal Association of Resistance Fighters and Victims of Fascism, "is in memory of the time when German militarism cast our country into the deepest ignominy and immeasurable national disaster... We should have no objection to soldiers' meetings if they were led by war invalids, the blind, the limbless, the widows and the orphans, and if they had slogans such as "We soldiers do not want war: we want a peaceful Austria!" instead of "Honour means loyalty!"

"The little country of Luxembourg feels especially threatened by German rearmament."

The National Committee of the Luxembourg Peace Movement adopted three resolutions at its session of June 29th.

The first is on security and the relaxation of international tension and runs:

"*The insolent aggression by avowed mercenaries of imperialism against the little country of Guatemala has shown to millions of people throughout the world the true face of those who want war.*

"*The little country of Luxembourg feels especially threatened by the rearmament of its neighbour, West Germany, which has been organised by forces that are well known; by the dangers of atomic weapons; and by the incorporation of Luxembourg in the so-called European army which is really a German army.*"

The second resolution calls for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

The third calls on the people of Luxembourg to defend the Constitution of the Grand Duchy which it is intended to revise so as to permit EDC to come into force. Indeed, the Council of State has irrefutably established that EDC violates 17 provisions of the Constitution. The ratification of the treaty by Parliament is contrary to the will of the people of Luxembourg. Such is the opinion expressed by seven big organisations of different kinds and several groups of intellectuals, peasants and middle class people.

The Greek People want Peace

On the island of Syros on May 30th, more than 3,000 Catholic inhabitants of the island with the Bishop and the clergy at their head left the town and the villages in a long Peace March. As they marched they chanted prayers for world peace. The different groups met at the Faneromeni convent where prayers were offered up for the attainment of world peace and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

The demonstration had wide repercussions in this beautiful island of the Cyclades which suffered terribly from the war and is struggling in deep crisis under the weight of the preparations for another.

The municipal and communal councils of the picturesque suburbs of Athens are widely mobilising public opinion against the destruction being wrought through the expropriation of land for the enlarging of airfields and the setting up of military works and arms factories. On June 5th a big meeting was held in the Town Hall of Glyfada, at which the Mayor, Mr. Metaxas, said:

"The Greek countryside must be protected from the destruction resulting from increased war preparations. The beautiful suburbs of Athens are in the greatest danger, and our properties are in danger of complete destruction. The only way out for us is to struggle to avert the threat hanging over our homes and our whole country."

Action and Struggle for Peace in Japan

Following on the big meetings which it organised in preparation for the Berlin Session of the World Council of Peace and for the International Meeting in Stockholm, the Japanese Peace Movement has made great progress and is developing on a broader foundation. Through the holding of 19 provincial conferences in the Prefectures of Fukuoka, Ishikawa, Ibaragi, Osaka, Gifu, Shiga, Nagano, Yamaguchi, Mie, Kanagawa, Migagi, Shizuoka, Aichi, Hyogo and Yamanachi, the Movement has infused more strength and clarity into its various campaigns, especially the current campaign for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction. This is shown in the resolution adopted at the National Meeting held in Tokyo on June 8th, 9th and 10th.

The resolution demands:

— The early banning of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons and of experiments with them;

— Collective security in Asia;

— The peaceful settlement of international conflicts and negotiation among all the interested countries;

— Non-interference in the internal affairs of Asian countries; the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Asia.

50,000 take part in a peace meeting

The aims which the Japanese Peace Movement has set itself meet the aspirations and wishes of the Japanese; they have therefore enabled the Movement to bring together the most diverse circles.

The speakers at the great public meeting held in front of the Shinbachi Station in Tokyo on June 25th, which was attended by 50,000 people, represented all political groupings. They included the Ceylonese Buddhists Nianubimara, Birako and Shwara; Mr. Hozeni, member of the Federation for the Defence of the Peace Constitution; Mr. Hoachi, of the Left Wing Socialist Party; Mrs. Syako Ichii, of the Federation of Women's Organisations; Mrs. Tamae Fukagawa, of the Progressive Party; Dr. Sues Akimoto, member of the Organisation of Japanese Doctors; Mr. Takahi Yoshida of the General Society of Japanese Fishing Companies; Mr. Masao Iwana, of the Communist Party; and Professor Oyama, President of the Japanese Peace Committee.

Success of signature campaign

The Japanese people, who were the first in the world to undergo atomic bombing at Hiroshima and Nagasaki and who are now suffering from the results of the H-bomb tests, are giving an unprecedented welcome to the campaigns of the Japanese Peace Movement.

The forms of action most widely used are discussions, meetings, rallies and frequent signature collections. During June, which was a "month of struggle against thermonuclear weapons", signatures were collected not only by the Peace Movement but by various other organisations also. By June 26th, the number of signatures thus collected against weapons of mass destruction rose to 1,427,105, including 527,000 from Tokyo, 341,696 from Osaka, 115,868 from the Prefecture of Hiogo and 89,500 from Hiroshima.

Statement by 50 Scientists

The struggle for the prohibition of thermonuclear weapons is growing in Japanese scientific circles; scientists of different beliefs and points of view have on several occasions unanimously condemned both experiments with and the use of atomic weapons.

Recently, 50 scientists, research workers and professors of Kyoto University, including Professor Yukawa, the Nobel Prize winner, issued a statement against weapons of mass destruction. They say: "We scientists declare that we do not want to do research on atomic energy for it to be used for the manufacture of weapons. We demand the immediate stopping of research on nuclear weapons and the testing of them..."

Prefects and Mayors make their views known . . .

On June 11th, the governors of the Prefectures of Kyushu and Yamaguchi, together with the Prefect of Honshu, adopted a resolution opposing the testing and use of the H-bomb and decided to submit it to the National Conference of Governors.

A similar resolution was adopted at the end of May by the Mayors of seven Prefectures in the North Eastern region of Honshu also for submission to the National Conference of Governors.

On July 8th, the Prefectoral Assembly of Akita adopted a resolution demanding the prohibition of the production and use of atomic weapons.

. . . and 500,000 primary school teachers open a campaign

The Japanese Union of Primary School Teachers — membership 500,000 — is preparing to hold a national signature campaign against the atomic and hydrogen bombs. The decision was taken at a meeting of the Union's Central Committee on July 8th.

*

After the poisoning of fishermen, fish and birds by radioactivity, spokesmen of the Institute of Agricultural Research in Tokyo stated that they had found that cereals in the neighbourhood of Tokyo had been similarly contaminated. They demanded that this year's rice and wheat crops should be thoroughly examined before being passed on to the consumer.

These facts explain why it is that the Japanese Peace Movement accords such importance to these continuous campaigns for the banning of thermonuclear weapons. Indeed, their minds overwhelmed, the Japanese people are demanding and approving every action aimed at abolishing the hydrogen bomb — the cause of mankind's fear.

The Japanese Peace Committee has decided to hold a solemn ceremony of commemoration of the anniversary of August 6th, the day on which the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. In this way the people of Japan will have yet another opportunity to express their will for the establishment of world peace — a will which has so often been expressed already.

This aim opens new prospects before the Japanese Peace Movement in its consistent campaigns for the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and for national independence.

The Japanese Fishermen will be in Hospital for twenty Years

Tokyo Radio has broadcast the report of the group of Japanese doctors who are treating the Japanese fishermen affected by radioactive ashes as a result of the American hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific. The doctors say that several of the fishermen will have to stay in hospital for anything up to twenty years.

Even at the end of this period those of the fishermen whose liver, kidneys and bone structure have been seriously affected will never completely recover and will have to undergo continuous treatment.

*

The Fifth Congress of the Association for the Commemoration of the Japanese students who fell in the war opened in Tokyo on July 31st.

Students from the Universities and higher schools and representatives of all Japanese young people were present at this great assembly.

This year the Association dealt mainly with the question of the prohibition of the H-bomb and security in Asia.

A Letter from the Japanese Meteorological Society

At its 1954 Annual General Meeting the Meteorological Society of Japan decided to issue a message to the world demanding that the use of weapons of mass destruction should be banned. The message runs as follows:

"*At the present time, we are examining the following two circumstances from the point of view of meteorological science and the work of the Meteorological Service with which we are in contact:*

1) The fact that the enormous quantity of radioactive ashes thrown into the stratosphere by the explosion of the hydrogen bomb spreads over the whole world through the action of general atmospheric circulation; and

2) The fact that this large-scale poisoning of the atmosphere continues for a long time and can affect the amount of sunshine and other meteorological phenomena. It can make the summer colder and bring about natural catastrophes which cannot be foreseen..."

The Annual General Meeting then asks the peoples and Governments to support the following two proposals:

"*1) To struggle for the immediate ending of the testing, production and use of weapons of mass destruction including atomic weapons, which would, in our view, cause enormous harm to mankind, even from the purely meteorological point of view, and the establishment of international control over the production and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.*

2) To publish all the results of enquiry and research into the poisoning of the atmosphere and other meteorological phenomena which may yet result from the hydrogen bomb tests."

For genuine Cultural Co-operation among all Countries

The cultural isolation from which many countries have suffered for a number of years under the pernicious influence of the so-called cold war is beginning to break down. We have had occasion in these pages to cite a number of promising examples: the reception Moscow gave to the Comedie Francaise; the performances given in Paris by the Berlin Opera; the chess matches played by Soviet chess players in North and South America; the international congresses and meetings of physicists, microbiologists, astronomers, architects and technicians from East and West and the cordial atmosphere in which they were held; the reciprocal visits of dancers, choirs, folklore ensembles and musicians to the Soviet Union, India, China, Canada, France, Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and Argentine; the growing number of film festivals; the sports meetings in which the nations strive to win victory solely through the skill, ability and wise training of their athletes . . .

These attempts to open or to resume relations, to break the ice of mutual incomprehension, have already had considerable results. The favourable reaction of public opinion, the declarations of famous intellectuals and the comments of the press in general are symptomatic. All without exception have congratulated themselves on this resumption of cultural relations.

This being so, how to explain the fact that these exchanges are still so limited and inadequate? Why are they not developing rapidly in response to the unanimous desire of the intellectuals and the peoples both? In every country, people have shown that they are interested in getting to know the finest artistic, technical and scientific productions from abroad and in spreading their own. Why is this noble and legitimate aspiration not given free play?

It is obvious that there are still obstacles in the way of such international cultural co-operation. Let us briefly examine them. Today it is quite certain that no one dares openly oppose these exchanges for the simple reason that such an attitude finds no valid or acceptable argument to justify it. In fact, however, various restrictions remain, such as the refusal to grant the necessary visas and passports in certain cases. It must also be said that in the circles interested in resuming cultural contacts there exists a certain timidity — the unfortunate legacy of the most dangerous period of international tension.

It has been noted that these difficulties are greatly reduced or even overcome when those who desire this advantageous re-establishment of good relations resolutely take the initiative and bend all their efforts to organising and developing all kinds of exchanges. In this way broad international meetings have been successfully held and reciprocal visits of delegations of artists, students and scientists arranged. Similarly in other cases, reluctant governments have been won round to satisfy the popular demand and grant the necessary facilities for the practical realisation of this great common desire.

What is needed now is that contacts which are still occasional and sporadic should speedily grow in number until there is a broad flow of rich and reciprocal communication among the peoples.

In this way international coexistence will be greatly helped forward, enabling the growth of understanding and friendship — these indispensable prerequisites for the establishment of a solid and lasting peace.

Men of culture and friends of peace in every country must be aware of this and do all they can to attain this objective. They can be sure that they will have the warm approval and support of public opinion. They can also win the collaboration of many intellectuals including those who have different views as to the best solution of international disputes, but yet agree on the need for establishing close cultural relations among all countries without any arbitrary exceptions or distinctions.

Exchanges between the different cultures will enrich the common heritage, open nobler prospects to the creative artists of every country and unite the peoples by harmonious and indestructible bonds.

SUPPORT FOR PAUL ROBESON

The campaign of the Provisional Committee to restore Paul Robeson's passport is rousing a great movement of support throughout the world.

The All-India Peace Council has issued an appeal to leading figures in the world of literature and art and to cultural organisations. The appeal has met with wide support and a number of very well-known figures of Indian culture — professors, artists, writers, editors, MPs etc. — have signed it. Almost all the important newspapers have given space to this campaign, and many letters of protest from intellectuals and cultural organisations have been sent to the American Embassy in Delhi. The All India Peace Council intends to strengthen the campaign by holding a public meeting in Delhi.

The Caracas Peace Committee in Venezuela has sent a message of support to the Provisional Committee and to Paul Robeson.

The British Peace Committee has called upon local Peace Committees and sympathisers to show their support for Paul Robeson by sending messages or in any other way.

"Charles Chaplin Peace Fund" established in Vienna

With the spontaneous generosity to be found in all his films, Charles Chaplin has decided to divide the five million francs of the International Peace Prize for 1953, which he has just received, among the cities of Geneva, London and Vienna.

At a ceremony in Vienna to mark this occasion, Professor Brandweiner, Chairman of the Austrian Peace Council, announced that this gift had been used to set up a "Charles Chaplin Peace Fund" to encourage cultural activity in favour of peace through the award of various prizes.

A number of competitions have been organised. One is for the best monument to the famous Austrian friend of peace, Berta von Suttner, author of the novel, **"Down with Weapons"** *which had a big sale in its time. There will be other competitions in the field of music — seven prizes for the best songs of peace; literature —short stories, radio plays, poems; and photography, on the theme country, work and peace.*

There will also be awards for sportsmen or sports directors who in their work try to further the establishment or development of friendly relations among the peoples.

There will be a great competition of equal importance open to all the inhabitants of Vienna. They will have to answer the question: "What must we do for the maintenance of peace?" There will be prizes for the 13 best replies.

International Congresses

An important International Botanical Congress, attended by 3000 botanists from 75 countries, has been held in Paris. There were scientists from Bulgaria, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, France, the German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, the Soviet Union and others. The Congress was divided into 28 sections working simultaneously; they dealt with botany in all its aspects, especially the "social life of plants", the establishment of botanical cartography and vegetable palaeontology.

*

Seventy physicists from twenty countries took part in the Eighth General Assembly of the "International Union of Pure and Applied Physics" in London. Among the aims of the organisation is the encouragement of international co-operation in the various branches of physics. The Assembly showed great interest in the exchange of scientific publications between the Soviet Union — which is not a member — and other countries. Recently, through the Union, steps were taken to publish an annual specialist review which would also appear in Russian and the other Slav languages. The Physics Society of Great Britain has also concluded an agreement for the resumption of a regular exchange of publications with the Soviet Union, and the possibility of translating into English all or part of the contents of the Soviet publications is under examination.

Chekhov Anniversary celebrated throughout the World

The great Russian author and dramatist, Anton Chekhov, who died on July 15th, 1904, is today admired and celebrated throughout the world. In many countries this date has been chosen so as to give the commemoration of his anniversary its full value and to pay homage to the human and artistic qualities of Chekhov and his work.

U.S.S.R.

On July 14th a Chekhov museum was inaugurated in a Moscow house in which the writer lived for many years. The house in Melikhovo — a village near Moscow — in which Chekhov worked for a long time has been restored and transformed into a museum in which new documents on Chekhov will be shown.

On July 15th, representatives of cultural, political and diplomatic circles gathered at the writer's grave in the cemetery of Novo Dievichny. In the evening a memorial ceremony was held in the Hall of Columns in the Trade Union House. It was attended by foreign guests who had been invited by the Soviet writers and by the Peace Committee. After the opening speech by Konstantin Fedin, Vladimir Yermilov gave an address on Chekhov's work. He stressed its satirical and lyrical qualities and pointed out that Chekhov gave new life to the humourous short story. Then there were speeches by Mme Isabelle Blume, Stalin International Peace Prize winner; Professor Hirano, General Secretary of the Japanese Peace Committee; and the writers Pa Chin of China, Ludmil Stoyanov of Bulgaria and Willi Bredel of Germany. The evening ended with excerpts from Chekhov's plays.

CHINA

A "Chekhov Fortnight" began in Peking on July 15th with a great commemorative meeting in the Youth Palace. The meeting was attended by more than 900 people including many prominent writers and artists, foreign guests, members of the diplomatic corps and so on.

Opening the meeting Mao Dun, Chairman of the Chinese Union of Writers, showed how Chekhov's work, which has long been known and loved by the Chinese people and Chinese authors, voiced his sympathy for the "little people". Tien Han, Chairman of the Chinese Union of Dramatists, stressed Chekhov's optimism, his humour and simple joy. A performance of Chekhov's one-act play, "The Proposal", was presented by the Chinese Youth Art Theatre and two of his short stories were read.

The Peking Library has inaugurated an exhibition of pictures illustrating Chekhov's life, stage presentations of his plays in the Soviet Union and different editions of his works.

The two-week commemoration is also being marked by the showing of films based on some of the writer's short stories and a film biography, and many performances of his plays. Special radio programmes are carried on a national hookup. Prominent writers and dramatists are taking part in discussions and lectures on Chekhov's work. A collection of photographs and portraits of Chekhov and a special volume of his one-act plays and articles on him will be published.

All these activities are jointly sponsored by the Chinese Peace Committee, the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, the Chinese Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the Chinese Union of Writers and the Chinese Union of Dramatists.

POLAND

A memorial evening of homage to Chekhov has taken place in the National Theatre in Warsaw; it was attended by many people from the cultural, political and diplomatic fields. The Soviet Peace Committee was represented by the poet, Maxim Tank, and the Chekhov specialist, Professor Ivan Anissimov. The meeting was presided over by Jaroslaw Iwaskiewicz, Chairman of the Polish Peace Committee, who extolled the profound humanity of Chekhov's work and the bonds of friendship between the peoples that it creates. Professor Zygmunt Mlynarski, Director of the Polish-Soviet Institute, and Professor Anissimov also dealt with various aspects of the creative work of the great Russian realist. To end the evening the actors of the National Theatre performed excerpts from several of Chekhov's satirical plays.

ITALY

The Italian radio has devoted to Chekhov 16 broadcasts planned in collaboration with specialists in Russian literature and in the history of the theatre. Many newspapers and reviews have given a lot of space to commemorating this anniversary and printed some of Chekhov's short stories, a volume of which has also been published in Rome. The film, "The Marriage", was dedicated to Chekhov.

FINLAND

There was a large audience at a Chekhov memorial evening in the National Theatre in Helsinki. They heard a lecture by Professor Aino Kalima and excerpts from "The Seagull" and "Uncle Vanya" interpreted by the actor Bakman.

BULGARIA

Many demonstrations of homage to Chekhov have taken place on the initiative of the National Peace Committee, the Bulgarian Union of writers and other organisations. A memorial ceremony was held in the "Christu Sarafov" popular theatre.

FRANCE

There have been many activities in commemoration of Chekhov's anniversary: performances of "The Seagull" by the "Comedie de l'Est" company at the Theatre Hebertot; the publication of four volumes of Chekhov's plays as translated by Elsa Triolet; broadcast performance of "The Seagull" and of one of Chekhov's short stories as adapted for the stage; a special issue of the weekly *Les Lettres Françaises*, dedicated to Chekhov; articles addressed to a wide public in various newspapers.

AUSTRIA

A lecture on Chekhov was given at Vienna University, attended by the Rector of the University and the President of the Academy of Sciences.

JAPAN

A meeting to honour the memory of the great writer was held in Tokyo on June 29th. Among the 3,000 people who attended were the Chairman of the Japanese Writers' Association, Mr. Suekichi Aono, the noted playwright Mr. Ujaku Akita and the writer Mr. Yasunari Kawabata.

Chekhov's play, "The Seagull", will be put on this coming autumn.

Peking honours Dvorak

We reported in a previous number the Dvorak memorial meeting held in Peking. Here is a view of the platform during the meeting. The personalities include: **Chen Shu-tung,** *Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for the Defence of World Peace;* **Lo Lon-chi,** *member of the Standing Committee;* **Nieh Chen,** *Chairman of the North China Section of the Chinese People's Committee for the Defence of World Peace;* **Lao She,** *Vice-Chairman of the Peking Section;* **Ting Hsi-lin** *and* **Hong Shen,** *Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries;* **Cheng Chen-to,** *member of the Presiding Committee of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles;* **Ma Sse-tsung (Stison Ma),** *Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Union of Musicians (standing at the microphone);* **Chao Fung,** *General Secretary;* **Cho Wei-sse** *and* **Ma Ko,** *members of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Union of Musicians.*

The Armistice concluded in Geneva is the common Victory of all the Forces of Peace

Message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace to the Viet-Nam Committee for the Defence of World Peace

Greetings and warmest congratulations on the signing of the armistice ending the war which has being going on for many years on the territories of Viet-Nam, Pathet Lao and Khmer. We salute the agreement which has been reached after a long period of struggle and effort for negotiation as the joint victory of all the forces of peace.

Your Committee has taken part in all the great campaigns which have been conducted on the initiative of the World Council of Peace. Your work has always reflected the will of the peoples of Indo-China and the other peoples of Asia to reach a peaceful settlement of the conflict based on the principles of independence and security. You have thus greatly contributed to the creation of the atmosphere of understanding and friendliness which has made negotiation possible and enabled it to succeed.

This victory marks an important stage along the road to the relaxation of international tension. It is an encouragement to the Peace Movement and to all defenders of Peace to pursue their efforts for the consolidation of peace in Asia on the basis of respect for the pledges that have been made, and for the safeguarding of peace elsewhere in the world in accordance with the will of the peoples.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Vienna, July 21st, 1954

Message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace to the National Council of the French Peace Movement

Greetings and warmest congratulations on the signing of the armistice concluded at Geneva, thus ending the grievous and bloody war which has been going on in Indo-China for almost eight years. We salute the agreement which has been reached as a victory for all the forces of peace — a victory which proves that, in spite of all difficulties and obstacles, peaceful solutions are possible on condition that negotiations are entered into with the determination to succeed.

The action of the French Peace Movement made a powerful contribution to the creation and growth of the wide movement of French public opinion which spoke out with irresistible force for negotiation and then for agreement. This action and the joint action of all other peace forces have greatly helped in the peaceful settlement of a conflict, the continuation and extension of which would have entailed a most serious threat to world peace.

This victory marks an important stage along the road to the relaxation of international tension and the re-establishment of good relations between the peoples. At the same time, it is an encouragement to pursue our efforts for the consolidation and preservation of peace in Asia, and for the guaranteeing of peace in Europe through the peaceful solution of the German question on the basis of the sovereignty, independence and security of nations.

THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Vienna, July 21st, 1954

Statement by the French National Peace Council

The agreement which has just been concluded at Geneva has made the spirit of negotiation prevail over the policy of strength.

The Peace Movement bows its head to the fallen, to the victims of the cruel and terrible war in Indo-China.

It salutes all those who, by their tireless activity, have worked for the ending of the conflict and the opening of peace negotiations, sometimes even in the teeth of repression.

The Peace Movement called on all Frenchmen to unite in ending this war which is contrary to the national interest, and is conscious of having unfailingly expressed the country's will for peace. This will for peace, which M. Mendès-France has finally translated into Government action in Geneva, has increased France's stature in the eyes of the peoples of Asia and of the whole world.

The agreement which has been reached opens the way to the final establishment of peace in Indo-China.

The state of war must be succeeded by freely agreed co-operation between the French and Viet-Namese peoples, united and independent.

Negotiations must be pushed forward for the conclusion of political, economic and cultural agreements in conformity with the interests of France and of the peoples of Indo-China.

Following on the armistice in Korea, the ending of hostilities in Indo-China is a new and important contribution to the relaxation of international tension. By negotiation have been quenched the flames of a war in Asia which was a threat to world peace.

In the same way, by negotiation, peaceful solutions can be found for the problems of Europe. The remilitarisation of Germany through E.D.C. or in any other form both creates a danger of war in Europe and is the main obstacle to negotiation.

The French Peace Movement expresses the will of the great majority of Frenchmen in asking the Government to take the initiative in calling for the resumption of international negotiations for the settlement of the German question and the organisation of security among all the countries of Europe.

Telegram from the French National Peace Council to the Viet-Nam Committee for the Defence of World Peace

WE WISH TO EXPRESS THE PROFOUND JOY OF THE FRENCH PEACE MOVEMENT AT THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES, THUS PUTTING AN END TO A TERRIBLE WAR. WE PAY HOMAGE TO THE PERSEVERING EFFORTS OF THE FRIENDS OF PEACE IN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. WE ARE SURE THAT THE AGREEMENT CONCLUDED IN GENEVA WILL BE THE PRELUDE TO FRUITFUL CO-OPERATION AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES.

THE BUREAU OF THE FRENCH PEACE MOVEMENT

Message sent to the Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden by Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q. C.

The British Peace Committee welcomes the Indo-China agreement as a great victory for peace. To you and all whose participation brought agreement we send congratulations and gratitude.

Today Britain can be proud of its contribution towards the ending of bloodshed and the lifting of tension resulting from the Geneva Conference.

Now in this new and more hopeful atmosphere there must be no pause in further effort to reach East-West agreement. To end the fighting in Asia and at the same time to proceed with decisions to rearm West Germany is to create conditions that can rob the world of the peace its people need.

We therefore urge you to give another lead for peace by proposing renewed Four-Power negotiation on Germany.

D. N. PRITT
President
British Peace Committee

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

[Paul Robeson, p. 10]

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

N° 16 AUGUST 1954

National Sovereignty and the Security of Nations

Paris, 1949: at the first World Peace Congress two thousand delegates from sixty-two countries, representing many hundred million men and women, unanimously approve a declaration of principle in these words:

"We strive for the national independence and peaceful co-operation of all peoples, for the right of peoples to determine their own future — essential conditions for freedom and Peace."

Berlin, 1954: the World Council of Peace, in extraordinary session, in the light of new facts and of growing dangers, reaffirms the principle in the following terms:

"Despite differences of political or social system, all peoples have common interests. These common interests cannot be protected, and the security of each and the independence of the peoples cannot be guaranteed, by atomic blackmail and the division of the world into military blocs."

"Likewise, these common interests are harmed by repression of national liberation movements or by the intervention of any state in the internal affairs of any other."

What is the essence of this idea that has run so consistently through the work of the World Council of Peace? It is the conviction, day by day striking deeper roots in the minds of men, that no nation can be secure unless the sovereignty of every people without exception is respected.

This idea stands, too, as the very cornerstone of the United Nations: the Charter specifies as its second aim the fostering of friendly relations between the nations "based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".

A recent event has dealt this principle a resounding blow. In a small country a liberal government was carrying through a policy which conformed to the expressed wishes of the electors. This country was invaded by mercenary troops. These troops had been supplied with up-to-date guns, planes and ships. The intervention came from outside. It was carefully prepared, rather indiscreetly advertised, generously financed from foreign sources. It overthrew the legitimate government by force; it suspended the republican constitution; it took from the Guatemalan people the right to settle their own affairs.

The Government of Guatemala appealed to the United Nations. The whole world looked on — hoping to see the Security Council enforce respect for the right of self-determination which, without shadow of doubt, had been violated in Guatemala. It was not to be. Guatemala's appeal was deferred: five to four, with two abstentions.

Now every one can see the effect of unwarranted interference by a country or group of countries in the internal affairs of another and of subordinating the rules of the Charter to the interests of a single power; the United Nations is sterilised.

No nation, nor mankind itself, can feel safe merely because the United Nations Charter is excellent in form and true in spirit. Far from it. Every nation, every people, must be deeply troubled by the apparent ease with which Governments find ways to dodge or to twist the provisions of the Charter.

That is why the World Council of Peace has so many times affirmed its full support both for the letter and for the spirit of the Charter. That is why it has condemned every military alliance or restriction of national sovereignty that "nullifies the Charter and leads to war".

Among the basic factors preventing exemplary application of the Charter is the weakness in the composition of the United Nations. Its lack of universality lowers its authority. And this is aggravated, above all, by the fact that China is not represented by its lawful Government.

So two of the important aims in the struggle for peace, national sovereignty and the security of nations are: universality in the United Nations, and strict adherence both to the letter and to the spirit of the Charter. The greater and more resolute the solidarity displayed by the peoples of the world with any country or nation, whatever its importance or geographical situation, whose sovereignty is restricted or whose national independence is taken away, the more easily will these aims be won.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- From Santiago to Calcutta the end of hostilities in Indo-China is greeted with joy 2
- France — the armistice is an encouragement to continue working for the peaceful solution of the German question . . . 3
- The German people's contribution to the fight for peace . . 4
- United States — 13 North Shore towns take united action for world peace 5
- "The German problem has reached a crucial stage" — appeal of the British Peace Committee. 6
- The ninth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima— message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace to the Japan Peace Committee . 7
- Latin America angered by tragic fate of Guatemala 8
- Preparation of the Second Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East. 9
- Cultural Information: Paul Robeson files new application for passport. The commemoration of the cultural anniversaries 10
- Karlovy Vary Film Festival. Indian intellectuals and workers congratulate Charles Chaplin. The commemoration of the anniversary of Al Afghani . . . 11
- Around the World 12

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

FROM SANTIAGO TO CALCUTTA THE END OF HOSTILITIES IN INDO-CHINA IS GREETED WITH JOY

CHINA

After congratulating Viet-Nam on the conclusion of the armistice in Geneva, the Chinese Peace Committee said:

"The restoration of peace in Indo-China is the result of the hard struggle the peoples of Indo-China have conducted for eight years. It is also the result of the common struggle of the peoples of the whole world. This great victory has not only brought peace in Indo-China; it will speedily ease tension in Asia and throughout the world. We, the Chinese people, will struggle tirelessly together with the peoples of Indo-China and the whole world for the full implementation of the agreements and the preservation of peace in Asia and the world."

CANADA

Canadian opinion is pleased that the war is at an end and approves of Canadian participation in the Control Commission.

The Canadian Peace Congress stated:

"Canada is proud to assume such a responsibility and to make a contribution to world peace."

Mr. Sidney Holland, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, stated that his Government had learned with satisfaction of the cease-fire ending the long conflict in Indo-China.

BULGARIA

Telegram from the Bulgarian Peace Committee:

"The success gained at Geneva will still further strengthen the peoples' will for the relaxation of international tension and the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace."

MEXICO

A telegram from General Jara:

"On behalf of the people of Mexico the National Peace Council and the review *Paz* warmly congratulate you on the victory of peace in Indo-China. General Heriberto Jara."

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The joy of the whole Czechoslovak people is expressed in the following words taken from a message from the Czechoslovak Peace Committee:

"The fact that an armistice has been concluded in spite of all the intrigues of the forces of aggression strengthens our conviction that all the Asian questions that have not yet been settled can be resolved through peaceful negotiation and to the advantage of the nations of Asia."

TUNISIA

Dr. Sliman ben Sliman, President of the Tunisian Committee for Peace and Freedom, declared:

"As a Tunisian patriot and defender of peace, I learned with great satisfaction of the happy outcome of the Geneva negotiations and the restoration of peace in Indo-China..."

"Now that the question of Indo-China has been settled in a way that conforms to the interests of the peoples of Viet-Nam and France, the Tunisian people hope that Mendès-France and his Government will satisfy their national aspirations by negotiating the restoration of Tunisian sovereignty with their genuine representatives..."

VIET-NAM

The Viet-Nam Peace Committee has issued a statement which says:

"The signing of the agreement for a cease-fire in Indo-China is a great victory for the peoples of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos who fought heroically and in the most difficult conditions in the struggle for peace, unification, independence and democracy. The signing of this agreement is also a great success for the peoples of France and Asia and for defenders of peace the world over, who firmly adhered to the position that peace must be restored to Indo-China.

"The policy of continuing and extending the war in Indo-China failed, but the instigators of war are not taking time off; indeed, they are working out new plans.

"The people of Viet-Nam have given proof of their determination honestly to respect the armistice agreement. Together with all peace forces, they are determined to oppose the warmongers' plans to sabotage peace."

PUERTO RICO

The Executive Committee of the National Peace Council stated:

"At last the voice of reason has silenced the guns, and thousands of lives precious to mankind have been saved on both sides."

CHILE

The Chilean National Peace Council has expressed the restoration of peace in Indo-China. It says:

"The Chilean Peace Movement is convinced that the cease-fire will have good repercussions in Latin America and will strengthen the peoples' desire for self-determination and independence, so arrogantly trodden under foot in the aggression against Guatemala."

HUNGARY

In a message to the Viet-Nam Peace Committee the Hungarian Peace Council salutes the Geneva agreement in these words:

"We are proud that the idea of negotiation has triumphed through the signing of the armistice, and that following the ending of the war in Korea a cease-fire has now been achieved in Viet-Nam. It is a victory for us all, it is a victory for the World Peace Movement. We ardently hope that the armistice will be followed by real peace."

Statement by General Ely, commanding officer of the French Expeditionary Corps:

"Peace in Indo-China was indispensable and corresponded to the desire of practically everyone, both in Indo-China and in France."

BELGIUM

Belgium learned of the agreement reached in Geneva during the national holiday. In a number of towns, local dignitaries placed emphasis on this event in their speeches in honour of the national festival.

INDIA

The All India Congress Committee adopted on July 26th a resolution welcoming the agreement on a cease-fire in Indo-China. It reads as follows:

"The All India Congress Committee welcomes the agreement on a cease-fire in Indo-China and congratulates all the Governments which, in spite of great difficulties, have laboured unceasingly to this end and have achieved success at last.

"The ending of the seven-year-old war in Indo-China is an event of major importance not only in Asia but in the world. For the first time since the end of the Second World War there is peace between all nations. The All India Congress Committee trusts that it will be followed by the peaceful settlement of the problems of East and Southeast Asia so that disastrous conflicts which have brought ruin to certain countries of Asia and hindered their progress may be finally ended."

GERMANY

The Executive Committee of the West German Peace Committee issued, on July 25th, a statement which reads:

"The direct contacts established between the belligerents at Geneva made a decisive contribution to the positive outcome of the negotiations. This underlines the need for early negotiations on Germany and the need to ask representatives from the Federal Republic and from the German Democratic Republic to take part in the discussions between the Great Powers.

"This is the only way to achieve a peaceful solution of the German problem."

Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, has sent M. Mendès-France a telegram of congratulations on the cease-fire in Indo-China.

ITALY

The victory for the forces of Peace, which the conclusion of the armistice in Indo-China represents, met with a great and joyful response throughout Italy.

The National Committee's message to the Italian people is quoted in posters which were put up in Modena, Bologna, Genoa, La Spezia, Ancona and other towns. In it the National Committee says:

"The success of the Geneva Conference ending the last armed conflict in Asia, which was fostered by foreign intervention for eight years, shows that agreement on peace is possible between the great powers — that it is possible when founded on respect for the independence of the peoples and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The success of the Geneva Conference confirms that it is possible, as well as necessary, to put an end to the division of the world into opposing military blocs, and possible for countries with different social and political systems to find the road of peaceful co-existence and fruitful co-operation in works of peace....

"Let the Italian people resume their action for peace along the way opened by the victory in Geneva. Let them finally reject the policy of division and military blocs on our continent, let them reject E.D.C."

The National Peace Committee
Rome, July 21st, 1954.

ALGERIA

The dockers of Oran met at their union headquarters and marched to the House of the People where they held a meeting.

France - People joyfully welcome Armistice and call for Peaceful Settlement in Germany

Throughout France the news of the cease-fire in Indo-China was greeted by an explosion of joy.

Both in Paris and in the provinces the workers downed tools in many factories and on many building sites and held short meetings to celebrate the good news.

In the workshops of the State controlled Paris Transport Company, in the Scientific Research Centre and the Vitry power station, and in many factories, there were meetings which adopted resolutions welcoming the armistice and demanding the rejection of E.D.C.

In the evening, public festivities were organised in provincial towns and in the suburbs of Paris with the members of the municipal councils present. The town halls were decorated with flags. The town council of Champigny put on a firework display and in Montreuil 20,000 leaflets were distributed, 200 posters put up and the town council held a reception. In Gentilly, a meeting was organised and public balls were held in Arcueil, Malakoff and Saint-Ouen.

The provinces also gave free rein to their joy. In Troyes, a joint march was organised by the Socialist, Radical and Communist parties and by the various trade union organisations. In Tarbes, a deputation on which all the parties on the town council were represented laid flowers at the war memorial. In Avignon, there was a firework display and public dancing, and the Trades Council of the Department held a reception.

So it was throughout the whole of France.

Everywhere, in the course of festivities and demonstrations, the French people showed their determination that the armistice agreement shall be respected and that the struggle against German rearmament — that mortal danger to France — shall go on.

"France has the Right to Decide her own Future Freely" Appeal of 134 Public Figures against E.D.C.

On July 26th, the French Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem issued the following statement:

"While the leaders of foreign States are increasingly interfering and exerting pressure to force our Parliament to ratify the E.D.C. treaty, we would recall that her millions of dead give France the right to decide her own future freely, particularly with regard to Germany, her immediate neighbour, whose militarists have caused France so much grievous suffering in the past.

"The reasons for rejecting E.D.C. have not diminished with time. On the contrary.

"We reaffirm that, in rearming a divided Germany, E.D.C. would:

1) Aggravate the division of Europe and the world and lead us to the verge of war.

2) Withdraw the greater part of the army from the sphere of national sovereignty — and the army is one of the principal guarantees of a truly French policy.

3) Lead to an armaments race in Europe which would depress living standards and prevent any economic revival.

"We warn against insidious attempts to restore West German sovereignty for the sole purpose of enabling her to rearm immediately. For the rearming of a divided Germany would combine the dangers of civil and international war.

"We repeat that the only genuine alternative to E.D.C. is the negotiation of a peace treaty with Germany and the reunification of that country in the framework of a relaxation of international tension and European security.

"We invite French public opinion to ask the Government to take action along these lines before the restored German divisions threaten Europe with a new conflict."

Among the first 134 people to put their signature to this statement were four former Government Ministers: **M. Paul Bastid, M. Justin Godart, M. Louis Marin** *and* **M. Jacques Soustelle.**

The signatories also include: **M. Paul Didier,** *Judge in the Court of Appeal in Paris;* **M. Jacques Hadamard** *and* **M. Robert Fawtier,** *members of the Institut de France;* **M. Emile Labeyrie,** *First Honorary President of the Exchequer and Audit Department;* **M. Lyon-Caen,** *First Honorary President of the Supreme Court;* **M. Mornet,** *Public Prosecutor;* **General Le Gorguillé; M. Olivier Pozzo di Borgo,** *inspector general of education; together with many writers, MPs, ministers of religion, magistrates, leaders of organisations, journalists, elected representatives from various Departments, and others.*

TWO MESSAGES FROM VIET-NAM

Telegram from the Young People of Viet-Nam to the Young People of France

The Viet-Namese Union of Youth has sent the following telegram to the French Union of Republican Youth and the French Girls' Union:

"We salute with enthusiasm the agreement for the ending of hostilities in Indo-China which opens up a radiant future of peace to the young people of France and an era of lasting and fraternal co-operation to our two peoples. We are deeply grateful to the youth of France and to the French people for the active contribution they have made to this victory of the desire for peace and friendship between the peoples. We are confident that our united struggle will consolidate peace now that it has been won, smash all the attempts of the warmongers to revive the conflict at the cost of our blood and restore France's sons to their families and to peaceful labour in their homeland."

Hoang Minh Chinh
General Secretary of the Viet-Namese Union of Youth

Message from Viet-Namese General Confederation of Labour to French Trade Unions

In a message to the French General Confederation of Labour (C.G.T.), Force Ouvrière and the French Confederation of Christian Workers (C.F.T.C.), Mr. Hoang Quoc Viet, President of the Viet-Namese General Confederation of Labour, writes:

"We warmly salute the agreement on the ending of hostilities in Indo-China as a victory of the desire for peace on the part of the peoples of France, Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos and all peace-loving people the world over.

"We wish to express our sincere thanks to the workers of France for their persevering struggle against the war of aggression in Indo-China . . ."

French University Professors' Manifesto on German Rearmament

A manifesto open only for signature by university professors has been issued. In Paris, the professors of the Collège de France, the Natural History Museum, and the directors of the School for Higher Studies are also being asked to sign.

The manifesto, which has already been signed by 267 professors, runs:

"It is not necessary to pass judgement on our foreign policy as a whole, nor on the question of Europe. Many of us are aware of the need that our country should not be left isolated and ardently desire the earliest possible creation of a European organisation in which each nation would find its place and there would be no threat to its own security or to that of any other nation.

"The only question that arises here is that of German rearmament . . .

"The acceptance of German rearmament would amount to capitulation on the part of France. There is no essential difference between the European and autonomous forms of this rearmament. The German General Staff, whether official or clandestine, will easily be able to pass from one to the other.

"In both cases, the operation we are being asked to ratify consists in giving Germany an army and pacifying us with a promise . . .

"That attempts are being made to impose this on France does not concern us. It does depend on us, however. to fight against it in a free debate with our allies who are well aware what a tremendous strategic asset France represents.

"At any rate no one will be able to say that, less than ten years after her liberation, France voluntarily offered her persecutor the hegemony of Europe, thus signing her own downfall."

The first 267 signatories include professors from the Collège de France, the Sorbonne, the Faculties of Law and Medicine, the Natural History Museum and the School for Higher Studies in Paris. In the provinces, professors from the Universities of Aix, Marseilles, Algiers, Besançon, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Grenoble, Lille, Lyons, Toulouse, Montpellier, Nancy, Poitiers, Rennes and Strasbourg have signed.

Growing Understanding about E.D.C. in Germany

At a time when the peoples of Europe are making every effort to prevent the rearmament of Germany and establish the conditions for a genuine relaxation of international tension, the German people, both East and West, are not holding aloof from this struggle which for them is decisive. Admittedly, the conditions in which they are working are not the same throughout Germany, but these last few months have revealed that the German people's awareness of the problem of peace is growing more or less rapidly everywhere.

Favourable possibilities for National Unity for Peace and against E.D.C.

Two conferences which have just been held, one in the Federal Republic and the other in the German Democratic Republic, give encouraging examples of the prospects which exist in Germany for the formation of a great movement of national unity for peace and against E.D.C.

Following consultations between the "West German Circle for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem", the Peace Movement, the West German Peace Committee, the "Association for Peace", the "War Resisters" and other groupings, an important conference was held in Heidelberg in June. It was attended by representatives of the organisations quoted and eminent persons from cultural, political and religious circles.

Those who took part were by no means agreed on all the questions discussed but they unanimously considered that the E.C.D. treaty must be rejected and that a peaceful solution must be found for the German problem. They also unanimously agreed on the need for agreement between East and West Germans and that they should do what they could to overcome the spiritual division of Germany by consistent cultural exchanges between the two parts of the country.

Joint Deputation to Geneva

The conference also sent a deputation to Geneva to communicate to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Four Great Powers a petition asking for:

— the convening of another conference on the question of Germany;

— the granting of full sovereignty to Germany;

— the creation of a system of security for Europe.

It was also decided to collect signatures to an appeal against the use of atomic weapons.

Churchmen of East and West Against E.D.C.

Shortly after the Heidelberg Conference, the Synod of the Evangelical Church met in Leipzig in the German Democratic Republic from July 7th—11th. More than 300,000 East and West Germans gathered in Leipzig on this occasion.

On the first day of the Synod a discussion was held in Leipzig on the question of Christians co-operating with the Peace Movement. It took place at the invitation of the German Peace Council and was attended by churchmen from both parts of Germany. In the course of this discussion Pastor Schott of Hesse stated: "As a Christian I am a determined adversary of the E.D.C. treaty and I should like to act in this spirit; that is why I am interested in the work of the Peace Movement." And Pastor Reichelm of Heidelberg demanded close co-operation between all friends of peace, at the same time condemning all propaganda of revenge in Germany.

The decisions of the Heidelberg Conference and the Leipzig discussions clearly demonstrate that the idea of the necessity and possibility of a united fight for peace is growing among the German people.

Two Votes with the same Meaning

New elections to the provincial parliament of North Rhine-Westphalia — the most important province of the Federal Republic — were held at the end of June. The vote showed that the Christian Democratic Union, the main governing party, whose whole policy is based on the establishment of E.D.C. — has lost 1,049,648 votes since the last election, that is 30 percent in eight months.

Commenting on this result, the *Deutsche Zeitung und Wirtschaftszeitung*, an important Stuttgart newspaper, stated that the election unexpectedly turned into a referendum against Chancellor Adenauer, "who was", it said, "so ill advised as to make the election a vote of confidence in the way in which he has fulfilled his office during these last few years . . ."

Many other newspapers see in this vote a condemnation of the West German Government's "European" policy.

About the same time — on June 27 - 29 — a referendum was held in the German Democratic Republic; 98·7 percent of the people over 16 years of age took part. The question which the voters had to answer was the following:

"*For a peace treaty with Germany and the withdrawal of the occupation troops, or for E.D.C. and the Bonn and Paris Agreements.*"

11,276,926 voted for a peace treaty and the withdrawal of the occupation troops, while only 6·8 percent voted for E.D.C.

A notable feature of the preparations for the referendum was the broad participation of the people in rallies and demonstrations organised by the German Peace Council.

There were rallies of 65,000 people in Leipzig, 40,000 in Weimar, and more than 10,000 in smaller towns such as Altenburg and Finsterwalde.

The Palatinate under the Threat of Atomic Guns

The United States armed forces have set up 30 atomic guns in the Palatinate in the German Federal Republic. They are spread out at equal distances on a line from Basle to Rotterdam; they can be traversed through 360° and have a range of nearly 30 miles.

On the destructive power of the atomic shells, the United States general Ridgway has stated that it is equivalent to that of the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. These sinister weapons of atomic war are transported about the country.

On April 28th, violent explosions were heard in the district of Kusel-Baumholder, revealing that the atomic guns were being fired for the first time. Fortunately it was not atomic shells that were used, but ordinary shells of great explosive force. The shells whistled over terrified villages to explode on the Baumholder polygon — a piece of land with an area of nearly 10 square miles.

The installation and use of the atomic guns has given rise to fear and growing anger on the part of the people of the Palatinate. There is a growing wave of protest throughout the country.

The two photographs are taken from the German newspaper "Stimme des Friedens" (The Voice of Peace). One is of an atomic gun and the other shows the zone threatened by these weapons of mass destruction.

UNITED STATES — 13 North Shore Towns take United Action for World Peace

Organisations from 13 North Shore towns joined in launching a drive for "more activity now for world peace" following an overflow rally of more than 1,200 in the Northwestern University Tech auditorium.

Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review*, sounded the main theme of the need for world co-operation and negotiation. He declared that this was the only course for the world.

Among the 36 sponsoring organisations were: the League of Women Voters, the Y.W.C.A., several Parent Teachers Association chapters, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the United Nations Association, the United World Federalists, the National Council of Jewish Women, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a number of Protestant and Jewish congregations.

The rally was designed to launch further discussion in churches, civic and neighbourhood groups on "What more can North Shore citizens do now about world peace?" The steering committee for the town meeting announced that the proceedings would be forwarded to the World Council of Churches which is to convene in Evanston in August.

As part of the rally, each participating group submitted a brief statement. Here are some of the highlights from some of these statements:

League of Women Voters (Evanston, Winnetka, Glencoe, Wilmette and Glenview chapters):

"The principle upon which the League is agreed is co-operation with other nations in solving international problems and promoting peace."

United Nations Association of Great Chicago:

"There simply is no drastic, sensational cure-all for the world's ills; only slow, persistent, patient, piecemeal labour on the diplomatic level and across the conference tables."

Central School (Evanston) P.T.A.: This P.T.A. reaffirmed its faith "that international differences can be solved without recourse to war".

Detroit Methodists for Negotiation

Methodists representing 500 churches in the Detroit area, at their annual conference at the end of June, adopted a report by their World Peace Committee which made the following points:

"The conferences at Berlin and Geneva will need to be duplicated over and over with an intent for peace, negotiation and a lessening of the cold war."

"Lessening of militarization of the U.S.": the report deplored expenditure of 70 per cent of the national budget for war.

"Decrease of restrictions upon trade... a lessening of restrictions between East and West ought to be encouraged."

"We call upon our country to cease from further experiments with destruction and to apply their energies, science, scientists, research and money to peacetime use of fissionable material."

Chain Letter for Peace

Two mothers in Los Angeles who started a chain letter urging President Eisenhower to "cancel all further H-bomb explosions" received requests for over 2,000 copies of the mimeographed letter within a week. The letter, asking each receiver to copy and mail to five other persons, reads:

Dear Mr. President!

"In the name of humanity, in the name of peace, and in the name of America's moral position before the world, I respectfully call upon you to cancel all further H-bomb explosions; and instead to seek an immediate agreement among the great powers which will prohibit for ever the use of all nuclear weapons."

Actions in the United States against Aggression in Guatemala

A number of organisations have condemned the aggression against the people of Guatemala.

New York Peace Council of the American Peace Crusade organised a Peace Vigil before the United Nations. The Council appealed for support for the Vigil which was directed against the aggression in Guatemala.

The New York Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions organised a public meeting to protest against military intervention in Guatemala and Indo-China.

The American Labour Party denounced the invasion of Guatemala. It sent letters to President Eisenhower and the state Congressional delegation, urging implementation of the United Nations Charter — respect for and the guaranteeing of the sovereignty and independence of the peoples and of peace.

The Korean Armistice was Signed one Year ago

The Peking People's Daily has published an article by Dr. Kuo Mo-jo to commemorate the first anniversary of the signing of the armistice agreement in Korea. In it Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, who is the President of the Chinese Peace Committee, states:

"The signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement is a great contribution to peace in Asia and the world, as has been indisputably proved by the past year's developments in the international situation.

"The signing of this agreement constitutes the most important milestone in the struggle against aggression and for a relaxation of international tension... It shows that peaceful negotiation is the only way of solving all international issues.

"Since the signing of the Korean Armistice Agreement the Chinese and Korean peoples have faithfully carried out the agreement and have made unflagging efforts to strengthen peace in Korea and achieve a peaceful settlement of the Korean question. Their delegations to the Geneva Conference, as well as the Soviet delegation, strove hard to make the negotiations on the Korean question successful."

Message from the French Peace Committee to the Korean Peace Committee

The National Council of the French Peace Movement has sent a message to the Korean Peace Committee. It reads:

"On the occasion of the anniversary of the signature of the armistice in Korea we send you our best wishes for the peaceful development of Korea and for the maintenance and consolidation of peace...

"The cease-fire in Indo-China... is an event of the greatest and most positive importance for peace in Asia and the world!

"We are sure that it will lead to the resumption of international negotiations for peace in Korea, for the peaceful settlement of the German question, for the establishment of collective security in Asia and Europe, and also for the effective prohibition of the atomic weapon and for disarmament."

INDIAN PUBLIC OPINION DEMANDS COLLECTIVE SECURITY IN ASIA

"We consider this statement to be a new step towards the consolidation of peace and the elimination of factors giving rise to tension in Asia and throughout the world..."

In these words the National Committee against the United States-Pakistan Pact gives its opinion of the interview between Mr. Chou-en-Lai and Mr. Nehru. It then asks the people to "bear the message contained in the principles enunciated in the statement to every corner of the country and to give these principles their full support..."

The interview between the Prime Ministers of the People's Republic of China and of India and the statement published after the interview have done much to consolidate the trend of public opinion which arose in India after the signature of the military pact between the United States and Pakistan. This pact is a growing threat to the security and independence of the peoples of Asia and to peace.

Already, throughout India, many important persons are asking for "appreciation and conscious support" — in the words of Mr. Nehru — for the principles put forward in the Prime Ministers' statement.

The Calcutta session of the All India Peace Council, held from July 30th to August 1st, adopted the following three points as the basis for discussion:

— Asian security and solidarity against military agreements and bases resulting in foreign interference in the affairs of these countries and threatening their independence and peace;
— the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction;
— cultural exchanges.

"German problem has reached a crucial stage"

British Peace Committee's Appeal for Special Urgent Action

In relation to its "Campaign for World Security" the British Peace Committee has sent a letter to the secretaries of local peace organisations saying that "special urgent action and emphasis is needed now regarding the German problem, as this has reached a crucial stage".

This letter reviews the situation following the Churchill—Eden visit to Washington. It points out that both the British and French parliaments will shortly rise for their summer holidays and says:

"Clearly there is danger that irrevocable steps making the division of Germany permanent, placing armed forces in the hands of militarists and creating a situation of the utmost tension in Europe may be taken during the Parliamentary recess."

The committee calls for urgent and continuous action to bring home the people's opposition to German rearmament to M. Ps., leaders of political parties, trade unions, editors of local and national newspapers, in the form of resolutions, letters, ballots in streets and factories, and deputations.

Reviewing the extent of the opposition in France and Great Britain the letter emphasises:

"Thus it there is action now by organisations and individuals throughout this country, the whole plan for arming West Germany can be brought to an end."

Opposition of the People Mounting

Every day new examples of the opposition of the mass of the people are reported. For example:

In Sheffield, shop stewards at such famous steel works as Ambrose Shardlow's and English Steel Corporation are organising the collection of signatures against German Rearmament; the Sheffield branch of the Amalgamated Union of Foundryworkers (2,000 members) has gone on record against any arming of Germany.

British Rose Garden for Lidice

The leading breeder of roses in Great Britain, Mr. Harry Wheatcroft, who developed the famous rose named "Peace", is helping to plan a great memorial rose garden which the British people are to give to Lidice. It is expected that Mr. Wheatcroft will visit Czechoslovakia in October to help with the final plans for laying out the garden with several thousand rose trees, given by trade unions, local councils, peace committees and other organisations.

Among those who are sponsoring the scheme of Roses for Lidice are a number of national trade unions, the Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Wales and the Chief Rabbi.

In Bristol a special committee has been set up by leading members of the Peace Committee supported by labour and trade union organisations to convene a conference against German rearmament. The Bristol Trades Council has now passed a resolution against German Rearmament. So has the Gloucester Trades Council.

During the weekend of 24—25 July the Executive Committee of the Labour Party organised official conferences in support of E.D.C. in Manchester, Liverpool, Salisbury and Dorking. These were addressed by such leaders of the Labour Party as Mr. Herbert Morrison, M. P., Mr. J. B. Hynd, M.P., and Mr. R. T. Paget, Q.C., M.P., with audiences of 500 delegates. In each case the opposition to E.D.C. and the policy of the Executive Committee was overwhelming; only one or two participants supported the arming of Germany. In several places the peace movement organised poster parades and the sale of pamphlets outside the conferences.

In Putney (South London) on the anniversary of the day when a V2 killed 150 young people in a crowded dance hall, members of youth organisations collected signatures against German rearmament outside dance halls and milk bars.

Municipal Action Against the H-Bomb

The second major question in the Peace Movement's campaign — action against the H-Bomb — is also receiving wide support in new circles. After Coventry—Birmingham and Tottenham (North London).

In Birmingham, the City Council by 70 votes to 37 has instructed the Civil Defence Committee to give a full report on what steps are being taken to meet the destructive power of the Hydrogen bomb and to consider deferring the appointment of additional civil defence staff until after they have made their report. Moving the resolution, Alderman A. F. Bradbeer, chairman of the Labour group, said: "*It is the first move to educate the citizens about the situation which would arise in this city and in this country in the event of Hydrogen bomb warfare.*"

Not only has the Tottenham Borough Council (Labour majority) decided to suspend all civil defence expenditure, but its members are taking part in a public campaign against the Hydrogen bomb. The resolution of the Council said:

"*That this council, in view of the atomic and hydrogen bomb development, suspend all expenditure and support for civil defence until such times as the Government provide adequate protection for the inhabitants of this Borough.*"

In the course of the campaign in support of this move, the Ex-Service Movement for Peace, supported by the Peace Committee and labour and trade union organisations, organised a mass demonstration. Headed by a band the Ex-Service Men marched through the streets and held an open-air meeting in the centre of the Borough, addressed by the Deputy-Mayor.

In the West of England the campaign against the H-Bomb has been supported by the Trades Councils of Bristol, Trowbridge and Cheltenham. Shop stewards in the Bristol Aeroplane Company are collecting signatures to the national petition against the bomb.

A new pamphlet, *The Hydrogen Bomb and You*, by Mr. William Warbey, Labour M.P., has just been published by the Union of Democratic Control.

During a visit to Coventry, the leader of the delegation of Soviet students which is now touring Britain told the Lord Mayor that Coventry's Appeal to Stalingrad for joint action against the H-bomb had met with a whole-hearted and intense response throughout the Soviet Union.

"Mankind can dispense with the Accursed Voice of the Guns"

Appeal of the High Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church

The High Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church and the National Ecclesiastical Assembly which have just been held in Bucharest made an appeal to the clergy and to all the faithful, exhorting them to give strong support to the great work being done for peace.

The prelates of the Church taking part in the High Synod and the National Ecclesiastical Assembly included: the Patriarch Justinian; Metropolitan Sebastian of Moldavia and Suceava; Metropolitan Nicolae of Transylvania; Metropolitan Firmilian of Oltenia; and Metropolitan Vasile of the Banat.

The Patriarch Justinian gave the High Synod an exposé of the principal problems which today preoccupy mankind. **"Under the threat of a new world war"**, said the head of the Rumanian Orthodox Church, **"the peoples of the world are passionately seeking the road of understanding and peace."**

After the Patriarch's statement, the High Synod unanimously adopted an appeal to the clergy and the faithful. It runs:

"The powerful voice of the defenders of peace has prevented the use of weapons of mass extermination, brought about the ending of the war in Korea and shown to all that the only road that can lead to the elimination of discord among the States is that of discussion. The Berlin and Geneva Conferences are a living proof of the fact that mankind can dispense with the accursed voice of the guns and that they can understand each other better through the spoken word, which God gave them." Referring to the appeal of the World Council of Peace calling for agreement between the Governments on the prohibition of the manufacture, storage and use of all types of weapons of mass destruction, together with a strict control to ensure the implementation of this ban, the appeal of the High Synod of the Rumanian Orthodox Church asks the clergy and the faithful to respond to the World Council's appeal by making a vigorous contribution to the establishment of peace between the peoples.

HIROSHIMA, AUGUST 6, 1945

MESSAGE OF THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO THE JAPAN PEACE COMMITTEE

On the occasion of the ninth anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima, which is being commemorated today in every part of the world, the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace offers to the first victims of the atomic bomb, the Japanese people, its deepest sympathy. The name Hiroshima will be for ever a symbol of the horror of atomic war which threatens the world. The hydrogen bombs recently exploded in Bikini, which have claimed new victims among the Japanese people, are a grave warning to the men and women of the whole world.

Throughout the world the peoples are working for the total banning of atomic weapons, hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. By their noble struggle the Japanese people have assumed a place of honour. The present campaign in Japan for banning atomic and hydrogen bombs, supported by all sections of the people, has already achieved remarkable results. In a very short time more than five million signatures have been collected,

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace sends its warmest good wishes to the Japan Peace Committee and to the whole Japanese people in their advance to new successes in the struggle for peace.

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace

The People of Hiroshima Commemorate the Dropping of the Atom Bomb

On August 6th 500 white doves flew up from the Peace Park in Hiroshima like a symbol of the hope that no other city in the world will ever suffer the terrible fate of Hiroshima.

In memory of August 6th, 1945, the day on which the city was wiped out by the first atomic bomb, the people of Hiroshima met in the new park in which was erected a monument to commemorate the 120,000 victims. A great number of those present still bore the scars of the wounds they received nine years ago.

In his speech Mr. Shinzo Hamaï, Mayor of the city, said:

"May the catastrophe that befell us be a warning to mankind not to repeat such a tragedy. We urgently demand of the whole world that war be banished and that adequate control of atomic energy be set up. We pledge that we will continue, with fresh resolution, the struggle for the establishment of peace.

The memorial ceremonies in Hiroshima were opened by the inauguration of an international church dedicated to world peace. The church was built on the ruins of the former German Catholic Church of Hiroshima which was destroyed by fire on August 6th, 1945 and the cost was met by gifts from all over the world organised on the initiative of the German Jesuit, Father Hugo Lassalle.

During this day of commemoration of the disaster of Hiroshima the Japanese people received thousands of messages of sympathy from every part of the world.

In the name of mankind, we call for agreement, at once, to stop all experiments with H-bombs and atom bombs and forbid their use.

Agreement of this kind will ease the task of securing their effective total abolition.

Agreement of this kind will help quickly to relieve international tension; it will help forward the general reduction of armaments; it will open the way to collaboration in the peaceful development of atomic energy.

Resolution on Atomic Weapons
Extraordinary Session of the
World Council of Peace
Berlin, May 28th, 1954

Japan - Creation of Central Body for Collection of Signatures against the H-bomb

On August 6th, that unforgettable day on which, nine years ago, the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, there was held in Tokio the inaugural meeting of the National Council of Signature-collecting Movements for the prohibition of the hydrogen bomb.

The initiators of this new body include the following personalities: **Mr. Tetsu Katayama,** former Prime Minister; **Professor Hyoe Ouchi,** Rector of Hosei University and President of the Japanese Union of University Professors; **Mr. Hatsiro Arita,** former Minister for Foreign Affairs; **Mr. Tokutaro Kitamura,** banker, former MP and one of the leaders of the *Kaishin* party; **Mr. Toyohiko Kagawa,** Christian minister.

The National Council of Signature-collecting Movements set itself the task of maintaining liaison among all signature-collecting movements in Japan and centralising the signatures obtained.

At present more than 5,000,000 signatures have been collected and those who are working for the prohibition of thermonuclear weapons consider that with the setting-up of the National Centre they will soon reach a figure of 30 millions.

Calcutta — Demonstration for the Prohibition of Weapons of Mass Destruction

There was a great demonstration in Calcutta during the session of the All India Peace Council.

Mr. Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the All India Peace Council, **Mr. Mulk Raj Anand,** the writer, **Mr. Hirendra Nath Mukherjee,** MP, **Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee,** Vice-President of the All India Trade Union Congress, **Mr. Mukherjee,** the journalist, and other personalities spoke during the demonstration and demanded the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

Moscow Meeting: "June 27, 1954, marks the Beginning of a New Era"

More than 1,000 workers, office workers, engineers, scientists, writers, artists and representatives from the organisations of the Soviet capital were present at a demonstration for the relaxation of international tension held in the Hall of Columns on July 16th. The meeting had been called by the Soviet Peace Committee and the Association for the Diffusion of Political and Scientific Knowledge.

In his opening speech Mr. Nikolai Tikhonov, President of the Soviet Peace Committee, pointed out that the peoples' will for peace had become a powerful force.

"The Soviet Union", he said, "wants disarmament, the absolute prohibition of weapons of mass destruction, peace and friendship between the peoples. The Soviet Union has shown how sources of energy which have recently been discovered must be used for peaceful work with mankind's happiness as its goal. We may look on June 27th as the beginning of a new era: on that day, for the first time in the history of the human race, an atomic power station was put into operation in the Soviet Union and supplied current for peaceful purposes.

"The peace camp is continuing its struggle and nothing can prevent mankind from overthrowing all obstacles and taking the road of peace and friendship between the peoples."

Latin America Angered by
Tragic Fate of Guatemala

Today in Guatemala

The coup d'état in Guatemala is being followed by a bloody terror. Through atrocious massacres and repeated shootings the instigators of the rebellion are seeking to stifle all opposition in the country.

Throughout Latin America the tragic fate of the people of Guatemala is giving rise to growing emotion and to angry protests at the brutal putsch which deprived the Guatemalan people of their liberties.

Eminent personalities in Latin America have already given voice to their support for the people of Guatemala. For example, Monsignor Luis Maria Martinez, Archbishop of Mexico, disassociated himself from the excuses given for striking a blow at the Guatemalan people's liberty; and General Lazaro Cardenas, former President of Mexico, quite categorically took the side of the legitimate Government which had been forcefully overthrown. Committees of Friends of Guatemala have spoken out in Mexico, where the Committee is headed by such persons as Senator Pedro de Alba, and in Chile, where a committee has been set up in the Chamber of Deputies. Political parties such as the Argentine Radical Party have officially pronounced their opposition to the coup d'état in Guatemala.

The Uruguayan Chamber of Deputies passed a motion of support for Guatemala and big workers' organisations such as the Confederation of Workers of Latin America have stated their support for the Guatemalan people.

Latin American opinion is all the more angry in that the attack on Guatemala's independence had been condemned beforehand. To give only a few examples, the putsch that was being prepared was denounced by Senator Angel Cusano and Sr. Dutra, deputy, of Uruguay; by organisations such as the Bolivian Trade Union Centre; by the La Paz Federation of Factory Workers. Dr. Arturo Frondisi, President of the Argentine Radical Party, issued a moving appeal for support for Guatemala.

So far from diminishing, the support for Guatemala is growing throughout Latin America and the world. *El Debate*, organ of the Uruguayan National Party, recently wrote that nothing can extinguish national feeling or make the peoples of Latin America forget the fraternal relations that today unite them with the people of Guatemala.

This feeling has grown everywhere.

In Sagua la Grande in Cuba, a big meeting was held with the participation of trade union and political leaders. Groups of students went through the streets applauding the people of Guatemala and demonstrated at Havana University when the American ambassador visited Cuba.

In Bolivia, the second Workers' Congress which has just taken place in La Paz asked the Bolivian Government "not to recognise the anti-popular government which has been imposed on our brother people in Guatemala".

In Brazil, there have been demonstrations of support for the Guatemalan people throughout the country. "The North-American aggression against Guatemala" was condemned by the Chamber of Deputies of the State of Porto Alegro, by many Deputies in the Federal Parliament, by workers' organisations and by intellectuals and politicians.

At an assembly of the Union for National Emancipation General Buxbaum, President of the Union, speaking of the aggression against Guatemala, said that foreign imperialism was a threat to the countries of Latin America. The participants expressed support for the people of Guatemala.

In a message to the United Nations, the Brazilian Peace Committee condemns foreign interference in Guatemala:

"The constitutional government of the Republic of Guatemala has been overthrown following armed intervention carried out with the help, among others, of certain Central American countries."

A big meeting of personalities and Members of Parliament, recently held in Chile, refused to recognise the junta set up in Guatemala.

Damascus, July 15–16
Second Congress of Syrian Peace Movement

The Second Congress of the Syrian Peace Movement was held in Damascus on July 15th and 16th and it was attended by representatives from the districts of Aleppo, Al Jazira, Deir Ezzur, Al Rekka, Homa, Asselmue, Homs, Scalbiyeh, Al Kacamun, Jabal el Druze, Howran and so on. The delegations were composed of doctors, barristers, workers, peasants, students, teachers, writers, poets and engineers.

Dr. Mustapha Amin presented a general report on the World Peace Movement and on the activities and tasks of the Syrian Peace Movement in the present circumstances with new dangers threatening the country.

After a wide discussion on the report two commissions were designated to study the problems before the Congress:

1) The political commission, which unanimously adopted two resolutions: one on the prohibition of the hydrogen bomb and the stopping of tests with weapons of mass destruction; and the second on the rejection of the military pacts and aid which the imperialists are trying to impose on Syria.

2) The organisation commission, which unanimously recommended to the Congress that the Peace Movement should be broadened and developed in the towns and villages.

After the discussions the Congress elected the National Peace Committee.

The convening of this Congress was warmly welcomed by all circles and by the press. More than 15 Syrian newspapers representing different views printed the National Committee's appeal convening the Congress. They included independent papers, the organs of the People's Party and the Moslem Brotherhood, newspapers which support the National Party and left progressive papers.

A number of eminent personalities sent messages of support to the Congress. Among them were Dr. Maaruf Dawaliby, former Prime Minister; Mr. Zeki al Khatib, former Prime Minister; and Mr. Sobhy al Khatib, President of the Syrian Confederation of Trade Unions.

*

LIFE INSURANCE FOR PEACE

The Argentine Peace Council has just taken a very interesting step in instituting "Life Insurance for Peace."

A series of insurance policies in the form of illustrated folders (see photo) *was put out. In the inside pages the risks against which insurance is normally taken out are enumerated, but over a photograph of a great city threatened by the atom bomb we read the question: "Who insures you against this?" The answer is given in the text which says:*

"The only life insurance for man, his possessions and his culture, is the fight for peace.

"This life insurance is different from commercial insurance in that it is not only on your death or when you lose your possessions that it comes into effect; as from this very moment, through the will of millions of people in the world, it protects life and all that mankind has done to make it more beautiful and happy...

"In making your contribution you will be helping to save peace!"

We want to live!

The peoples of South Africa, whose soil is rich in uranium, are aware of the danger to mankind involved in the use of this mineral for purposes of mass destruction.

South African uranium is at present being used to manufacture thermo-nuclear weapons; yet uranium must be made to serve peace.

The people of South Africa are working vigorously for the prohibition of the A and H bombs. The South African Peace Council is distributing stickers which bear the legend *"We want to live!"* in the various languages in use in the region.

Australia – New Campaign against Thermo-Nuclear Weapons

On August 14th, the New South Wales Peace Council called a special conference at the headquarters of the Teachers' Union in Sydney to draw up plans for a new campaign against the hydrogen bomb and for the security of nations.

Referring to the discussions which took place in preparation for this conference, *Peace News*, organ of the New South Wales Peace Council, said:

"Recent events raise hopes for peace... But the making of nuclear weapons goes on in several countries at least. This is the most significant pointer to the world war danger."

Preparations for a Second Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East

The Executive Committee of the "Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East" was held in Damascus on July 2nd and 3rd. Those present included: Mr. Zenun Ayub, MP, from Iraq; Mr. Ahmad Abaza, landed proprietor; Mr. Munir Rayes, nationalist figure and journalist; Mrs. Suraya Hafez; Mr. Ahmad Mohaffel, barrister; Mr. Hussein Mruye, writer; Dr. George Hanna, member of the World Council of Peace; Mr. Antoine Tabet, Mr. Salem Dablitz, Sheikh Ahmad Arez Elzein, Mr. Yussef Fayssal, and Dr. Mustapha Amin, member of the Syrian Peace Movement.

The agenda was made up of the following three points:

1. The situation after the Beirut Conference and the possibility of holding another conference.
2. The celebration of Al Afghani's anniversary.
3. The International Meeting in Stockholm.

A wide discussion on the present situation in the countries of the Middle East showed that since the Beirut Conference many attempts have been made to incorporate these countries in military pacts and that such attempts have been met with anger and resistance everywhere. This was made clear during the last electoral campaign in Iraq, by the formation of the National Bloc in Jordan, and by declarations of the Moslem Brotherhood and other national forces in Syria and the Lebanon.

The Executive Committee ended its work by adopting three resolutions which correspond to the most pressing preoccupations of the peoples of the Middle East and reflect their will for peace and national independence. They deal with the calling of the second "Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East", the recommendations of the International Meeting in Stockholm and the organisation of a festival in honour of Jamal El Dine Al Afghani.

Here are the most important parts of the resolutions:

. . . Since the holding of the first Conference (in Beirut, December 19th, 1953 Ed.) **growing pressure has been exerted on the countries of this part of the world in order to achieve the projected military alliances under various forms and various names. This pressure has recently been increased with a view to tying our countries to the Turkey-Pakistan Pact, arbitrarily imposing imperialist military and economic aid on them, transforming them into a centre of war and a battlefield and making them the victims of the catastrophe for which they are preparing.**

The Executive Committee of the Conference therefore asks all who are united in their hostility to imperialism and their opposition to military alliances regardless of political views and party to co-operate with it in the preparation of a second Conference, in pursuance of the resolutions of the first conference and also to seek solutions to our national problems on a platform common to all—opposition to increased imperialist dangers and positive action to block projects which are a threat to our sovereignty and to peace.

(Resolution on the calling of the Second Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East.)

*

. . . There is no doubt that the aim of the International Meeting, that is, the relaxation of international tension and the settlement of international disputes through peaceful negotiation, is closely related to our national problems; for the achievement of the desired detente would nullify the reasons the imperialists give for forcing their "aid" and their "military alliances" on us under the pretext of "defence" . . .

(Resolution on support for the resolutions and recommendations of the International Meeting in Stockholm.)

*

. . . Pursuant to the resolution of the First Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East on the organisation of a cultural festival on the 60th anniversary of the death of the great militant teacher, Al Sayed Jamal El Dine Al Afghani, who is a great figure in the cultural and progressive heritage of our contemporary history, the Executive Committee has thought it necessary to recommend that the preparations for this festival be speeded up and that it be held in Damascus this coming September.

The Executive Committee therefore asks all writers, poets, artists, intellectuals and scholars in the Middle East to take part in this cultural festival and hopes that it will give an impulse to the defence of our national culture and our cultural heritage.

(Resolution on the organisation of the Festival in honour of Jamal El Dine Al Afghani.)

First national Peace Conference in Iraq

The first National Conference of the Iraqi Peace Movement has been held in Baghdad; it was attended by delegates from nearly every part of the country.

The Conference decided to strengthen the campaign for a relaxation of tension in international relations; for the expansion of economic and cultural relations with all countries regardless of their political system; and for the prohibition of the atom bomb and all other weapons of mass destruction.

The Conference condemned the Iraqi Government's decision to accept United States military aid, opposed the creation of military blocs in the Near East and other parts of the world — the Turkey-Pakistan Pact in particular — and demanded that all foreign troops stationed in Iraq should be withdrawn.

Broadening of Peace Movement in Israel 67 new Committees formed

The popular referendum for peace is the foundation on which the consistent activity of the Israeli Peace Movement is based. Important successes have been registered. Already, 67 new committees have been set up throughout the country and the 22 committees which existed before have been strengthened. Up to the first fortnight of July, 27 big mass meetings and dozens of rallies and meetings of the members of the Movement had been held.

Various trends of opinion are going on record in favour of action for peace. The Liberal newspaper *Zmanim* recently gave the following reasons for the strength of the Peace Movement in Israel:

"*a) The Jewish people love peace and hate war for they are its first victims. This desire, which has existed for a long time, was strengthened by the last war in which six million Jews were exterminated.*"

"*b) The watchwords of the Peace Movement are often peculiarly suited to our way of thinking and have always found a way to the hearts of Jewish people. At the same time they have always — from an objective standpoint — been adapted to real current needs. This has been the strength of the Peace Movement — its demands were justified and came at the right time: the prohibition of the atomic bomb; no rearmament of Germany; a cease-fire and peace between Israel and the Arab countries, etc.*"

"*How could we reject them?*"

Many personalities, approving the referendum, have stated their desire for peace. Rabbi Shalom Abutbul, one of the most eminent persons in Talpiot (Jerusalem) said:

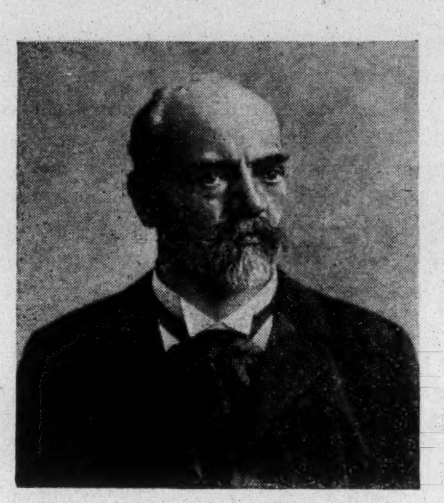
"*Peace is in the interest of our people and of the whole world. Blessed be those who are engaged in this holy work and those that help them.*"

The referendum organised by the Israeli Peace Movement, the provisional results of which we gave in our last issue, is having great success. The number of signatures had risen from 123,143 to 219,716 by the end of July.

According to a recent communique of the National Peace Council, issued when 152,000 signatures had been collected, the total breaks down as follows:

So far 140,412 citizens all over the country have taken part personally in the People's Referendum and have answered the questions asked in the affirmative, while 11, 875 have collectively supported the demands of the Referendum. Of the personal replies received 33,040 are from Tel Aviv-Jaffa and 18,831 are from Haifa. The Peace Council has called a National Rally of Peace Committees for August 13th in Tel Aviv.

ANTONIN DVORAK



Antonin Dvorak died fifty years ago but his work is more alive than it ever was; it is loved and played everywhere. In fifty years it has gone round the world and won the heart of all peoples by its pure beauty, its depth of feeling, its profoundly national character and by the way it expresses Dvorak's love for his country and for the people.

The whole work of Dvorak shows in the most convincing way that only music which is deeply rooted in the nation can achieve international renown. Glinka's saying: "The people create music, we composers only adapt it", could have been said by Dvorak. He was the heir of Smetana, that powerful personality who, steeping himself in the life and history of his people, succeeded in laying the solid foundations of Czech national music; he, too, believed that the national character of music must spring from popular musical art. He was in intimate contact with the culture of his country and he transposed the melodies and rhythms of popular songs and dances in his compositions. He drew inspiration from, and composed his music to, Moravian popular poetry, Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Lithuanian and Greek popular songs, ballads and tales, gipsy melodies and the psalms in the Bible. Even the subjects of his operas are taken from popular sources — King and Charcoal-burner, The Peasant a Rogue, The Jacobin — or from tales — The Devil and Kate, Rusalka.

All Dvorak's work is popular because the man was naturally so. He was very simple and sincere, he loved all men and nations and liked to meet ordinary people. A biography which came out during his stay in the United States speaks of his "great affection for the songs of the American people, for negro musicians, for the poet Longfellow and for the towns and countryside of America". He was a musician of the people who reached the highest peak of artistic attainment but could say: "I remain what I have always been — a simple Czech musician."

Dvorak's compositions express the wealth of feeling of a pure, noble and profoundly human heart. They express his love of nature, life and truth and his ardent sympathy for people of all nations. Known and admired throughout the world, Dvorak's music has become a powerful factor of friendship between the peoples.

A Good Initiative — The Commemoration of the Cultural Anniversaries

The commemoration of the anniversaries of world-famous figures in art, literature and science is already exerting a wide influence throughout the world. This initiative was launched by the World Council of Peace a few years ago and has gradually won the support of various circles which have no direct connection with the Peace Movement. This is quite understandable, for the homage payed to geniuses who made a decisive contribution to human progress is not only a token of our common gratitude to them for what they have given to all peoples and to all times. It also serves to emphasise that the peoples are brought together and united when they learn to know each other's cultural treasures, of which each is so proud.

Year by year the great anniversaries have been celebrated on a wider and wider scale. During 1954, the great figures proposed by the World Council — Aristophanes, Fielding, Dvorak and Chekhov — have been commemorated in Great Britain, China, France, Canada, Hungary, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, India, the United States, Poland, throughout Latin America and in other countries. Further, the coming months will see other important ceremonies held. The commemoration takes many forms: lectures and meetings, exhibitions, concerts, stage presentations, articles and essays on the life and work of these great figures, and so on.

We may be sure that with the generous support of cultural organisations, intellectuals and friends of peace in every country, the commemoration of the cultural anniversaries will become an international event of great importance.

Albania:

A memorial meeting in honour of the great Czech composer Antonin Dvorak was held in the Palace of Culture in Tirana under the auspices of the Albanian Peace Committee and the Albanian League of Artists. The conductor of the Albanian Philharmonic Orchestra, Mustafa Kraute, gave a lecture on the life and work of Dvorak and afterwards conducted a concert of his works. A Dvorak exhibition was also opened in the Palace of Culture.

Similar evenings are being organised in the high schools of the main towns with the co-operation of the pupils of the Tirana Art School.

Great Britain:

An adaptation of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* by Professor Ronald Willets of Birmingham University was performed in Birmingham with great success.

Cuba:

Professor Gaspar Jorge Garcia Gallo, member of the National Peace Committee, gave a memorial lecture on Aristophanes at the Las Villas University.

Uruguay:

In Montevideo, the writer José Ruibal gave a lecture on the life and work of Aristophanes.

Paul Robeson files new Application for Passport

In a letter accompanying his new application for a passport sent to the Passport Division of the State Department which for four years has barred him from foreign travel, Mr. Robeson presented photostatic copies of several contract offers he recently received from abroad.

These included an offer for him to play the title role in a new London production of *Othello*, and a statement by the British Actors' Equity Association unanimously approving the proposal and expressing satisfaction "at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part in which he has previously made so striking an appearance."

Another English offer cited was for a concert tour of the country under the sponsorship of the Workers' Music Association, with supporting personal invitations from a distinguished group of British musicians and composers, including Dr. Vaughan Williams and Mr. Benjamin Britten.

Here is an excerpt from Mr. Robeson's letter to the State Department:

"*Gentlemen,*

"*...I am a singer and actor by profession and I have achieved recognition in many foreign countries as well as in the United States. However, my opportunities for performing in the ordinary channels of entertainment in this country have been severely limited, in that opera, drama, motion pictures, the larger concert halls, radio and television have unfortunately been closed to me here. I am one of many American artists who have been thus blacklisted for political non-conformity.*

"*Consequently the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences. The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfilment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession.*

"*Accordingly, I request your speedy and favourable consideration of the within application.*"

Very truly yours,

PAUL ROBESON

THE KARLOVY VARY FILM FESTIVAL

The international film festival which has been held annually in Czechoslovakia since 1946 — till 1950 in Marianske Lazne, then in Karlovy Vary — has had a well-deserved success from the beginning. The 1954 Festival, which was held from July 11th to 25th, surpassed all the others. It had a fine motto: "For peace, for friendship between the nations and for mankind's noble aspirations", and was notable for the high artistic quality of the films presented and for the spirit of friendship which reigned among the representatives of more than 30 nations.

The European countries taking part were: Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Sweden and Switzerland. From America, Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and the United States sent films. The Asian countries taking part were: China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan and Viet-Nam.

More than 150 foreign guests were present, including actors, producers, technicians, critics, directors and others from the above-quoted countries and from Afghanistan, Canada, Egypt, Greece, Iran, Ireland, Norway, Turkey and Uruguay. Karlovy Vary gave them all many opportunities to get to know each other, discuss their common problems and become convinced of the need to multiply international cultural exchanges.

Prevented by previous engagements from attending the Festival, Charlie Chaplin sent the President of the Jury a message wishing the Czechoslovak film industry every success.

Inaugurating the Festival, Dr. Vaclav Kopecky, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Culture, expressed himself in these words:

"It is already a well-established tradition that our International Film Festival shows how the film art is measuring up to its tasks, that is to say, to what extent it can solve the most burning contemporary problems, record the efforts, work and struggle of the forces of good and unmask the obscure forces of reaction, stimulate mankind to work for noble aims and teach them to love truth and peace. It is therefore natural that this review of the world's films should always to a certain extent reflect the present international situation... We are proud that from this point of view our Film Festival has won the esteem of the whole world. It does not only seek to appreciate perfection of form and technique in the film. For the first time films are chosen and appreciated for the contribution they make to mankind's struggle for a better future. They are films with other than commercial aims. Other international film festivals in the world have already followed our example."

One hundred and forty films were projected, including 40 features. The Jury awarded a Grand Prize, a Peace Prize for the film which best expressed the idea of peace, a Friendship between the Nations Prize, a Prize for the Struggle for Social Progress, a Prize of Labour for the film which best expressed the idea of work, and various other prizes for each category of film: film biography, the musical, the documentary, the cartoon, and so on. In addition, there was a Prize given by the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

The Eighth International Film Festival at Karlovy Vary was a great artistic event and a fine contribution to the cause of peace and human progress.

The Prize-winners

The Grand Prize — "*The Faithful Friends*" (U.S.S.R.) and "*The Salt of the Earth*" (U.S.A.).

Peace Prize — "*Ernst Thaelmann, son of his Class*" (The German Democratic Republic) and "*Children of Hiroshima*" (Japan).

For Friendship between the Peoples — "*For Peace and Friendship*" (Soviet-Rumanian production on the Bucharest Youth Festival).

The Struggle for Social Progress — "*I Sought the Truth*" (Second part, Poland) and "*Two Acres of Land*" (India).

Prize of Labour — "*To Save Fourteen Lives*" (Hungary).

The Struggle for Freedom — "*The Heroes of September*" (Bulgaria) and "*The Conquest of Hill 270*" (China).

Prize for the Struggle for a Better World — "*The Song of the Rivers*" (A Joris Ivens production shot in the German Democratic Republic for the World Federation of Trade Unions).

Prize for the Struggle for a New Man "*Frona*" (Czechoslovakia).

Prizes were also awarded to the following:

The Producer Alberto Cavalcanti for his film, "*The Song of the Sea*" (Brazil);

the Mexican actress, **Rosaura Revueltas,** for the best feminine role;

the French actor, **Charles Vanel,** for his performance as the judge in "*The Maurizius Affair*";

the Finnish producer **Blomberg** for the photography in "*White Reindeer*".

Further prizes were awarded to special types of film.

Indian Intellectuals and Workers congratulate Charles Chaplin

A meeting of cultural workers of Madras, organised by the Madras Peace Committee, unanimously adopted a resolution moved by Director K. Subramanian congratulating Charles Chaplin on winning the Peace Prize. Supporting the resolution, Mr. T. V. Sundaram, President of the South Indian Artists Association, referred to Gandhi's meeting with Chaplin in 1934 in London and said that Chaplin's simplicity had attracted Ghandi very much. On behalf of South Indian artists Mr. Sundaram extended an invitation to Chaplin to visit India.

The meeting also adopted a resolution condemning the denial of a passport to Paul Robeson.

The Bengal Motion Picture Employees' Union has also sent a warm message of greetings to Charles Chaplin on behalf of the film workers of West Bengal.

The Peoples of the Middle East Prepare to Celebrate the Anniversary of Jamal El Dine Al Afghani

The celebration, this year, of the 60th anniversary of the writer Jamal El Dine Al Afghani will be an event of far-reaching importance in the cultural life of the peoples of the Middle East.

The aim of leading intellectuals of the Middle East in organising a Cultural Conference on this occasion, inviting writers from other parts of the world, is to achieve not only a meeting of those who want to defend the culture of the Middle East, but also an exchange with cultures different from their own. They also hope to improve the study of national literatures, thereby opposing deleterious influences which are spreading a literature and art foreign to the aspirations of the peoples of the Middle East and exalting hatred between the peoples. The work of Al Afghani is a fine example to these intellectuals who, on a healthy impulse, are rising up to defend national culture.

Jamal El Dine Al Afghani lived in a feudal environment in which all boldness of thought and difference of opinion were severely punished. He had confidence in man and in his ability to shape his own future. He studied the objective circumstances of the life of his compatriots and saw the grievous situation of the common people.

At a time when women were looked upon as the property of the men Al Afghani proclaimed that men and women should be companions and associates with equal rights. He fought for freedom and respect for human dignity. He made long journeys through a number of Middle Eastern countries, familiarised himself with the customs of many peoples and learned their languages. It is for this reason that his work portrays faithfully and with a profound humanity the life of the peoples of the East at this period.

The works of Al Afghani are of great historical value for he was the first man in his country and the countries around who had the courage to express new and progressive ideas. He was followed later on by many other writers and is the originator of the present movement of intellectuals in this part of the world.

In order to ensure a fitting commemoration of this anniversary, the intellectuals of the Middle East have set up — particularly in Syria, Egypt and the Lebanon — initiating committees composed of writers, professors, journalists, artists and others. Arab literary reviews are publishing many articles on the life and work of Al Afghani and are studying the repercussions of his humanitarian and progressive ideas throughout this part of the world.

A Song of Peace

The well-known Soviet composer Anatoli Novikov, who wrote the "Youth Song" has written a new suite, "We Need Peace". It is dedicated to the struggle for peace and friendship between the peoples.

Around the World

Burma

In a statement issued on July 1st, the Rangoon District Committee of the Burma Peace Committee demands the abolition of foreign military bases in Asia so as to safeguard the peace and security of Asia.

The Committee also urges close unity among the Asian nations on the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

Indonesia

In a speech to a crowd of many thousands at Balikpapan, Kalimantan, on July 24th, Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia, declared:

"The Indonesian people ardently desire world peace, for it is essential for Indonesia's sovereignty and independence . . .

"War would be a catastrophe for our people. For this reason, Indonesia will make its contribution to the maintenance of world peace and to the well-being and security of the peoples, who suffer from war."

Mr. Sastroamidjojo also pointed out that only if there is peace will Indonesia be able to proceed with construction and other work beneficial to the peoples be done.

Stalingrad—Coventry

The citizens of Stalingrad and Coventry — two cities whose names are famous throughout the world for their sufferings during the Second World War and for the heroism and courage with which they faced them — are planning to send to the United Nations a joint appeal for the outlawing of the hydrogen bomb.

The Soviet press has announced that the people of Stalingrad were very interested in the suggestion that they should join the people of the British city in a positive action for the outlawing of weapons of mass destruction. The workers of the great factories of Stalingrad "express their full support for this proposal by the people of Coventry".

Austria

An international seminar, organised by the International Union of Students, on the subject: "The Ways and Means of Lessening International Tension", has been held in the Knappenhof Hotel amid the beautiful mountain scenery of Raxgebiet-Edlach. Eminent personalities took part in the discussions, including Professor Marcel Ner and Professor Jorgen Jorgensen of Copenhagen University. The following were the main themes of the discussion: "Students and Society", "National Sovereignty and Independence", and "Education, Culture and Science in the Service of Mankind".

*

On August 6th, the Austrian Peace Council presented the Austrian première of the Japanese film, "Children of Hiroshima", in memory of the victims of Hiroshima.

The Austrian Peace Council also sent a letter to the Government asking it to play its part in the international efforts that are being made to obtain the banning of the manufacture and use of atomic weapons. The letter asks the whole people to support this appeal to the Government.

USSR

In the course of a solemn ceremony in the Kremlin on July 9th the Stalin International Peace Prize was presented to Mme Isabelle Blume, Secretary of the World Council of Peace. In her speech, Mme Blume stressed the importance of working-class unity in the fight for peace.

*

At a similar ceremony on July 15th, Academician Dimitri Skobelitsin, President of the Jury, presented the Stalin International Peace Prize to Major General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey, Vice-President of the All India Peace Council. In his speech, Academician Skobelitsin stressed the fact that Major General Sokhey is the second Indian to win the Stalin International Peace Prize.

*

On July 13th Mr. G. M. Malenkov, President of the Council of Ministers, received Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, President of the All India Peace Council.

India

In the district of Amritsar more than 65,000 people have appended their signature or their thumb print to the Patna Peace Appeal.

The signatures were collected throughout the district of Amritsar, at peasants' conferences, Congress Party conferences, conferences against the United States—Pakistan Pact and at peace conferences where the defenders of peace explained the dangers inherent in the hydrogen and atomic bombs.

*

The Executive Council of the Bombay Branch of the Association of Democratic Lawyers issued an appeal to lawyers, to the people of Bombay and to the whole country asking that August 6th — anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima — be made a day of solemn protest and struggle for the absolute banning of nuclear weapons.

Germany

A provincial conference of delegates of the Association of the People of the Saar Persecuted under the Nazi Regime (V.V.N.) was held in Saarbrücken on July 11th; it examined the war danger implicit in E.D.C. The Conference stressed the opposition to the Bonn and Paris Agreements and to the rearmament of the German militarists in every country in Europe including Germany, and called for the creation of a united, democratic and peaceful Germany.

The resolution adopted by the Conference demands the ending of war preparations in the Saar, that the atomic cannon be removed from the immediate vicinity of the Saar and the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

Great Britain

In a speech at Newcastle, the Labour M.P. Mr. Anthony Greenwood said: "The triumph of patience and common sense at Geneva is an object lesson for the miserable defeatists who accept the inevitability of the cold war." He went on to say that it was high time to abandon the dangerous plan of rearming Germany and to conduct serious negotiations with Russia on the reunification of Germany.

*

Mr. Harold Wilson, former Minister of Trade in the Labour Government, said in a speech that the cease-fire in Indo-China shows what can be done when the two sides are animated by a real desire for peace. He added that if such an attitude had been adopted at Berlin it would have greatly helped the solution of the German question and that the Geneva Conference showed what could be done if Great Britain and Russia took the initiative in organising a meeting between East and West.

Denmark

The Right Reverend Erik Jensen, Bishop of Aalborg, declared in a sermon that we must expect further horrors if the German militarists are given arms again, particularly the new and terrible atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons.

"Think of what would have happened if Hitler had possessed them!", he added. "I don't think West German ruling circles have learned a thing. As yet they have shown no sign of repentance for their misdeeds and crimes."

War Preparations an Obstacle to Interplanetary Flight

About 150 scientists from 13 countries attended the Fifth International Astronautical Congress in Innsbruck (Austria). At a press conference before the Congress Professor Hecht and Dr. Dolezal stated that the world is "on the eve of the cosmic age" and that there will be enormous progress in the field of interplanetary flight in the next 50 years. They pointed out that in many countries, unfortunately, the means that could be used for astronautical research are being devoted to secret work in preparation for war, and that is a great obstacle to the exploration of the universe by man.

Reproduction authorised

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

[Paul Robeson, p-10]

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

N° 17 SEPTEMBER 1954

An Imperative Necessity

When the General Assembly of the United Nations meets later this month it will at once face an acute question — the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China. From its earliest days the Peace Movement has stood for this principle: and it has done much to build up the present strong public feeling that no great world question can be settled without China.

In September 1953 — to the detriment of peace — it was possible to use the automatic majority in the Assembly to shelve this question for a year. It is urgently necessary to ensure that this does not happen again.

The General Assembly will meet in the presence of certain facts. A peace treaty has yet to be agreed in Korea. The question of Asian security, of military pacts and foreign military bases in Asia, is becoming increasingly acute. The Bikini explosions revealed the frightful dangers of the policy of "strength" which makes imperative an agreement on disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction. All these urgent problems directly affect the maintenance of Peace. On every one of them discussion without China is sterile, settlement impossible.

At Geneva the world saw clearly the practical proof of the effective part which China can play in international negotiations. The forces of Peace achieved a great success. Ever wider circles are realising that instead of cold war it is possible to organise security for all nations despite differences of political and social systems.

On the other hand, others have seen Geneva as a check to their policy and are trying to discount its effects. At Geneva a Korean settlement was frustrated. Since Geneva preparations for a "South East Asia" pact are being rapidly pushed forward. In direct contradiction to the Geneva agreements plans to include South Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia in a military bloc are being laid. Vehement efforts are being made to force through E.D.C. More and more, hydrogen bombs and other atomic weapons are being produced as the essential expression of this policy.

Unfortunately a number of influential people in some countries, including some responsible members of governments, still oppose every suggestion that the Chinese Government should be accorded its right to a seat in U.N.O. There is no longer any semblance of a logical argument against this essential step. Instead there is wild talk about using the veto, with empty threats about "walking out" of U.N.O. But the question of China's seat is not subject to a veto: it is a right established in the Charter which can be recognised by a majority vote.

Thus the seating of China in U.N.O. is not only an imperative necessity; it can actually be achieved, so great is the support for this step throughout the world, so weak the basis of the opposition.

But it will not be achieved if those who support it relax and think it will come without a great common effort by all who wish to preserve Peace.

Public opinion helped to make possible the Geneva Conference. It was a decisive factor in bringing about the Indo-China cease-fire. It can also be effective in seating China in the United Nations.

That is why throughout the world national Peace Movements are giving attention to this question at this time. That is why by deputations to Governments, letters in the Press, approaches to other peace organisations and in other ways, special efforts are being made to unite in action all sections of the peoples. The "Asian Solidarity Month" which the All-India Peace Council is organising during September is an exceptionally encouraging example.

Effective action of this sort during the next few weeks can ensure that, at last, the United Nations shall begin to work as it should, with China represented and exerting her full influence as a Great Power in accordance with the Charter.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

	Page
● World public opinion demands the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations	2
● The French nation proclaims its rejection of E.D.C. "Peace Day" and "Peace Week" in Germany.....	3
● Calcutta — All-India Peace Council Session launches Asian Solidarity Month ...	4 & 5
● More and more people are demanding: China must take her rightful seat in the United Nations.....	6 & 7
● Reply of Viet-Nam Peace Committee to the Message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace. Three Lebanese Government Ministers go on record for negotiation and the banning of weapons of mass destruction. The Austrian Peace Council opposes soldiers' meetings..	8
● United States — active struggle against thermonuclear weapons. Latin America — September 8-15, "Solidarity with Guatemala Week"	9
● Cultural Information — The Great Anniversaries. Latin America prepares for Youth Festival. Interesting Move for the Recording and Sale of Songs by Paul Robeson	10
● Public Health Congress in Scarborough. Italy — movement of opinion for cultural exchanges	11
● Around the World	12

Throughout the world public opinion is saying:

China must be represented in U.N.O.

"A people of 600 millions cannot be ignored"

FRANCE

To sum up my ideas on China today, Goethe's historic words after the battle of Valmy come back to me. "A new world has been born", he said.

We can see the immense scientific and cultural progress that has been made in the century and a half that has passed since then . . . And when, on the other hand, we consider the immense changes in public opinion and the collapse of regimes which had remained bowed down in ignorance, fanaticism and slavery, I think we can say:

"Our century, too, is seeing the birth of a new world."

China is a large part of this new world, and she will develop rapidly along the road of intellectual and practical labour, the road of wisdom and peace where she will again follow in the footsteps of her immortal philosophers.

In this way she will become once more a great and noble country doing good service in the fraternal interests of mankind. In all work beneficial to human progress France and China must be friends. The foregoing emphasises my desire to see China seated immediately in the United Nations.

M. Forcinal, *French Radical Socialist Deputy and Former Government Minister*

JAPAN

One of the appeals issued by the National Congress of the Japanese Peace Committee, which was held on July 3rd and 4th, calls for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and its admission to the United Nations. Japanese personalities from various circles have set up national and local Nippo-Chinese Friendship Societies and groups for the development of trade with China. Similar organisations exist in the Parliament and the municipal councils.

CANADA

A Committee for the recognition of China was set up in Edmonton on June 29th.

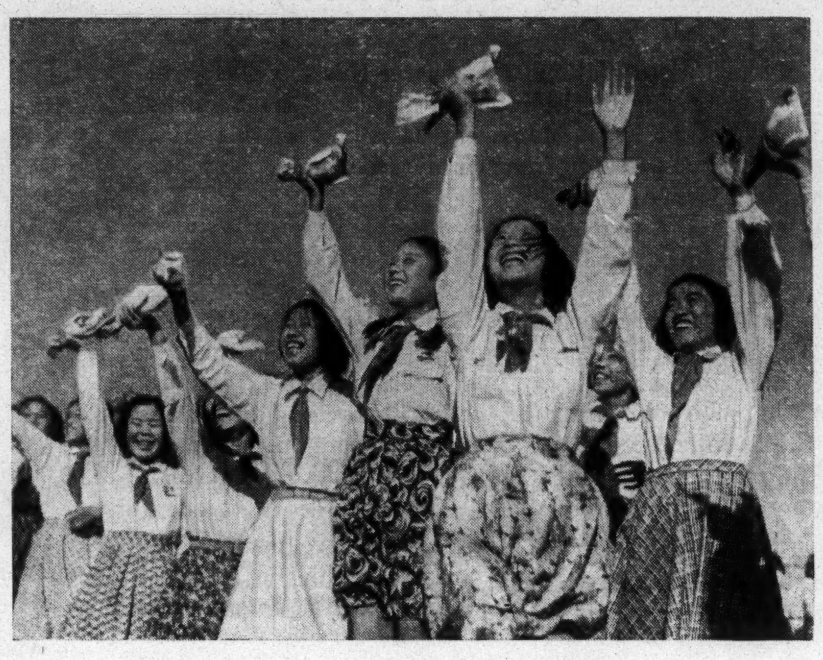
It said it was certain that the majority of Canadians support this cause, that some people saw the hope of a peaceful world in the recognition of China, others the opening of a market for Canadian surplus products, and others again wanted friendly cultural relations with the Chinese people.

The Committee announced its intention to publish a booklet entitled "Recognise China" immediately.

Mr. Mor Cheolin, director of the Chinese Language School in Vancouver, stated that it was wrong to ignore a nation of 600 million people and possessing all kinds of resources.

"... The obligations of membership could be carried out only by Governments which in fact possessed the power to do so. Where a revolutionary Government presented itself as representing a State, in rivalry to an existing Government, the question at issue should be which of these two Governments in fact was in a position to employ the resources and direct the people of the State in fulfilment of the obligations of membership. In essence, this meant an enquiry as to whether the new Government exercised effective authority within the territory of the State and was habitually obeyed by the bulk of the population. If so, it would seem to be appropriate for the United Nations organs, through their collective action, to accord the new Government the right to represent the State in the Organisation, even though individual members of the Organisation refused, and might continue to refuse, to accord that Government recognition as the lawful Government for reasons which were valid under their own national policies."

Excerpt from a memorandum which the Secretary General of the United Nations had prepared in February, 1950.



Jawaharlal Nehru, in a speech to the Indian Parliament

"One of the issues before the United Nations for some time past has been whether the People's Government of China should be accepted there as a member or not. There has been some confusion of thought about this matter when people talk about China being admitted into the United Nations. There is no question of admission of China; China is one of the founder members of the United Nations. The only question that can arise is who represents China. Can anyone say that the present Government of the Island of Taiwan represents China? Factually can any undertaking given by the government of Taiwan be carried out in China? Obviously not. They cannot give assurance on behalf of China. Therefore it becomes completely unreal, artifical, to talk about China being represented in the United Nations or in the Security Council by someone who cannot speak for China, who cannot do anything in China, and cannot affect China. This is one of the basic things which have been levelled against the politics of the United Nations."

The Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions

Peking, October 2—12, 1952

The Address to the United Nations adopted by the Conference expressly points out that China has the right to a seat in the United Nations and in its Security Council.

Speaking in the discussion, Mr. Louis Wheaton, leader of the United States delegation, said:

"...that the People's Republic of China shall take its rightful place in the United Nations as the true spokesman of the whole Chinese people. Already People's China is recognised by nations that comprise half the human race; how can one speak of the United Nations unless this will of the peoples is recognised?"

NEW ZEALAND

External Affairs Minister Mr. T. Clifton Webb told the House of Representatives that China should be admitted to the United Nations.

This statement was widely welcomed by the Australian press. The "Sidney Morning Herald" pointed out that, in accordance with article 23 of the United Nations Charter, the People's Republic of China must be one of the permanent members of the Security Council. Since the People's Government exercised real control over China, it could not reasonably be contested that Peking's demand was not legitimate since it had, in fact, been recognised by the majority of Asian States and by Great Britain and the Soviet Union among the Five Great Powers.

The "Courier Mail" and the "Telegraph", two Brisbane dailies, supported Mr. Webb's statement in editorials. The "Telegraph" pointed out that by restoring to the Peoples' Republic of China her rightful place in the United Nations the cause of peace could be strengthened.

What the Press is Saying

Appearing on the world scene for the first time, the Peking Government has clearly been recognised, both in Western Europe and in Asia, as the real government of China.

NEW YORK TIMES
(United States)

Virtually everywhere outside the United States public opinion seems to favour the admission of Communist China to the United Nations.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
(United States)

There is no doubt that the result obtained at Geneva is a great step forward in the question of the recognition of China and its admission to the United Nations. The way has thus been opened for the solution of yet another of the problems haunting the world.

POLITIKEN
(Denmark)

The question of China's admission to the United Nations must not be examined from the point of view of reward or punishment, but as a means of best ensuring world peace.

DAILY TELEGRAPH
(Great Britain)

It would be lunacy not to make contact with the leaders of a nation which, for good or ill, plays a major part in world affairs. The contacts have been too long delayed. The world cannot live in blinkers.

DAILY HERALD
(Great Britain)

On Eve of Debate in Parliament

French Nation Proclaims its Rejection of E.D.C.

Festivals were held during August to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Liberation and they gave the French people the opportunity to express forcefully their opposition to German rearmament before the great debate on E.D.C. in the French Parliament.

Wave of Popular Protest

In the Paris area and in villages off the beaten track the people commemorated the heroes of the Resistance in a way which showed how the national energy is being mustered to force rejection of E.D.C.

In response to the slogans issued by the National Council of the Peace Movement by resistance and trade union organisations and by the organisations of the women and young people, French men and women of all points of view affirmed the national will at demonstrations of all kinds.

The people's vigilance was demonstrated at many local and Departmental rallies, by the sending of deputations to elected representatives, by petitions to the President of the Council of Ministers, by factory meetings, and the laying of wreaths at the war memorials.

In a public appeal, 47 personalities who took part in the Resistance said: "*All those who fought and suffered for the Liberation from 1940 to 1945, whether they wore uniform or not, will not allow the reconstitution of the Wehrmacht.*"

The signatories included: the wife of General Delestraint, General Joinville, General Vincent, Colonel Manhes, Admiral Moullec, and the writers Aragon, Louis Martin Chauffier and Vercors.

This has become the pledge of the whole nation.

New Voices are Heard

This broad and growing opposition to E.D.C. has brought about shifts in position in political circles and given rise to new moves, for example, the meeting in Royaumont of a number of political figures who are opposed to the E.D.C. Treaty.

This Royaumont Assembly held several sessions and then issued a declaration which said:

"*The present situation in Europe and Germany creates a permanent war danger. Therefore, in spite of past failures, it is necessary to envisage over-all negotiations on a new foundation between the interested powers to study the possibility of a political agreement and the details of European security. An opportunity to do this has been given at the present time. It should be studied, it being understood that a time-limit would be set for the talks . . .*

"*These considerations justify the rejection not only of the Paris Treaty but of any substitute resulting from purely formal modifications, from the addition of conditional or suspensive clauses. They also justify the appeal that has been made to the French Government and its leader to extricate themselves from the strait-jacket which is being forced on France and Europe and to take with all urgency the necessary steps which can alone produce a real chance of peace.*"

The Royaumont meeting was attended by Deputies and Senators from the Socialist Party, the M.R.P. (M. Georges Bidault's party), the Radical Party whose President is Edouard Herriot, and the U.R.A.S. which is composed of former members of General de Gaulle's R.P.F. The sessions were chaired by M. Marius Moutet, former Government Minister, and M. Francisque Gay, former M.R.P. vice-president of the Council of Ministers.

HOSTILITY OF FRENCH ARMY

In an interview with the newspaper *Combat* on August 13th, General de Monsabert, former supreme commander of French troops in Germany, made some very serious statements. Questioned as to the army's reactions were E.D.C. to be ratified by the French Parliament, he said:

"All kinds of reactions are possible! Passive resistance — we had an example of that in 1940 with the 'armistice army' — resignations etc., all that is possible. In any case, no one should be surprised if the French people do not show fervent enthusiasm in assuming an obligation which does not correspond to an ideal firmly rooted in their hearts . . . Behind the drama of the army there lies the drama of the whole nation . . ."

Pastors call on the World Council of Churches to take Action for the Banning of Atomic Weapons

Pastors of the German Evangelical Church have just sent the Assembly of the World Council of Churches, which is meeting in Evanston in the United States, an appeal against the installation of atomic guns in the German Federal Republic.

"*As pastors of the Evangelical Church in these districts*", they write, "*we are responsible for our parishes; this obliges us to speak up, so that the stones may not have to cry out once more. The mere presence of these atomic guns hinders understanding between East and West; their use and the countermeasures that would inevitably be taken would mean nothing less than complete annihilation. We therefore ask the representatives of the world's Churches who have met in Evanston to take action to make the powers remove these atomic guns, the military measures accompanying them and the threat they represent . . .*

"*We ask the representatives of the world's Churches who have met in Evanston to take action to make the powers of the whole world give up their atomic arms and sign a general prohibition of all atomic weapons . . .*"

Protests in Belgium

M. Huysmans, President of the Belgian Parliament, told journalists that he personally had voted against E.D.C. and that he would always be an advocate of all-European talks. He said that serious talks could not be conducted by brandishing a clenched fist. E.D.C. symbolised this fist. He was convinced that the Soviet Union wanted a genuine agreement.

Young Belgians including representatives of Catholic, Social Democratic and students' organisations and members of the international movement for peace and the Belgian Youth Movement have issued an appeal to all young Belgians, asking them to take action for peaceful coexistence, against war and for the establishment of collective security in Europe. The Belgian Committee for the Peaceful Settlement of the German Problem, which includes people of widely differing political opinions, has published a letter to Deputies and Senators condemning E.D.C.

PEACE DAY AND PEACE WEEK IN GERMANY

One of the most striking facts in recent weeks has been the growing opposition of German public opinion to the Bonn and Paris Agreements and its support for a Peace Treaty with a united and peaceful Germany. This movement has reached a new high level.

Both in the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic the anniversaries of the first and second world wars were the occasion for a number of demonstrations of different kinds in which the German people gave forceful expression to their will for peace. These demonstrations will undoubtedly ensure a further development of the struggle.

September 1 — "Peace Day" in the German Democratic Republic

The German Peace Council has made public the programme for "Peace Day" on September 1st. Since August 1st — 40th anniversary of the First World War — there have been thousands of rallies, peace meetings and popular festivals in the towns and villages of the German Democratic Republic.

One of the highlights of this campaign will be a friendship rally with 800 guests from Denmark, Sweden and Norway who will arrive in Rostock at the end of August. They are the participants in the *Baltic Peace Cruise* in the Polish ship, S.S. *Batory;* they will come to Rostock from Stockholm and Copenhagen and will thereafter proceed to Leningrad. The other highlights are: a choral festival in Wartburg with people's choirs from all over Thuringia; a mass rally in Frankfort-on-the-Oder; and a great popular festival in Berlin with the slogan: "Life will be more beautiful if we have peace."

September 1-7 — "Peace Week" in the Federal Republic

The West German Peace Committee has called for the organisation of a "Peace Week" in West Germany. It will be marked by many rallies, meetings, popular festivals, artistic evenings and excursions to the regions threatened by war preparations.

The collection of signatures to the referendum on E.D.C. is being continued during this period of preparation.

In Hamburg, where the port Peace Committee took the ballot to the port workers, 1915 out of the 2061 who took part (that is 95 percent) opposed E.D.C. and demanded a Peace Treaty.

Growing Opposition to SEATO in Asia

The supporters of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation recently declared that they were envisaging the possibility of going ahead without the participation of the countries of Indo-China. This possibility has become a certainty. In accordance with the Geneva agreements, Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia will not conclude any military pacts. Everywhere in Asia, even in Government circles, the SEATO project is rousing strong opposition. Here are a few examples:

INDIA

In a recent letter to the Chairman of the Congress Party Committees in the State of Pradesh, Mr. Nehru said:

"Peace can only be preserved by peaceful methods... We in India are sure that peaceful coexistence between countries with different political systems is possible..."

And in his reply of August 12th to a letter from Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mr. Nehru reaffirmed his opposition to the SEATO plan, declaring that he did not think the time was ripe for a meeting of the Colombo States, the more so as a majority of these countries was already opposed to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation.

INDONESIA

Mr. Tambunam, vice-president of the Indonesian Parliament, has made a declaration opposing the proposal to discuss the creation of a military grouping in Southeast Asia.

He said that the Indonesian Government would continue to follow its independent policy and that it is therefore opposed to such a pact.

*

The Executive Council of the Partai Rakjat Indonesia (Indonesian Popular Party) has also rejected the attempts to involve Indonesia in the organisation of the Southeast Asia Treaty. This decision is expressed in a resolution adopted at the fourth session of the Executive Council which recently ended in Surabaya.

*

The Indonesian press is also voicing strong opposition to this pact. On August 4th, the newspaper *Suluh Indonesia* declared that Indonesia would certainly not be a signatory of the proposed Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation because by joining it Indonesia would have to abandon her independent policy and join the American bloc.

The newspaper *Abadi* stated on the same day that all Indonesian political parties are unanimously opposed to joining any military pact that runs counter to Indonesia's independent policy.

Other papers, including *Pemandangan* and *Harian Rakjat* express the same point of view.

NEPAL

According to the Indian Information Service, Mr. Regmi, Nepalese Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated to the press on August 7th that he remained opposed to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation because, at a time when the cease-fire in Indo-China was being put into operation, it would not help the cause of peace to talk of taking measures to create two blocs of powers in Southeast Asia.

CEYLON

Reuter announced from Colombo on August 12th that Ceylon will not take part in the discussions on the treaty. In agreement with Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister, the Cabinet decided that Ceylon must not take part in the discussions on the organisation of a Southeast Asia Treaty proposed by the Western powers.

Friendly Relations preferable to a Military Alliance

says Japanese Public Opinion

The United States plan to form a North-east Asian war bloc including Japan, Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek is meeting considerable opposition in Japan. A.F.P. reported on August 4th that "the highest authoritative sources" in Tokyo regard the US plan as both "impracticable and undesirable".

The Right wing conservative Japanese paper *Yomiuri Shimbun* carried an editorial on August 5th entitled "Friendly relations preferable to an unnecessary military alliance". There was no reason, the editorial said, for Japan to involve herself in the already complicated issues of Taiwan and South Korea by forming a military alliance with them.

It was a great mistake to ignore the fact that the armistice in Indo-China had greatly changed the world situation. There was now a better chance of peace by negotiation, the paper said. The projected "alliance" would prove of no gain to Japan but would end up by sowing the seeds of a new war in the Far East.

In a Tokyo dispatch dated August 4th, International News Service said:

"The fear that Japan will become isolated from the rest of Asia has been expressed in many clearly non-Communist circles, including some of the career officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and members of the right-of-centre and generally pro-American, Progressive Party."

Their view, according to this report, was that "Japan, by tying its future to American policy, may never establish friendly relations with Southeast Asia nor with Red China." "These countries", I.N.S. added, "are vital to Japan's economy, because it is here that she can expect to overcome her trade problems."

In a message read at the inaugural session of the National Council of Signature-collecting Movements the famous Japanese physicist, Hideki Yukawa, states that to prevent the use of atomic energy for destructive ends the prohibition of atomic weapons should become a universal demand: **"As a victim of both the atom and the hydrogen bombs, the Japanese people have the right and duty of undertaking this task".**

According to the latest information, the National Council of Signature-collecting Movements has counted 18,900,000 signatures in favour of the banning of thermo-nuclear weapons.

CALCUTTA

The Council opened its session by sending a message of greetings to Prime Ministers Nehru and Chou En-lai supporting the five principles of their agreement.

These five principles are one of the most important bases of the activity of the Indian Peace Movement. According to the reports made at the session, powerful support is being given to the main slogans of the Peace Movement, which deal with such issues as the US-Pakistan Pact and the five principles of the Sino-Indian Agreement.

The main issues under discussion at the Council Session were: the security of nations, with special reference to Asian security; weapons of mass destruction; and economic and cultural exchanges.

The main resolution adopted by the Council called for Asian security, solidarity and co-operation and for a campaign in support of the five principles. The resolution raises the key questions which face Asia today: first and foremost, the question of the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and then the questions of Korea, Indo-China and Malaya. The month of September is to be observed as an Asian Solidarity Month, when signatures will be collected and meetings and demonstrations will be held.

This campaign will be devoted to activity in support of the five principles, for they are a basic guarantee of peace and the Asian peoples' solidarity.

The All India Peace Council also decided to give the campaign against weapons of mass destruction special emphasis. The resolution adopted calls for an end to all experiments and for an agreement by the powers concerned not to use these weapons.

Special forms of action were advocated, including meetings of scientists and doctors, signatures, deputations to M.Ps and other representatives of the people.

The Cultural Commission, which was very widely attended by some 1,200 writers, artists and musicians, made a number of valuable proposals for intensifying cultural exchanges and for the development of national cultures: the observing of anniversaries and the holding of festivals, encouragement of cultural exchanges and fostering creative work in the interests of peace. Organisational questions were discussed at the end. Great emphasis was laid on the necessity of using various forms of activity — such as exhibitions, cultural performances and festivals — and not confining the Peace Committees merely to the holding of public meetings and conferences.

The Council decided to call a great National Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity in Madras on December 30th, 31st and January 1st and 2nd, 1955. This will be the Fourth Congress of the Indian Peace Movement. Since the last Congress the Movement has grown considerably and the Indian people have played an important role in the conclusion of peace in Indo-China. There is, therefore, every reason to expect that this forthcoming Congress will be an important event for the Indian Peace Movement.

All India Peace Council Session

LAUNCHES ASIAN SOLIDARITY MONTH

"The People's Republic of China must be given its rightful place in the United Nations without delay"

The All India Peace Council held its session in Calcutta on July 30th and 31st and August 1st. The session, in fact, took on the character of a national assembly with over 1,500 delegates, observers and guests present at all the main sessions of the Council, and over 50,000 people present at the concluding public rally.

No less than 15 provinces were represented and strong delegations came from other regions to greet the Council and take part in its work. Such was the case with Andhra where the Movement collected 100,000 signatures in one district alone in the course of a fortnight.

Over 170 Trade Unions of Bengal State held meetings and elected delegates to attend this session of the Council. Leading Trade Union figures representing the All India Trade Union Congress, the United Trade Union Congress, and national organisations of different sections of workers played an important role at the session.

The Bengal State Kisan Sabha (peasants' organisation) observed a "*Peace Week*" in honour of the Council Session and collected several thousands of signatures to an appeal for Asian solidarity.

In addition to the representatives of workers' and peasants' organisations, there were representatives of women's organisations, student's and youth organisations, and cultural and social organisations and clubs.

Of considerable significance was the participation of official representatives of the Indian Medical Association, which is the recognised body of medical men in India.

The Resolutions Adopted

The following are large excerpts from the resolutions adopted at this Session of the All India Peace Council.

On Asian solidarity

This meeting of the All India Peace Council welcomes the growing desire among all sections of the Asian peoples for peaceful cooperation, solidarity and unity...

The peoples of Asia view with alarm the attempts to divide the Asian peoples by forming military pacts such as the US-Pakistan Military Aid Pact and the proposed SEATO. We firmly oppose the measures taken to remilitarise Japan and build hundreds of war bases on its territory. Such attempts by interested powers are aimed at maintaining their colonial rule, thwarting the freedom desire of the peoples of this region and endangering the sovereignty of Asian countries.

The refusal to seat the People's Republic of China in U.N.O. is one of the main reasons for the present tensions in Asia and the world. To ensure peace, the People's Republic of China must be given its rightful place in U.N.O. without delay.

This meeting calls for the early resumption of negotiations for the settlement of the question of Korea. Peace in Korea can be maintained only on the basis of the independence of the Korean people and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from their soil...

We appeal to all sections of the Indian people to join in a united campaign for Asian solidarity and security, based on the acceptance of the Five Principles enunciated in the above declaration...

On Asian solidarity month

The All India Peace Council calls upon all its constituent committees in all parts of the country and all organisations and individuals which support it, to observe the month of September as an ASIAN SOLIDARITY MONTH to popularise the call of the Council for Asian solidarity on the basis of the Five Principles enunciated in the Nehru—Chou-En-lai Agreement.

The Council goes on to suggest the forms of action that the Peace Movement could employ to popularise these principles.

On the Hydrogen Bomb

...An agreement between the powers for the banning and international control of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons is the only way to remove this menace from the face of the earth...

We call upon all people, all organisations, elected bodies, and religious people to come out openly in protest against the use of the H-bomb. We call upon scientists in particular to resist stubbornly all attempts to use this precious discovery of the human mind for the destruction of man...

The Five Principles

- **Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity**
- **Mutual non-aggression**
- **Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs**
- **Equality and mutual benefit**
- **Peaceful coexistence**

Message sent to Prime Minister Nehru and to Prime Minister Chou En-Lai

Fifteen hundred delegates, observers and guests present at the inaugural session of the All India Peace Council held in Calcutta on July 30, welcome the initiative taken by you and Prime Minister Chou En-lai in enunciating the Five Principles of your agreement, which constitute a Charter and which must become the basis of relations between nations all over the world and particularly between the nations of Asia.

The peoples of Asia are growingly aware that no longer can outsiders be permitted to decide and manage their internal affairs, impose military pacts to cover aggressive imperialist intentions and to reinforce colonialism.

The agreement for a cease fire in Indo-China is a great victory for the determination of the peoples of Asia to ensure their national independence and to preserve world peace.

The All India Peace Council and its constituent branches, and all other organisations and individuals which support it, pledge themselves to launch a countrywide campaign in co-operation with all other organisations of the Indian people, for Asian unity and peaceful co-operation, security and solidarity, on the basis of the acceptance of the Five Guiding Principles outlined in your historic agreement with the Prime Minister of China, which has been endorsed by the Prime Minister of Burma.

Message to Supervisory Commission for Cease-fire in Indo-China

The All India Peace Council sends it greetings to the members of the Supervisory Commission for effecting the cease-fire agreements in Indo-China.

We are particularly happy that India has been elected chairman of the commission, which is a recognition of the contribution India has made towards the cease-fire.

The Indian people have hailed the cease-fire in Indo-China as a victory for peace and a triumph for the peoples of Asia and the whole world. It has been demonstrated in actual practice that negotiations can succeed in halting war...

The cease-fire must be followed by a political agreement, which guarantees full independence to the three peoples of Indo-China and their right to decide freely their own form of Government, without the presence of foreign troops on their soil and without foreign intervention in any form whatsoever.

> THE SECURITY COUNCIL SHALL CONSIST OF ELEVEN MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA, FRANCE, THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS, THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN IRELAND, AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA SHALL BE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL . . .
>
> *The Charter of the United Nations*
> *Article 23*

More and more pe

China must take her
United

If the United Nations is to realise the hopes the peoples always reposed in it, it must return to the path marked out for it by the peoples since the days of its foundation and, as a first step in this direction, must secure as soon as possible a meeting of the Five Great Powers: the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union, for the examination and peaceful settlement of current differences . . .

We demand that the problem be dealt with by the Security Council at full strength — that is, including the representatives of the People's Republic of China . . ."

Address to the United Nations
Second World Congress of Defenders of Peace
Warsaw, November 22nd, 1950

It is by methods of negotiation and conciliation that the agreements essential to the peaceful development of the world will be established.

Since such agreements must extend, in particular, to Asia, considerations of justice and a realistic view of international policy require the admission to the United Nations of the Government of the People's Republic of China . . .

Appeal to the United Nations and to the Peoples of the World
Second Session of the World Council of Peace
Vienna, November 1—6, 1951

Negotiations will fundamentally change the course of events. The United Nations can become the instrument of this change by keeping faithfully to the spirit of its Charter. It must admit the countries which have applied to enter. China, like other nations, must be represented by the Government of her choice.

Declaration on the Launching of a World Campaign for Negotiation
Fourth Session of the World Council of Peace
Budapest, June 20th, 1953

World Federation of United Nations Associations

The World Federation of United Nations Associations — including the United States delegation — unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that China be represented in the United Nations by its effective government.

On May 18th, 1954, the World Federation of United Nations Associations sent a telegram to the Geneva Conference demanding that the government in power in China should enter the United Nations.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Permanent Delegate to U.N.O.

Sir Gladwyn Jebb, Great Britain's permanent delegate in the United Nations, made the following statement in a lecture at John Hopkins University in Baltimore:

"Whether we like it or not, the Government of mainland China is not represented in the world organisation . . . this absence, whether justified or not, certainly imposes a considerable strain on the organisation."

The will of the peoples is
declarations of the most au
China's presence in the Unit
the United Nations Charter.

The Secretary Gener

United Nations Secretary General D
1954, that the People's Republic of C
Nations as a matter of principle. H
peoples should be represented by the
In his annual report on the activit
skjöld noted that the particular impo
recognition of the necessity of the p
in all important international negot
European countries and several Asi
United Nations.

The President of t

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, P
Assembly, stated at a press conferen
People's Republic of China to her ri
contribute to the relaxation of inter

The Colom

The communique issued at the cl
by the Prime Ministers of India, Pa
representation of the People's Repub
help promote stability in Asia, ease
a more realistic approach to world

The Prime Mi

Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo said
supports the entry of China into the U
Minister Sunarjo expressed his supp
Nations.

Personalities Give their Views

At the request of the Editorial Board, a number of well-known people have sent the following statements for the Bulletin.

PROFESSOR J. D. BERNAL
PHYSICIST (GREAT BRITAIN)
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The right of the Government of the People's Republic of China to its place in the United Nations is incontestable in international law.

As the successful result of the Geneva Conference shows, it is certain that once China took its place on the Security Council the way would be open to a peaceful solution of disputes at present embittering the world.

In view, however, of the powerful opposition to this reasonable and just step, it is clear that it will be necessary for peace-loving people in every country of the world to demand it with growing insistence until it can be resisted no longer.

PROFESSOR H. BRANDWEINER
PRESIDENT OF THE AUSTRIAN PEACE COUNCIL

According to the statutes of the United Nations China is a member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council. Her representation in international organisations and bodies is laid down in public international law which stipulates that, in accordance with the principle of effective rule, it is the government which has real control over a people and country which has the right to send representatives with full powers abroad. In virtue of this principle and in accordance with international law the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, with its seat in Peking, is the legitimate government of China and alone has the right to represent its country in the United Nations and elsewhere. As long as its representatives are not allowed to take their rightful place in the various United Nations bodies, particularly the Security Council and the General Assembly, these bodies are not constituted in accordance with the statutes and one has the right to ask whether their decisions can be put into execution without contravening the statutes. Deliberate efforts are being made to confuse this state of affairs and this legal position with the quite different question of the recognition of the Chinese Government by other States. Certain great powers already recognise the Chinese Government "de jure", others have not yet done so. But this must not prevent the United Nations from functioning in the manner laid down by its statutes. When the United States claim that it is up to the Security Council itself to decide which Chinese representatives should sit on the Council, the reply must be made that, according to the statutes, this is not within the jurisdiction of the Security Council.

It is for this reason that — as we said above — the question must be settled in accordance with public international law.

TELEGRAM FROM MR. TETSU KATAYAMA, FORMER PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN

It is impossible to ensure world security without the return of China to the United Nations. I shall do all I can to attain this end.

ıore people are demanding:

her Rightful Seat in the ted Nations!

peoples is reflected in the statements and ıe most authoritative circles in favour of in the United Nations, in accordance with ıs Charter.

ıry General of the United Nations

ary General Dag Hammarskjöld said on February 26th, Republic of China should be represented in the United principle. He told a press conference that "all major ented by the government most representative of them". on the activities of the United Nations, Mr. Hammar- rticular importance of the Geneva Conference was the sity of the participation of the government of China ational negotiations. He complained that half of the l several Asian countries have not been seated in the

sident of the General Assembly

ni Pandit, President of the United Nations General ress conference in Singapore that the admission of the hina to her rightful place in the United Nations would tion of international tension.

'he Colombo Conference

ued at the closing session of the Colombo Conference of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, stated that the ople's Republic of China in the United Nations would ı Asia, ease world tension and assist in bringing about ach to world problems, particularly in the Far East.

Prime Minister of Indonesia

ımidjojo said on August 9th, 1953, that Indonesia ina into the United Nations. A few days before, Foreign ssed his support for the seating of China in the United

The American Assembly

The American Assembly, a conference of about 60 leaders of business, education and labour which is held every year in Arden House, issued, on August 2nd, a declaration on the country's attitude to the United Nations which contains the following passage:

"We believe that the United Nations should, in principle, be an organisation of universal membership, and that the application of each state for membership should be approached on this basis. The question of what Government should represent China in the United Nations is not, technically, a question of membership, but of proper representation of a country already a member."

The declaration is signed by such people as: Mr. Thomas Watson, chairman of the International Business Machines Corporation, Mr. David Rockefeller, vice-president of the Chase National Bank, Mr. Erwin Canham, editor of the Christian Science Monitor, and Mr. John Cowles, the Minneapolis newspaper owner who was one of Eisenhower's principal supporters in 1952.

Chinese children are brought up to love peace. These children are signing for a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers.

Facts about the People's Republic of China

China has a population of more than 600,000,000. Her territory has an area of 3,850,000 square miles.

The People's Republic of China is a multinational State with more than 60 national minorities (40,000,000 people).

22 Countries have Diplomatic Relations with China

The following 22 countries have established diplomatic relations with China:

Albania	**The German Democratic Republic**
Burma	**The People's Democratic Republic of Korea**
Bulgaria	**The People's Republic of Mongolia**
Czechoslovakia	**Norway**
Denmark	**Pakistan**
Finland	**Poland**
Great Britain	**Rumania**
Holland	**Sweden**
Hungary	**Switzerland**
India	**U.S.S.R.**
Indonesia	**The Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam**

In addition, Afghanistan, Ceylon and Israel have announced their intention to establish diplomatic relations with the Peoples, Republic of China.

The Stockholm Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension

(June, 1954)

The United Nations Organisation, whose existence is essential for peace, must be based on a true appreciation of international life, and it must be universal. Therefore, the People's Republic of China and all States which have asked or might ask to be admitted, must be admitted to the United Nations Organisation.

General Resolution

The participants in the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension consider . . . that the People's Republic of China must without any further delay take its rightful place in the United Nations Organisation.

Recommendation Adopted by the Political Section

With a view to contributing to the relaxation of the present international tension, the Meeting proposes:

Maintenance of diplomatic relations between countries without regard to differences in their economic and social systems, which is essential for the development of trade relations and trade agreements between nations, as well as membership in the United Nations for all countries willing to accept the obligations of the Charter. In particular it must be realised that no sound development of world trade and world economy is possible without the establishment by all countries of diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China and without the admission of its representatives to the United Nations.

Recommendation adopted by the Economic Section

China's Trade Relations

In the four and a half years that have passed since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, more than 50 nations all over the world have begun to trade with her. The total volume of her foreign trade in 1953 was six times greater than in 1949, the year of liberation, and was the biggest of any year since 1930.

Besides the trade between China and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, which is constantly growing, China has concluded formal trade arrangements or established trade connections with the Governments or industrial and commercial circles of capitalist countries such as India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Great Britain, France, Italy, Finland, Belgium, Switzerland, West Germany, Holland, Egypt, Chile etc.

Even trade between China and the United States has not been stopped entirely in these last years. A survey by the American Exporter Publications, the results of which were published on December 10th, 1953, shows that U.S. businessmen want trade with China. This survey covers 576 export managers of firms doing an aggregate international export business of U.S. $ 1,500,000,000. It revealed that 361 of these managers, that is 73 percent, expressed a wish for the resumption of fuller trade with Hongkong. Everyone familiar with world trade knows that business in Hongkong depends chiefly on business with the mainland of China.

hen the
it is up
itself to
present-
Council,
le that,
, this is
tion of

at — as
question
ordance
law.

TETSU
ER
APAN

e world
turn of
tions. I
ain this

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Activity of the Hungarian Peace Movement

The Hungarian Peace Committee has sent out 100,000 copies of a questionnaire which asks the ordinary people of Hungary questions like the two that follow:

"*What proposals have you for activity that the Hungarian Peace Committee could conduct in order to strengthen peace?*", and "*In what way, in your opinion, would Hungary's participation in a European system of collective security serve the interests of the Hungarian people?*"

Another form of activity is "Peace Meetings". The participants have a friendly discussion on their activity in defence of peace in the sphere of their work.

The campaign conducted by the Hungarian Peace Movement these last few months culminated in a "Peace Week" which was held throughout the country. The Peace Committees organised "Peace Weeks" in many communes, districts and important towns, and varied programmes based on popular customs were put on.

For example, in the town of Szeged a youth peace meeting was held in which several thousand young people took part.

The Austrian Peace Council opposes Soldiers' Meetings

In a press statement the Austrian Peace Council has protested at the calling of two soldiers' meetings in Graz and Ischl for the month of September. They were called by the German Union of Soldiers in Austria, which is led by Kesselring. The announcement of these two demonstrations, organised from West Germany, was received with anger in Upper Austria and Styria.

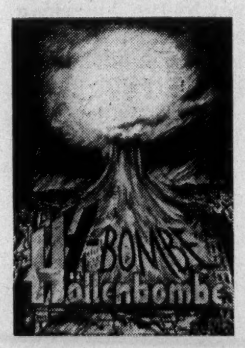
In this statement, the Austrian Peace Council makes the following demands of the security authorities, especially the Ministry of the Interior:

The Graz and Ischl meetings must not be allowed to take place!

The German Union of Soldiers has no right to organise in Austria demonstrations which endanger our external and internal security.

The H-Bomb is a Diabolical Weapon

Such is the title of a booklet published by the Austrian Peace Council (See photograph).



It is 16 pages long, strikingly illustrated, and ends with an appeal to the Austrian Parliament to demand an agreement between the Great Powers for the banning of the atom and hydrogen bombs. The appeal is filled in by the reader and sent to the parties represented in the Austrian Parliament.

94,000 copies have been printed.

REPLY OF THE VIET-NAM COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF WORLD PEACE TO THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

We received the message of greetings from the World Council of Peace on the signature of the armistice in Indo-China at the very time when our people were joyfully celebrating this victory.

We are aware that this victory is not only the victory of the peoples of Indo-China but of peace-loving people the world over. It is the victory of the Peace Movement, that of the stand for negotiation adopted long ago by the World Council of Peace. It has contributed to the lessening of international tension. It eloquently proves, once again, that all international disputes, including the most serious ones, can be settled through peaceful negotiation.

Now, our people are enthusiastically beginning the work of healing their war wounds by gradually restoring their peaceful life and making preparations for national reconstruction...

We express our heartfelt thanks to the World Council and ask it to convey to all peace fighters our fraternal greetings and our pledge to fight resolutely for lasting peace and for friendship among the peoples.

On behalf of the Viet-Nam Committee for the Defence of World Peace
LE DINH THAM
Chairman

Manifesto of Lebanese Peace Committee

The Lebanese National Peace Committee issued a manifesto on the occasion of the restoration of Peace in Indo-China. It was well received by newspapers of widely differing points of view, including *Al Hadaf*, *Al Telegraph*, *Al Yur*, *Al Sarkha* and *Al Tarik*. Four thousand copies of it were printed.

Here are some extracts:

"Today millions of men and women throughout the world are rejoicing at the ending of hostilities in Indo-China, after seven years of massacre during which thousands of human beings have perished and thousands of old people, women and children have suffered.

"This event, following the ending of hostilities in Korea, has raised mankind's hopes for the establishment and consolidation of peace in Southeast Asia and their hope that the right of all peoples to self-determination will be respected...

"This result is a defeat for the policy of military alliances and a victory for the policy of peaceful negotiation. It means that peaceful negotiation is the best and nearest road to the fulfilment of the peoples' aspirations for national liberation and peace..."

Three Government Ministers come out in Favour of Negotiation and the Banning of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Mr. Rashid Karame, *Minister of the National Economy*, **Mr. Khazem el Khalil,** *Minister of Agriculture*, and **Mr. George Hrawi,** *Minister for Home Affairs*, recently showed their desire for peace in statements made to the Peace Movement.

Giving his views on the armistice in Indo-China, the Minister of the National Economy said:

"*I believe that no one with any human feeling can be other than grieved when men kill each other... I therefore think that the armistice in Indo-China brings joy to all free men who desire the happiness of their fellow men, apart from any other considerations.*

"*Nor is there any doubt that the settlement of such questions — the object of a dispute which has led to war — by an armistice is a proof that the parties concerned have begun to think of peaceful means as a way of settling conflicts. It is an ideal method which must be supported and to which we must resort above all others...*"

Mr. Kazem el Khalil believes that weapons of mass destruction can be banned:

"*After the First World War, the States agreed to prohibit the use of poison gas, and as a result of this agreement gas was not used during the Second World War. It is therefore possible to reach agreement on the banning of atom and hydrogen bombs which are much more destructive and horrible, and to respect such an agreement...*"

On the settlement of current disputes he had this to say:

"*In my opinion, everything that prevents the spilling of innocent blood is an act of humanity that deserves our support; and it is possible to attain the settlement of conflicts by means of peaceful negotiation...*"

Mr. Hrawi, the Minister for Home Affairs, said that he was "*in full agreement with those who urge the need to ban the atomic and hydrogen bombs, especially since the hydrogen bomb tests in the Pacific have clearly shown the extent of the damage caused by this destructive weapon...*"

Of the armistice in Indo-China he said:

"*I was one of those who followed with interest the progress of the negotiations on the question of Indo-China. I therefore welcomed the announcement that the armistice had been signed with great satisfaction, for the slaughter which had made thousands of victims had been brought to an end. I feel that it is necessary to seek a peaceful settlement of all current disputes before conflicts break out and blood flows...*"

"SET PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE GOING"

Mr. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, president of the Pan-European Union, has issued a statement in which he says:

"The only way of preventing the threatening atomic war is to prevent the third world war. For the cold war will either end in atomic war or in the restoration of world peace. Now, there is only one way that leads to world peace, and that is a Peace Conference between the Western powers, between East and West, between America, the Soviet Union, the Commonwealth, China and Europe...

"We do not want to repeat the tragic experience of the wars of religion; we should have the courage to try and set peaceful existence going before the third world war breaks out..."

September 8—15:

Solidarity with Guatemala Week

The attitude adopted by the military junta in Guatemala as regards the right of political asylum for the political refugees and the illegal proceedings against them have roused great anger among the peoples of Latin America.

Protest after protest at these violations of the law is being sent to the military government in Guatemala.

On July 18th, a meeting was held in the Iris theatre in the Mexican capital. Those present called for continental solidarity against the terror in Guatemala and demanded that the right of political asylum be respected. The meeting, which was chaired by General Heriberto Jara, was prepared by the following organisations: the National Peace Council, the Women's Guatemala Committee, the National Front of the Plastic Arts, the Mexican Democratic Women's Union, and the Solidarity with Guatemala Committee of the School of Plastic Arts.

In his speech Professor Rafael Ramirez, founder of the Mexican School of Agriculture, said:

"*We denounce the wave of terror which has been let loose on a brother country. We ask the other nations of Latin America to see to it that at least the right of political asylum is guaranteed to the Guatemalans against whom action is being taken...*"

Other speakers pointed out that those who organised the invasion of Guatemala are threatening other Latin American countries, and that the peoples should put a stop to these plans at the same time as they show their support for Guatemala.

The meeting adopted two important resolutions. One of these asks the United Nations to intervene to end the terror in Guatemala; the other asks the President of Mexico to intervene and demand that the right of political asylum be respected.

An Appeal of the Latin American Confederation of Workers

The Confederation of Workers of Latin America has published an important statement condemning the terror in Guatemala and demanding that the right of political asylum be respected.

The Confederation asked the national trade union centres and trade union and labour organisations in general to make a stand in defence of the right of political asylum which has been violated by the military junta in Guatemala and to make September 8th—15th a week of solidarity with the workers of Guatemala throughout Latin America.

The Brazilian Trade Unions

The Brazilian Confederation of Workers has issued an appeal to all workers and trade unions in the country asking them to strengthen their solidarity with the workers of Guatemala.

The Confederation denounces the terror unleashed by the military junta against trade union leaders, and the leaders of peasants', students' and other organisations in Guatemala, and calls on all trade unions to "*increase their protests and support the resolution for a Solidarity Week with the Workers of Guatemala, adopted by the Latin American Confederation of Workers*".

Polish Ecclesiastics oppose the Hydrogen Bomb

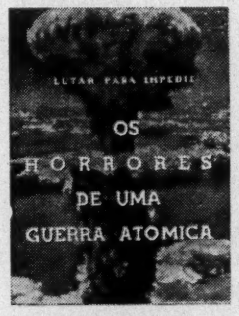
The Polish episcopate has just made public a statement which, referring to Pope Pius XII's condemnation of the use of atomic, biological and chemical weapons, says:

"The whole world is watching with great attention and profound anxiety the latest developments in the field of atomic energy. For, on the one hand, if used positively, atomic energy can have an enormous and beneficial influence on the rapid development of civilisation and culture; while on the other, in the shape of atom and hydrogen bombs, it can bring about the mass destruction of men and the wealth they have created."

This statement is signed by the Secretary of the Polish episcopate, Bishop Zygmunt Choromanski.

"Prevent the Horror of an Atomic War"

The Sao Paulo Peace Committee has just published a 26-page booklet entitled "*Fight to Prevent the Horror of an Atomic War*". It contains an analysis of the international agreements regulating the use of weapons of mass destruction and of the position of the powers in the United Nations with respect to this question. It also contains the positions of official organisations, the Pope's message, the resolutions of the World Council of Peace and statements by eminent people in Sao Paulo.



The last part of the booklet is devoted to an analysis of the possible effects of an atomic explosion on Sao Paulo and the surrounding districts.

The booklet ends by demonstrating the possibility of using atomic energy for the welfare and progress of mankind.

UNITED STATES

Active Struggle against Thermo-nuclear Weapons Developing

An enlarged spring meeting of the Peace Council Executive Board rallied peace workers from Redding to Santa Cruz. Reports from the areas and plans for future work showed a determination to step up peace work in the face of the H-bomb menace.

"*People are ready to respond to peace leadership at this time, and we must find ways to give this leadership*", said Peace Council Secretary, Mrs. Betty Winter. The Board agreed that events that have frightened and outraged people beyond anything else in recent years are the H-bomb tests.

Postcards to Eisenhower

The Board voted to throw main energies into one major campaign to send thousands of postcards to President Eisenhower calling for a world-wide ban on the H-bomb. Tables for the sale of the cards could be placed in shopping neighbourhoods, at factory gates and at meetings of labour and other organisations.

Cablegram to Hiroshima

On August 6th the Northern California Peace Council sent the following telegram to Mayor Shinzo Hamai of Hiroshima:

"Congratulations to the Japanese people for your leadership of fight to ban nuclear weapons. We pledge our support. May Hiroshima live in peace."

Churches and Trade Unions

Representatives from 6,000 Congregational churches throughout the United States at the annual convention in New Haven, Connecticut, on June 28th, condemned "*careless statements by public figures urging the use of hydrogen or atomic bombs in current disputes*".

The Trade Unionists for Peace announces a new leaflet directed to the unemployed, called "*A Job with a Future*". The leaflet calls for a programme of school and house construction rather than a continuation of the war economy.

A Crusade against the Bombs

The Northern California Peace Council has issued the following slogans:

1) Get the issues of the H-bomb and NO MORE KOREAS talked about through forums, debates, large meetings and small house meetings.

2) Posters and sticky-backs to dramatise the effects of the H-bomb, and present peaceful alternatives.

3) Advertisements in local papers with space for name and address of those who wish to sign appeal to President Eisenhower.

4) Visits and letters to Congressmen and to local government officials, asking them to go on record against the H-bomb tests, and against sending troops to Indo-China.

5) Chain letters to be sent to five names from telephone book.

6) Church people are urged to appeal to their ministers for prayers for the Japanese fishermen.

7) Letters to editors, union papers included.

8) Ask your candidates for public office to take a stand on the H-bomb.

*

STICKY-BACKS FOR PEACE

"Let Kids grow up!"

"*Write President Eisenhower today for world ban of H-bombs.*"

This sticky-back was distributed by the Northern California Peace Council.

Anniversaries

The Italian reviews *Rassegna Sovietica* and *Societa* have decided to organise a joint competition for essays and articles on the works of Anton Chekhov. There are prizes of 100,000 and 50,000 lire for the two best essays and other prizes for the best articles published in the Italian press. The prizes will be awarded on December 31st, 1954.

*

On the occasion of Chekhov's 50th anniversary it is announced in Moscow that since 1917 there have been 1,015 editions of the various works of Chekhov in the Soviet Union, making a total of 40,000,000 copies. These figures are rapidly becoming out of date, for both the short stories and the plays are continually being reprinted and sell quickly.

INTERESTING MOVE FOR THE RECORDING AND SALE OF SONGS BY PAUL ROBESON

As part of the development of cultural exchanges the Othello Recording Company, whose President is Paul Robeson Junior, has just made an interesting proposal in the United States.

The company has let it be known that it is in a position to satisfy the many requests from foreign countries for record albums of songs by Paul Robeson. The albums would contain his famous songs and one or more songs of the country from which the request came, if desired. The latter would be specially recorded by the great American singer and would be sung as far as possible in the national language.

A recording matrix of these records would also be prepared and sent to the organisation or committee which had ordered the special album, and reproduction would be authorised in the country concerned.

At a time when there is warm support in every country for Paul Robeson's new application for a passport, so that at last he may be able to perform abroad, there is matter for rejoicing in this undertaking which will enable the well-loved voice of this great artist and ardent defender of peace to be widely heard throughout the world.

Czechoslovak Peace Committee presents Film on Dvorak to Israeli Peace Committee

The Israeli National Peace Committee has received the gift of a film on the life and work of Dvorak from the Czechoslovak Peace Committee.

The film, which is accompanied by a short commentary, is particularly suitable for Dvorak evenings in clubs, youth movements etc., where it can be shown to the accompaniment of records or performances of some of the great composer's works.

British Peace Movement honours the Memory of the great Scientist, Joseph Priestley

On the initiative of the Peace Movement, the 150th anniversary of the famous chemist, Joseph Priestley, was commemorated in Birmingham where he spent a great part of his life. The Birmingham Peace Committee organised a public dinner at which Dr. R. L. M. Synge F.R.S., Nobel Prize winner, gave a talk on the life and work of Priestley. Dr. Lilley of Birmingham University and Mr. Douglas Bulgin, member of the Executive Committee of Birmingham Trades Council, also spoke.

Pablo Neruda Celebrated in the Chilean Press

The writer Maria de Lourdes Teixeira, who has just returned from Chile with the Brazilian delegation which took part in the celebration of Pablo Neruda's 50th birthday, has begun to write a series of articles on the personality, life and work of the great poet.

In the first of the articles to be published, she gives her impressions of the celebrations: the impressive scene in the University Hall where Neruda was greeted by the Rector, and the dinner that was given to artistic and literary personalities from all over America and to guests from other countries. Neruda read some unpublished work during the dinner.

*

On July 14th in the Sao Paulo city library Dr. Kielo Matos gave a lecture on Chinese poetry. He traced the development of Chinese poetry from the 8th century till today.

The lecture was well attended and very well received.

Preparations for the Latin American Youth Festival

In the ten countries of Latin America active preparations are now going forward for the Latin American Youth Festival which will be held in Chile in January 1955. An international preparatory meeting was recently held in Santiago, the Chilean capital, and it approved the general lines of the Festival programme. The Festival will take European experience of youth festivals into account and there will be an extraordinary programme of shows, dramatic performances, ballet, concerts of symphonic, popular and folklore music, mass choirs, sports competitions, film shows, poetry recitals, parades of typical costumes, art exhibitions, models showing the different forms of expression of popular art, etc. There will also be round-table discussions between young people who work in the same fields: architects, technicians, workers, musicians, office workers, sportsmen, engineers and writers.

The 200 important Chilean personalities and organisations who are sponsoring the Festival include the following:

Sr. Juan Gomez Millas, Rector of the University of Chile; Sr. Hector Mardones Restat, Dean of the Faculty of Architecture; the conductors Sr. Victor Tevah and Sr. Armando Carvajal; Sr. Patricio Bunster, assistant director of the Chilean Ballet; and the poets Sr. Pablo Neruda and Sr. Cruchaga Santa Maria. Sixteen M.Ps and many painters, writers, sportsmen and members of the liberal professions have also given their support.

Charles Chaplin invited to Visit India

Here is the text of the resolution to Charles Chaplin adopted by the Bengal Motion Picture Employees' Union:

"*The film workers of West Bengal organised in the Bengal Motion Picture Employees' Union send their warmest greetings to brother Charlie Chaplin on the occasion of his being awarded the International Peace Prize. The film world in all lands should feel proud on this happy occasion — since this is a recognition of the honest service done by one of the most famous film artists and directors to the cause of world peace, humanity and liberty.*

"*In this connection B.M.P.E.U. requests the All India Peace Council to convey, on our behalf, a warm invitation to brother Chaplin to visit this great land of ours — as that would help create closer cultural ties with other lands as well as a strong and healthy peace movement among men and women engaged in the Indian film industry.*"

A meeting of the cultural workers of Madras expressed the same desire and requested Chaplin to "*avail himself of the earliest opportunity to visit India and help to strengthen cultural relations between the people of the East and the West*".

*

Tasks of Indian cultural workers in defence of peace were defined at a meeting held in Calcutta on August 1st in support of the Calcutta Session of the All India Peace Council which is reported on another page.

The meeting, which was chaired by the well-known dramatist Sachin Sen Gupta, came to the conclusion that Indian cultural workers have two responsibilities for defending peace:

1) The defence of national culture.

2) Cultural exchanges between different countries.

A committee was set up to discuss the ways and means of carrying out the decisions of the meeting. It is composed of prominent musicians, writers, actors, journalists and other cultural workers.

Italy — Movement for Abolition of Restrictions on Cultural Exchanges

The establishment of close cultural relations between the different countries is the common desire of all peoples. In the recent period considerable progress has been made in this field, but restrictions and obstacles remain to limit the development of rich cultural exchanges. Men of culture and public opinion in general cannot accept such restrictions on the development of mutual understanding and they take every opportunity to protest.

Let us take a few examples from Italy.

The film producer Giuseppe de Santis was invited to the Soviet Union by Soviet cinematographers on the occasion of the showing of his films, *It Was Striking Eleven* and *No Peace Under the Olives* which were a great success in the Soviet Union. Yet, after making him wait two months, the authorities still refused to make his passport valid for the Soviet Union so that he could go there. In the review *Cinema*, of which he is director, the Social Democratic Deputy, Sig. Ariosto, expressed his regret that De Santis found it impossible to take advantage of the Soviet invitation. He added:

"*We stand for free, reciprocal cultural exchanges on the widest possible basis, and we are sure that visits such as that of De Santis to the Soviet Union can be instruments of improved understanding between the peoples — irrespective of political differences — and the occasion for beneficial meetings in the sphere of art.*"

This statement is particularly significant when one considers that its author is a member of the Italian Government and holds the post of Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Transport.

Then the Executive Committee of the Italian-Soviet Friendship Association has just launched an appeal "*to men of culture, technicians, members of the liberal professions and workers of all walks of life and political views, warning them of the grave threats to the freedom of culture and the constitutional rights of the citizen . . .*"

The appeal points out that serious obstacles are erected between the peoples of Italy and the Soviet Union with the aim of preventing them from making cultural contacts, exchanging experiences and demonstrating their friendship for one another.

The announcement that the Soviet Union was favourably disposed to the resumption of tourist relations with Italy met with a great welcome from Italian public opinion.

"But", the statement goes on, "the Italian Government is opposed to Italian tourists freely visiting the Soviet Union. The same refusal met the Soviet invitations to *La Scala* of Milan, which was to have given a series of performances in the Soviet Union, and to the football team *Roma*, which was to have played against *Moscow Dynamo* (*Moscow Dynamo* would then have come to Italy to meet *Roma*, *Fiorentina* and *Inter*). The Government refused visas to a delegation composed of some of the most eminent representatives of the Italian film industry and the correspondents of the newspapers *Epoca*, *Tempo Illustrato*, *La Stampa* of Turin, *Il Corriere della Sera* and *Il Messagero*.

". . . Such an attitude is in striking contrast with the conduct of other governments in Europe and elsewhere: for example, Great Britain, Belgium, West Germany, India, Iceland, Austria, Argentine, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Denmark. During the first half of 1954 all these countries have several times received Soviet artists. Such an attitude contrasts above all with the new spirit of reason which prevailed at Geneva."

The appeal concludes with the following words:

"*Must Italy then give up her ancient traditions of hospitality and civility and remain so far behind in her cultural policy? Is it good for our country to return to a position of cultural autarchy based on mistrust? We ask these questions of all Italian intellectuals and citizens who wish to preserve Italy's good name.*"

Scarborough — 2,000 Doctors from 30 Countries Exchange Experiences

The Public Health Congress, organised by the British Royal Institute of Public Health and Hygiene, gave rise to a broad and deep exchange of experiences.

The Congress was held at Scarborough on the North Sea coast and was attended by about 2,000 doctors, scientists, hygienists, health inspectors and public health officials from more than 30 countries of East and West. Many problems were discussed in the 14 commissions and sections of the Congress, including the various aspects of preventive medecine and the struggle against epidemics, the protection of mother and child, the therapeutics of mental illness, and so on. During the discussions, which took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and mutual understanding, the doctors stressed the need for mutual co-operation if further progress in the field of public health was to be made. This point of view was expressed by a number of doctors who hold high posts in their respective countries, for example: Lieutenant Colonel Pasricha of India, Dr. Bouvier of France, Professor Khotzianov and Professor Tolysin of the Soviet Union and Dr. Henningsen of Denmark. Dr. Leff from London, Dr. Morgan from Manchester and other delegates spoke of the harmful influence of the present international tension, as a psychological factor, on the human organism.

Dr. P. Penciu, Inspector General of Health in the People's Republic of Rumania and member of the Rumanian delegation, had the following to say at the end of the Congress:

"During the talks we had with many doctors from Asia, Latin America, Great Britain and France we came to understand better the desire of scientists and doctors of all countries to co-operate and to inform each other of their researches and their achievements. There is no doubt that everything that helps to tighten the bonds of friendship between scientists of different countries also helps to strengthen peace and mutual understanding between the peoples."

Cultural Exchanges

EXHIBITIONS

As part of their Peace Conference held in the California Labor School on July 17th, the defenders of peace of North California organised a remarkable art exhibition devoted to the struggle for peace.

*

A large number of people attended an exhibition of Rumanian popular art held in Glasgow in Scotland. At the ceremony of inauguration the Lord Provost of Glasgow said that this was an opportunity to become acquainted with an art which was devoted to peace; it was really an exhibition of popular art. One of its characteristic features was that not one of the objects exhibited dealt with war or the spilling of blood. The exhibition did honour to the people of Rumania. It brought to Glasgow an element of peace and good understanding; it presented the art of ordinary people.

*

An exhibition of French 19th century paintings and engravings, together with many sketches by the great black-and-white artist, Honoré Daumier, is being held in Riga. It has been visited by many people.

*

An exhibition of contemporary Finnish graphic art is being held in Prague in the gallery of the Czechoslovak Union of Writers. It includes lithographs, engravings on wood, etchings etc., by the best modern Finnish artists.

THEATRE

The Moscow Puppet Theatre, which had a great success in France some months ago, gave performances at the London Casino throughout the month of July. The London public and press enthusiastically applauded the art, humour and humanity of the performances, which they had already got to know through the two appearances on television of the theatre's director, Sergei Obrastsov, during a visit to Great Britain last year.

CINEMA

The Republic of San Marino's first film festival was held from July 24th to August 8th. Italy, the Soviet Union, France and the United States were among the countries participating.

SPORT

The Henley Regatta in Great Britain is one of the most important international rowing competitions and attracts an ever-growing number of competitors. This year 18 national teams took part including, for the first time, the Soviet Union which won a number of prizes, the Grand Challenge Cup in particular.

CHESS

After its visits to Great Britain and the United States, which were widely commented on, the Soviet chess team took part in a tournament with the best Swedish players in Stockholm.

Around the World

Ceylon

On July 22nd, Mr. Teja Gunawandenem, Chairman of the Ceylon-China Friendship Association, wrote in the association's weekly organ, "Trine News Magazine":

"At Geneva China won the right to the respect of the whole world. The attitude the United Nations adopts to the fact that neither the settlement of major international issues nor the establishment of world peace are possible without the presence of People's China in the United Nations will enable us to judge whether the United Nations has a right to the respect and confidence of the world."

Great Britain

Two booklets by the Labour M.P. Mr. Ben Parkin have just been published. One is entitled "In Defence of European Peace" *and the other* "Our Nazi Ally?"

Mr. Parkin writes that agreement with the Soviet Union over the German question is possible. The Berlin and Geneva Conferences showed that it could be attained. On the other hand, the creation of E.D.C. would be a bad solution of the German problem. The arming of West Germany through N.A.T.O. would be even worse. A Germany whose unification and neutralisation were guaranteed by the four powers could ensure peace in Europe and open the way to general disarmament. This solution, says Mr. Parkin, is not only desirable but possible.

Czechoslovakia

At its 20th plenary session the National Peace Committee adopted a resolution which says:

"Peace-loving people the world over welcomed with joy the news that the first atomic power station has been put into operation in the Soviet Union. The use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is one of the most important events of our time . . .

"It is a new and great victory of the forces of peace and creative labour over the obscure forces of war and destruction . . ."

Denmark

A Nordic Peace Congress was held in Aarhus Town Hall and was attended by representatives of the Danish, Finnish, Norwegian and Swedish United Nations Associations. The Congress adopted a resolution which says:

"The armaments race and the catastrophic development of weapons of total annihilation are increasing world tension, and the war danger is causing growing anxiety on the part of the peoples. It is therefore urgently necessary to utilise every possibility of obtaining a relaxation of international tension and attaining disarmament, as is stipulated in the United Nations Charter. This Congress makes an urgent call to the United Nations and the Disarmament Commission to attain a positive result on disarmament as soon as possible."

Finland

At the end of July a delegation of Finnish M.Ps went to the Soviet Union on the invitation of the Supreme Soviet. All parliamentary groups were represented on the delegation which was composed of the following personalities: Mr. K. A. Fagerholm, the President of the Parliament, Mr. Onni Hiltunen M. P., Mr. Gunnar Henriksson M. P., all three members of the Social Democratic Party; Mr. Kauno Kleemola M. P. and Mr. Väinö Kassalainen M. P., of the Agrarian Party; Mrs. Hertha Kuusinen M. P. and Mr. Eino Tainio M. P., of the Popular Democratic Party; Mr. Päiviö Hetemäki M. P. of the Coalition Party; Mr. Torsten Nordström M. P. of the Swedish People's Party; Mrs. Esa Kaitila M. P. of the Finnish People's Party and Mr. I. Tammio, the Secretary of the Parliament.

Chile

Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg presented the Stalin International Peace Prize to Sr. Pablo Neruda at a solemn ceremony in the Savoy Hotel in Santiago de Chile on August 11th. A number of Senators, Members of Parliament and cultural personalities were present. In addition to Sr. Neruda and Mr. Ehrenburg, the following spoke: Sr. Baltasar Castro, President of the Chilean Chamber of Deputies; Sr. Alfredo de Amesti, President of the Chilean Peace Committee; and Professor Luis Quinteros Tricot, senator.

*

A very representative delegation of Chilean intellectuals has just gone to the Soviet Union. It includes Dr. Salvador Allende, Vice-President of the Senate and Professor of social medecine; Dr. Graf Marin, agricultural engineer, counsellor on agriculture for the Ministry of the National Economy and Director of the Institute of Agricultural Research of the University of Chile; Sra. Maria Lara Poblete, teacher of physics and mathematics; Dr. Acevedo Vega, a judge in the Court of Appeal; and Sr. Arredondo Urzua, architect, who was sent by the University Council and by the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Chile, of which he is secretary.

Austria

Meeting in Vienna on July 25th, 1954, representatives of resistance and deported people's associations from 14 European countries, including East and West Germany, decided to hold a meeting of all who have fought for their country's independence and human freedom, in Vienna in November.

They issued an appeal which says:

"In view of the fact that the Resistance can not remain silent before the threats to revive German militarism, the delegates present solemnly declare that, putting all other considerations aside, they have but one aim: to work for the restoration of confidence among the nations and peace among the peoples . . ."

The appeal was adopted and signed by delegates from the following countries: the German Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, France, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

Norway

In response to an invitation from Moscow Municipal Council to its counterpart in Oslo to appoint a delegation to study, among other things, questions relating to communications, the following have been chosen to represent Oslo Municipal Council: Mr. Bull, Chairman of the Municipal Council, and Mrs. Bull; Mr. Stranger, Chairman of the Cultural Committee; Mr. Auden Baastad, Chairman of the Transport Committee; Mr. Storstein, Counsellor for Finance and Mr. Fredrik Schreiner, Counsellor for Communications.

Australia

The Australia—China Friendship Society urges recognition of the People's Republic of China in a statement issued on August 11th.

The statement says that the geographical proximity of Australia to China and her 600 million people is a fixed and unalterable fact, and a dominant one in the shaping of the future of the two countries.

Brazil

On "Trade Day", which is held every year to commemorate the opening of Brazil's ports in January 1808, Sr. Joaô Di Pietro, President of the Sao Paulo Trade Association, gave a press statement favouring the expansion of trade with every country in the world.

The Association's treasurer, Sr. Alexandre Horenstein, stated:

"The traders of Sao Paulo are satisfied with the trade between Brazil and Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. It shows the immense possibilities that exist for expanding the market for our goods."

Burma

Mr. U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, has expressed the fervent desire that international relations in Asia will improve. He said that if China could take her seat in the United Nations international relations would be improved.

A Fact of Importance!

Commenting on the need to recognise the People's Republic of China and the stubborn refusal of certain circles to entertain this, Professor R. Wright of the Physiology Department of Melbourne University, said:

"If some people do not recognise that the earth goes round the sun, it is nevertheless a fact of importance."

Reproduction authorised

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

N° 18 SEPTEMBER 15th 1954

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The efforts of all who are working for peace have won new and great successes.

The rejection of the European Defence Community by the French National Assembly, the result of three years of tireless and growing activity on the part of the French people, has removed the greatest obstacle to negotiation in Europe.

The Geneva Conference has proved that the method of negotiation and mutual concessions enables the most difficult and daunting problems to be solved.

For years, governments, international and national bodies, eminent persons and movements in the fields of politics, social questions and religion have been proposing solutions for the most pressing international issues.

Today, for the first time in twenty years, there is no longer the roar of guns in the world. It is necessary to open negotiations for they can succeed in settling the questions which are still dangerously dividing it.

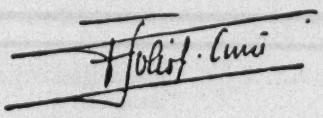
The atmosphere of decreased tension is favourable to agreement. Once obtained, agreement, even if it is only on a few, definite points, will diminish even further the causes of tension, open up new avenues to peace and contribute to the security and welfare of all peoples and all nations.

World public opinion has exerted great pressure for the relaxation of tension; its action undoubtedly led to the ending of the war in Viet-Nam and the rejection of the European Defence Community.

Public opinion has become aware of its power. Any governments or coalitions which wish to use the pretext of defence to impose peace by force of arms and thus ensure their domination, know that they must reckon with world public opinion. The tasks that lie before it are great: to work for genuine negotiations so as to consolidate peace in Europe and Asia and to turn the governments onto the road of disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace, meeting in Vienna from September 13th to 15th, will consider the ways in which world public opinion can express itself and take action in favour of negotiation and peace.

September 7th, 1954



IN THIS ISSUE

*

	Page
● The peoples welcome the final defeat of E.D.C. as a further victory for Peace	2
● Campaign against the H-bomb in the United States. Support for the people of Guatemala	3
● The peoples of Southeast Asia reply to the Manilla Conference	4
● Growing opposition to German rearmament in Great Britain. — Peace Week in the Federal German Republic. — The Austrian Peace Council's campaign against soldiers' meetings	5
● Appeal by the French Peace Movement on the rejection of E.D.C. — "Put an end to the threat of German rarmament once and for all — build security in Europe!"	6 & 7
● Peace activity in Finland, Bulgaria, Ireland and Portugal	8
● The Italian Peace Movement's experience in the struggle against E.D.C.	9
● The progress of international scientific co-operation — congresses and meetings	10
● Sport, close bond between the peoples. — The great anniversaries	11
● Around the world	12

THE PEOPLES WELCOME

the final defeat of E. D. C.

AS A FURTHER VICTORY FOR PEACE

The peoples, and in the first place those directly affected by E.D.C., hailed the rejection of the treaty by the French Parliament as a further victory for the forces of peace.

We give below some news items that demonstrate this, together with statements, including one by Sig. Pietro Nenni, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, on the new prospects opening out before the peoples in their work for peace as a result of this victory.

GREAT BRITAIN

On 1 September the British Peace Committee issued the following statement:

"The rejection of the E.D.C. Treaty by the French Assembly is a great victory for the Peace forces in France and throughout the world. It gives a new opportunity to the Great Powers to find a way of reuniting Germany and ensuring security in Europe.

Yet the danger of a rearmed Germany remains. Those who favour the rebuilding of German militarism are already intensifying their plans to find new ways of achieving their aims.

The British people, who have already shown their opposition to any form of rearmament of a divided Germany, now have an even more urgent task.

The British Peace Committee calls for the maximum effort to ensure that the British Government takes the lead in calling a meeting of the Four Great Powers to seek by negotiation a peaceful solution of the German problem.

BELGIUM

The Belgian Union for the Preservation of Peace has issued a message in which it "warmly greets the French people's victory over the plan to reconstitute the Wehrmacht through the European Defence Community."

AUSTRIA

At a conference of the leading members of the Vienna Borough Peace Committees, held on September 1st, Professor Heinrich Brandweiner, President of the Austrian Peace Council, spoke on the rejection of E.D.C. by the French National Assembly. He said:

"The vote in the French National Assembly rejected E.D.C., thereby making it impossible to rearm West Germany under the camouflage of a "European Army". By doing so, the French people have rendered a huge service not only to France but to all the peoples of Europe and the world and made a fundamental contribution to the preservation of world peace.

"It is a victory not only for the friends of peace in France but for the peace front the world over."

ITALY

The Italian Peace Committee sent the French Peace Committee the following telegram:

"On behalf of an enthusiastic Italien people, we associate ourselves with you in your rejoicing over the great victory won by the peace forces. We shall pursue together the struggle for the unity and security of Europe and for world peace."

In Italy the vote in the French National Assembly was received with many demonstrations of joy and determination.

In Milan, the factories were draped with Italian and peace flags, and the workers held meetings at which they adopted motions calling for the continuation of the struggle.

In Naples, meetings were organised in the various districts...

In Turin, the Peace Committee held a formal public session and there were meetings in the factories.

In Genoa, the workers met and adopted motions addressed to the Government and Parliament demanding a foreign policy based on security and the easing of tension.

In Bologna, there was a stoppage of work while the workers elected deputations to go and demand a new foreign policy from the authorities.

Everywhere, public meetings and extraordinary meetings of the Peace Committees were called.

STATEMENT BY SIG. PIETRO NENNI, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Fifteen years ago, Hitler's armies invaded Poland and unleashed the Second World War. It is a most painful memory for all the peoples who endured six years of invasion, the unprecedented terror of a cruel war and of Nazism.

Although Hitlerism was defeated in 1945, peace is not yet assured. The peoples are once more confronted with the same dangers.

But the friends of peace have found the way to stop war and build peace.

The peoples are taking their destiny into their own hands and are increasingly forcing the abandonment of the ploicy of strength and the adoption of negotiated solutions. On this 1st of September, 1954, they have already achieved a Korean armistice and a cease-fire in Indo-China and, through the French National Assembly's vote against E.D.C., they have on their first victory in the struggle against the revival of German militarism. These victories are due to the united action of the peoples and to the co-operation of eminent people who have exerted their influence in favour of national independence and world peace.

Mankind is advancing step by step along the road to peace. It does not vant to see the destruction of Warsaw and the Auschwitz massacres repeated.

The question to be settled now is that of joint security. This joint security alone can open the way to progressive, simultaneous and controlled disarmament. Then Germany, reunited, democratic and peaceful, will no longer be a danger to Europe and the world, and will be able to regain her national sovereignty.

GERMANY

According to the German press Herr Ollenhauer, President of the West German Social Democratic Party, said, following on the failure of E.D.C., that European security and the unification of Germany should be considered as a whole.

He urged the holding of another Four Power Conference on Germany and the creation of a European system in which Germany's position would not be a threat either to the United States or to the Soviet Union.

And Herr Johannes Dieckmann, President of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic stated:

"The real solution of the problems that E.D.C. was supposed to settle lies in a European security treaty."

HOLLAND

The Dutch Peace Council wrote the following to the French Peace Movement:

"All peace-loving people in Holland had great pleasure in learning that E.D.C. had been rejected by the French National Assembly."

United States – Campaigns against the H-Bomb

UNITED-STATES

The H-Bomb . . . or us?

The North California Peace Council has organised a popular ballot on the banning of the H-bomb. It has widely distributed a leaflet entitled: "The H-Bomb . . . or us?" (See photo) which asks the reader whether he agrees with the following four points:

- *Big power negotiations to outlaw the H-bomb.*
- *Big power negotiations to stop all H-bomb tests.*
- *Big power negotiations to set up a strict system of international control of hydrogen and atomic weapons.*
- *Big power negotiations to pool information for the development of atomic energy for peacetime.*

In this way the various shades of opinion in favour of banning the H-bomb can find expression.

The leaflet also contains a statement by the California Summer Conference of the Methodist Church:

"There is no defence against the hydrogen and cobalt bombs except peace", and another by the California Federation of Teachers (A.F.L.):

"*We should let our representatives know we want no more war.*"

In the leaflet the North California Peace Council says:

"*Chemical warfare was prevented in World War II because of international agreement. Big power negotiations can win agreement to outlaw the bomb.*"

✶

A sticky-back: "Talking is better than dying" has been issued in support of the campaign.

(See photo).

✶

ARGENTINE

Letter to U.N.O. from Doctors of Rosario

In Rosario, the second city of Argentina, a number of doctors have sent a letter to the United Nations asking that atom and hydrogen bombs and all weapons of mass destruction be banned.

The letter was printed in the daily paper, *La Tribuna*, and aroused great interest. The main signatory is Dr. José Imhoff, Dean of the Faculty of Medecine of the National Coast University.

Other newspapers published interviews with well-known doctors such as Dr. Ernesto Falcoff, who stated that no doctor in Rosario could refrain from taking part in such a move. Dr. Eiris, Assistant Professor of Dermatology in the Faculty of Medicine, who did not sign the initial manifesto said that it was desirable that more messages of this kind should be sent to U.N.O.

In an interview with *Por La Paz*, organ of the Argentine Peace Council, Sr. Bustos Fierro, a Deputy of Peron's party and the author of a draft law to ban the use of atomic weapons, says:

"*If we do not ceaselessly work to enlighten the people and create a real universal awareness which will ward off this terrible danger and force the creation of the technical, legal, social and other instruments for the absolute banning of the use of atomic weapons . . . then mankind and the earth on which they live might well be destroyed . . .*"

BRAZIL

Meeting in Sao Paulo

The *Humanitarian Crusade for the Banning of the Atom Bomb* of Sao Paulo organised a meeting at the end of July. It was attended by many people from political, social and religious circles in the State of Sao Paulo and other parts of Brazil.

In a public statement the meeting asked the Brazilian Government to present a resolution on the banning of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons to the United Nations, and called on the people to carry on a tireless struggle to this end.

Many priests made public statements which contributed to the success of the meeting. For example, Father Miguel Rizzo junior, Secretary of the Institute of Religious Culture and director of the review *Unidas*, said:

"*Our task as defenders of peace is to oppose war; to create, by the written and spoken word, an anti-war atmosphere and social conscience which will oblige the Great Powers to sign a peace pact and purely and simply ban all weapons of mass destruction.*"

Furthermore, the Peace Movement in the State of Rio Grande do Sul has issued a petition condemning the H-bomb with the aim of collecting 50,000 signatures. The radio gives special broadcasts twice weekly containing information on the campaign.

Support for the People of Guatemala

The anger aroused in Latin America by the aggression against the people of Guatemala is still being widely expressed. Demonstrations of solidarity are still being held in Cuba, Mexico, Brazil, Argentine and so on, and are being favourably received in certain government circles, as can be seen from the statement by the President of the Republic of Ecuador given below.

MEXICO

Demonstrations and meetings of support for the people of Guatemala have been held in Morelia, Yucatan, Guadalajara, Torreon and Mexico City. They were organised either by the Peace Movement or by the Society of Friends of Guatemala, or by both together.

BRAZIL

A statement expressing the Brazilian workers' support for the people of Guatemala and signed by many people was sent from Barra Mansa in the State of Rio to the Guatemalan ambassador in Brazil.

A number of Deputies of the State of Rio Grande do Sul and Municipal Councillors from Porto Alegre took part in a meeting jointly organised by the Peace Movement, the League for National Emancipation and the Students' Union.

In Sao Paulo, Sr. Campos Vergal, Deputy in the Federal Parliament, spoke at a Conference in the Teachers' Centre of the State of Sao Paulo.

Of the many statements by public figures quoted in the press, we may mention that of Sr. Roberto Silveira which reflects the general opinion. He said:

"*All American democrats are at the side of the Guatemalan people in their struggle for their country's economic freedom.*"

ECUADOR

In a recent statement Dr. Velazco Ibarra, President of the Republic of Ecuador, con demned the aggression against Guatemala and reaffirmed the right of all countries to their national sovereignty.

The statement ends with the following words:

"*The fight against subversive ideologies is a strictly national problem and other States cannot be allowed to impose or determine it.*"

ARGENTINE

The Central Committee of the Movement for the Democratisation of the Argentine Trade Unions has issued an appeal to the workers asking them to promote "a broad movement of support for the people of Guatemala".

In a statement the Argentine Peace Council says:

"*Our aims are clear: Guatemala must be given back its full sovereignty and national independence, this being the only guarantee, in the eyes of the peoples of Latin America, including our own people, that they will be respected in future . . .*"

SOUTH EAST ASIA'S OPPOSITION TO THE MANILLA CONFERENCE

In spite of the growing opposition of the peoples of South East Asia to the South East Asia Treaty Organisation the originators of the plan decided to hold conservations on the setting up of this military bloc on September 6th in the Philippines. In the words of *Le Monde*, this Conference is a "very curious cocktail" in its composition, since "South East Asia will only be symbolically represented". Indeed, all the efforts of the initiators of S.E.A.T.O. to bring countries like India, Indonesia, Ceylon and Burma into the coalition ended in failure. These countries did not even agree to hold a preliminary conference to discuss the possibility of their participating.

INDONESIA

Recently, following a number of other statesmen of his country, Mr. Tambunan, Vice-President of the Indonesian Parliament, made a statement opposing the proposed conference in the Philippines.He said that the Indonesian Government would continue to pursue its independent policy and that he was therefore against such a pact.

The Indonesian Minister of Information, Mr. F. L. Tobing, told pressmen that Indonesia was not interested in S.E.A.T.O. Indonesia would not join the projected organisation in any form whatsoever, he said, and consequently would send no observer to the S.E.A.T.O. conference.

INDIA

Opposition to this military treaty is the main subject of comment in the press.

Amrita Bazar Patrika writes in an editorial that the conversations on the setting up of a South East Asia Treaty Organisation are threatening signs that the West is determined to keep up the tension in this region. It urges the Colombo Powers to refuse immediately to take part in the conference at which it is intended to set up S.E.A.T.O.

The Bombay daily, the *Free Press Journal*, writes that the United States have failed in their pressure tactics to make Southeast Asia accept S.E.A.T.O.

The Urdu daily, *Assam Tribune*, points out that the S.E.A.T.O. project is nothing more nor less than a direct invitation to war.

The Allahabad paper, *Leadere*, states that the military alliance will aggravate international tension as a prelude to war.

The *National Herald* and the *Deccan Herald* stress the fact that the S.E.A.T.O. project will rudely disturb the atmosphere of peace brought about by the cease-fire in Indo-China.

The *Hindustan Standard* says that India's position regard to S.E.A.T.O. is clear. Instead of creating an atmosphere of peace and mutual understanding, such an alliance would directly involve the countries of Southeast Asia in the cold war strategy.

Finally, the Bengali daily, *Amanda Bazar Patrika*, writes that the proposal to call a conference for the purpose of discussing a project such as S.E.A.T.O. is without rhyme or reason at the present time and in the present circumstances.

NEPAL

Apropos of the conference in the Philippines for the creation of a military bloc in Southeast Asia Mr. Regmi, Nepali Minister for Foreign Affairs, stated that Nepal had no intention of sending its soldiers into a war, especially if it was a war against their Asian brothers.

He added that Nepal welcomed the refusal of India and other Asian states to be incorporated in military blocs proposed by the West.

CEYLON

Strong opposition to Ceylon's joining the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation was voiced in the Ceylonese Parliament on August 4th.

Mr. R. G. Stephen Senanayake, former Minister of Commerce and Trade, asked in the course of the debate why the need for a S.E.A.T.O. should arise at this stage when the world was at peace.

Former Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake said that Asia's paramount objective should be the "preservation of peace".

Mr. C. Suntheralingam, Independent, asked the Prime Minister to repudiate S.E.A.T.O.

Mr. S.W.R.D. Pandaranaike said that any country participating in S.E.A.T.O. would have to "toe the American line". He urged that Ceylon enter into bilateral agreements with neighbouring countries on the basis of the five principles enunciated in the Sino-Indian pact.

In reply, Prime Minister Sir John Kotelawala said that he would work to maintain the neutrality of Ceylon and would call a meeting of the Colombo powers to discuss joint action.

BURMA

Mr. U Nu, Prime Minister of Burma, declared that the Burmese Government refused to join the conference in September to discuss the formation of a Southeast Asia military bloc. He made this statement in a cable sent to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, on August 4th.

Military Pacts

"a Camouflage for Colonialism"

The President of the Egyptian Council of Ministers has recently declared that Arab peoples would not take part in a Middle East pact together with the big Western powers because, as he said, "Our people look on such an organisation as a camouflage for colonialism."

Let us recall in this respect the position taken up by the Executive Committee of the Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East which recently met in Damascus and which was attended by public figures from Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq.

"Confronted by the immense danger contained in these alliances, pacts and conventions", said the Executive Committee's Manifesto, "we quite clearly feel the need, more than ever before, of a wide and united national struggle to put a stop to all war plans . . ."

Israel - Appeal to Scientists and Intellectuals

The Israeli Peace Committee has issued a special appeal to scientists and intellectuals, public organisations and the Government asking them to support the Peace Movement's demand for the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The appeal says:

"*The Israeli Peace Committee specially invites scientists, teachers in technical schools, writers and intellectuals, the Israeli Medical Association and all public organisations in this country to speak out in the press and in public against these horrible tests and against the infinite danger which will face mankind if the hydrogen bomb tests are continued and if this weapon is not banned by an international agreement.*"

Posters against the Hydrogen Bomb

In Tel Aviv and Jaffa the Israeli Peace Committee has distributed big posters bearing authentic photographs of the Bikini H-bomb tests and the demand that the tests be stopped and that these weapons be banned by an international agreement.

They met with the approval and lively interest of the people.

*

The signature-collecting campaign organised by the Israeli Peace Movement is going from success to success:

296.367 signatures

had been collected by August 13th. The same day, a National Rally of Peace Committees opened in Tel Aviv. It was attended by 3,000 delegates and guests from 131 towns and villages throughout the country.

First NORTH GUJARAT Peace Conference

The one thousand year old historical town of Visnagar was the meeting place for the First North Gujarat Peace Conference. Delegates from the three North Gujarat districts of Mehsana, Banaskantha, and Sabarkantha attended the conference. They included Shri Purshottam Patel and Shri Chavda, members of the Legislative Assembly of Bombay; Shri Sankalchand Patel, ex-President of the District Congress Committee; and Shri Natavarlal Pandit, ex-member of the All-India Congress Committee.

Messages were received from the Madras Peace Committee, the Punjab Peace Committee, Dr. Sumant Mehta, Shri Yashvant Shukla and others.

Shri Ravishankar Raval, leading Gujarati artist and member of the World Council of Peace, presided. The opening speech was given by Shri Indulal Yagnik, President of the Gujarat Peace Committee, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha and member of the World Council of Peace.

Five resolutions were adopted. The first resolution welcomed the Nehru-Chou En-lai meeting and their joint statement. It appealed to Prime Minister Nehru to take the initiative in convening an Asian Conference. Another resolution condemned the hydrogen bomb.

The Conference formed a North Gujarat Peace Committee.

The Conference was followed by a largely attended public meeting where speeches concerning the problems of the Peace Movement were made.

September 1—7

"PEACE WEEK"
in the Federal German Republic

September 1—7 was "*Peace Week*" in West Germany. First reports on the organisation of the *Week* and the demonstrations that took place show that it was a success for the peace movement.

Thirty-eight carefully prepared public meetings were held in the province of North Rhine-Westphalia, particularly in the big towns: Bonn, Duisburg, Aachen, Cologne, Gelsenkirchen, and so on. Most of these meetings were made more attractive by artistic programmes, in which groups from the German Democratic Republic took part.

In Hamburg, the demonstrations were accompanied by theatre and film shows and a sea trip.

In the province of Baden-Württemberg a number of organisations collaborated closely in the preparation of a demonstration called "*Peace Hour*"; they included the "Community for Peace", the "Happy Holidays Club", the "Union of Germans for Peace and Freedom" and others. Their plans also included seven big demonstrations with the participation of the Thuringian cultural ensemble; several evenings of discussion in Heidelberg and Mannheim; a boat trip, a film show, etc.

The "German Youth Labour Community" of Nuremberg issued an appeal approving the organisation of the "*Peace Week*". The appeal asks German young people to give their full support to the demonstrations organised on this occasion.

On the initiative of the Mörfelden Peace Committee a ballot was held in the area on August 15th. Of the 1,247 people consulted, 1,199 were in favour of a peace treaty and only 13 voted for E.D.C.

Dr. Joseph Wirth, the former Chancellor, the Reverend Kurt Essen, Herr Klemens Kraienhorst, secretary of a Shop Stewards' Committee, and Herr W. von Ameln, a landed proprietor, spoke together at a meeting in Duisburg which was organised by the "Movement for Peace and the German People's Right to Self-determination". The resolution passed by the participants demanded the conclusion of a peace treaty and asked the Government to heed the will of the people who were opposed to E.D.C.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES demands that Negotiations be continued

The World Council of Churches, which has recently held its General Assembly at Evanston U.S.A. expressed its attitude to armaments in the following words:

"The banning of all weapons of mass destruction, including the atom and hydrogen bombs, and international control to ensure the implementation of this ban, together with a large reduction of all other kinds of armaments."

The motion also demands "that no country should commit aggression or subversive acts against another country, nor should it support aggression."

It urges the countries of East and West "to continue negotiating" and "to seek ways of avoiding fear and suspicion".

The Austrian Peace Council's Campaign for the Banning of
SOLDIERS' MEETINGS

At a conference attended by representatives from 32 factories, members of Shop Stewards' Committees and trade union leaders, together with representatives from the press, Professor Heinrich Brandweiner, President of the Austrian Peace Council, presented telling facts about the organisation of so-called soldiers' meetings in Austria by circles in West Germany.

These documents were published in the *Österreichische Friedenszeitung*, organ of the Austrian Peace Council, at the same time as they were presented to the public. They included the "Information Bulletin of Artillery Regiment 112", signed by former Wehrmacht general Kreppel (who is at present living at 14., Bayreutherstrasse, Schnaittach-Lauf, West Germany), in which we read:

"It is our first attempt to organise a big meeting in Austria . . . Let no one be afraid of the great distance . . . Compared with the distances we covered in the East for five years, it is nothing . . . Graz has special attractions for many comrades, even if it is a little far for Germans from the Reich . . ."

The orders signed personally by this former general of Hitler's army prove that the soldiers' meeting which was to have taken place at Graz was organised by the Association of German Soldiers of West Germany, commanded by **Field Marshal Kesselring.** Other documents prove that the same is true of the Bad Ischl meeting which it is planned to hold on September 11th and 12th. There will be no less than four former Hitler generals at this meeting, including the all too well-known Commander of the Steffel Division, **General Theisen.**

The Austrian Peace Council's campaign for the banning of these soldiers' meetings, which make propaganda for annexation and encite to war, has met with a big response from public opinion. A delegation of Shop Stewards from the big factories of Lower Austria went to Upper Austria on August 28th to ask the mayor of Bad Ischl and the Upper Austrian authorities to ban the Bad Ischl meeting. The same day, a delegation from the Free Austrian Youth Movement held a poster parade in front of the Ministry of the Interior demanding the banning of soldiers' meetings. They carried birch crosses with helmets on them to remind people of the hundreds of thousands of Austrians who fell in the war. The Graz Democratic Women's Association has called on all women to join a silent march on September 2nd to protest against the proposed meeting in favour of annexation.

In the Catholic periodical *Die Österreichische Nation*, which is published in Salzburg, Dr. Adolf Merkl, Professor of Public Law, has written an article in which he says that the holding of meetings of Austrian and German soldiers is incompatible with the interests of the Austrian State.

British People Express Growing Opposition to re-arming a Divided Germany

Campaign for World Security Developing

Following on the British Peace Committee's appeal for 'special urgent action' on the German problem, reported in a recent issue of the Bulletin, have come many new reports showing how strongly opposition to rearming a divided Germany is growing in Great Britain.

Six different trade unions with a total membership of half a million, including railwaymen, shale miners, Jewish bakers, and firemen, have tabled resolutions against German rearmament for discussion at the annual Trades Union Congress this month.

The Weavers Amalgamation, comprising a number of cotton trade unions with a total membership of over 88,000, has passed a resolution opposing German rearmament.

For the forthcoming Annual Conference of the Labour Party 58 resolutions have been tabled on German rearmament; of these 56 oppose.

Recently the secretary of the Committee for the Peaceful Solution of the German Question, Mr. John Elton, announced that he had received an invitation from the Speaker of the East German Parliament for a Labour delegation, saying 'in view of the claims that we are rearming, come and see for yourselves'. Among M.Ps. who accepted the invitation were Mr. Frank Beswick and Captain Mark Hewitson.

Ex-Servicemen have been active in recent weeks campaigning against any attempt to rearm West Germany. In connexion with their campaign the Ex-Service Movement for Peace published a special issue of its *Newsletter* devoted to this question. This special issue contained a form to be cut out and posted to Sir Winston Churchill saying:

"*I am convinced that NEGOTIATION is the only way to solve the German problem and that the rearming of Germany will lead to World War III. I urge you to take the initiative in calling a Big Four Conference to negotiate a German Peace Treaty and the reunification of that country. I urge you to abandon your support for E.D.C. or the granting of sovereignty to West Germany.*"

The Idea of the Easing of Tension is progressing in Parliamentary Circles

(From our special correspondent)

The annual conference of the Interparliamentary Union was held in Vienna from August 26th to September 2nd. Eminent members of parliament from 37 countries took part; they came from countries with different social systems and represented different ways of thinking.

To show the importance the various Parliaments attach to this meeting, we need merely mention a few names:

M. Gillon, President of the Belgian Senate; Herr Ehlers, President of the Bundestag in the Federal German Republic; Mr. Ronai, President of the Hungarian National Assembly; Senator Wiley, Chairman of the United States Senate Foreign Affairs Committee; Mr. Kulichev, President of the Bulgarian National Assembly; Sig. Macrelli, Vice-President of the Italian Chamber of Deputies; Mr. Simitch, Vice-President of the Federal People's Assembly of Yugoslavia; and a number of other eminent parliamentary figures. M. Georges Picot, Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations, also took part in the conference.

This makes it all the more important to note that at this great meeting of parliamentarians, apparently so heterogeneous, where the supporters of a policy of strength were unrelenting in their activity, not only were voices raised in favour of the peaceful settlement of international issues but resolutions were adopted which would be likely to lead to such a settlement. For example, the conference rejected an amendment which put forward the demand made by certain circles for the abolition of the unanimity rule in the Security Council, and pointed out that the United Nations could not be made to work better by "overthrowing the guiding principles of its creation".

In response to the demand, expressed by certain speakers, that the People's Republic of China take its rightful seat in the United Nations, the resolution adopted gives an indirect answer by stating that the United Nations "will only be able to fulfil its mission by coming as near as possible to universality". A Hungarian amendment was adopted calling on the parliaments of the world to intervene and get their respective governments to support the admission to the United Nations of the countries that have demanded to be admitted. The conference also called on the governments to seek "ways and means of banning the manufacture and use of atomic weapons". Several delegations supported the proposal of Senator Rolin of Belgium on the possibility of concluding without delay a convention pledging the signatory States not to use atomic weapons and to refrain from testing them.

Some delegates emphasised in their speeches the need for peaceful coexistence between countries with different ideologies. Mr. Chand of India, for example, said that since it is the mission of the United Nations to establish contact between peoples who hold different views, it is a capital error to exclude China. Mr. Osborne of Great Britain stated that he was highly pleased by Mr. Attlee's trip to Peking. Mr. Elwyn Jones, also of Great Britain, emphasised that the People's Republic of China ought to be in the United Nations and that "the transformation of U.N.O. into an anti-Communist bloc would be the end and the negation of the United Nations". Mr. Finn Moe of Norway, Senator Rolin of Belgium, Mr. de Perera of Ceylon and other delegates expresed the same point of view, while a number of others demanded the banning of weapons of mass destruction. "The security of the peoples cannot be ensured if atomic weapons are not outlawed", declared Sra. Parodi from Argentine. Mr. Terao of Japan demanded the banning of atomic weapons and tests, and proposed that the conference should help further the peaceful use of atomic energy. "Recourse to discussion is much more efficacious than any atomic bomb", said Mr. Chand of India to loud applause.

"There are no disputed issues that cannot be settled through negotiation", said Mr. Mihalyfi of Hungary.

There is one irrefutable conclusion to be drawn from the Vienna meeting of the Interparliamentary Union. This conference, which reflected the views of certain parliamentary circles in a large number of countries, showed that the idea of the relaxation of international tension and peaceful coexistence which the people support is making progress in this sphere.

APPEAL B
ON

• Put an end to the threat of

A Victory full of Hope...

The Press Service of the French Peace Movement has been good enough to send the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace a description of the atmosphere that reigned in France at the end of August.

These few lines will give some idea of the wide and intensive activity through which the people of France achieved the great victory of the rejection of E.D.C. by the National Assembly.

Writing in July, we said: "It is a month that will count in the struggle for peace." We are tempted to say the same of this rainy month of August 1954. August 1954! on the last day of which the Peace Movement won one of its finest victories: the rejection of E.D.C. by the National Assembly.

After the vote the Prime Minister M. Mendès-France said: "It is possible that eighteen months ago the decision would have been in favour of E.D.C. I don't know." Nor do we! But what we do know is that during these eighteen months no effort has been spared to persuade the members of Parliament, one after another, to reckon with the country's will.

An even greater effort has been accomplished during this month of August, in spite of the holidays; all available forces have been thrown into the battle.

From the most distant villages letters were sent to the M.P.s; joint appeals signed by people of all points of view were issued. Hundreds and hundreds of meetings were held throughout the country.

Le Figaro of August 31st published the following eloquent figures:

"In the last three days nearly 500 deputations have besieged the doors of the National Assembly: 200 on Saturday, 160 on Sunday and 140 yesterday."

Yes! Frenchmen of all points of view came in their thousands to inform their M.P.s of their opposition to the Bonn and Paris Agreements.

Ten bus-loads from the Pas-de-Calais, two from the Alpes Maritimes, two from the Bouches-du-Rhone, one from Isère, one from Charentes Maritimes, one from the Haute-Garonne, and so on... Factory, miners' and railwaymen's deputations were particularly numerous and stood for hours round the Palais Bourbon.

At the headquarters of the Peace Movement we were able to have discussions with several of them, particularly the deputation from the Dordogne. It was composed of M. Boucharel, Socialist County Councillor; M. Rousseau, Departmental delegate of the R.P.F.; M. Peron (Communist); M. Paillandier, President of the Radical Federation of Bergerac; M. Mangel, of the Peace Movement; M. Germain, District Secretary of the "*Young Republic*" and an ex-member of the M.R.P.; and Dr. Dupuy (Socialist), Vice-Chairman of the County Council. The deputation brought with it 80,000 signatures, including those of 150 mayors and 20 county councillors, of whom 14 were Socialists, two were Communists, two were Independents and two were Radicals.

That explains a lot... For example, why all the deputations were received at the National Assembly and at the Quai d'Orsay, and why it was impossible for the protagonists of E.D.C. to postpone the debate.

We must also mention the rallies which were held during these last days of August in Lyons, Toulouse, Grenoble, La Rochelle, Angouleme, Chaumont, Nice and other towns, and which were attended by thousands and thousands of people.

There was not a single empty seat at the meeting which was held in the Vélodrome d'Hiver in Paris on August 27th, and thousands of people stood to hear the speeches. All present will undoubtedly remember the powerful rendering of the Marseillaise which brought them to their feet and the never ending cry of "E.D.C. shall not pass!" which resounded through the hall.

A great deal of work was also done to persuade mayors to oppose E.D.C. quickly before the debate opened in Parliament. Within a few days, 100 municipal representatives of the Department of Loiret, 116 mayors of Saône-et-Loire, 40 mayors of the Côtes-du-Nord, the mayors of two cantons of Gironde and others, went on record against E.D.C.

L BY THE FRENCH PEACE MOVEMENT ON THE REJECTION OF E.D.C.

of German Rearmament once for all • Build Security in Europe

During the debate there was a non-stop flow of deputations to the National Assembly to ask the Deputies to reject E.D.C.

The workers of France played a great role in the struggle against E.D.C. which went on throughout the month of August. Their actions often included strikes. This was the case on building jobs and in factories in the important centres of Gennevilliers, Gentilly, St. Ouen, Vitry, Orly and so on in the Paris region.

The dockers of Dunkirk, Boulogne, La Pallice, La Rochelle and Bordeaux, and the miners of Hussigny and Audun-le-Tiche in the Eastern coalfields also stopped work.

Stoppages also took place in many towns in the provinces, as for example Marseilles, Belfort, La Rochelle and Dunkirk.

STATEMENT

STATEMENT BY THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH PEACE MOVEMENT

The National Assembly has rejected the European Defence Community which would have ratified the domination of Western Europe by German militarism and prepared for war.

This historic vote conformed to the will of the French people who irresistibly opposed one of the gravest dangers that the nation has ever known. It is an encouragement to the peace forces in Germany and the whole of Europe. It heightens our country's prestige in the world.

With the achievement of the cease-fire in Indo-China and the rejection of E.D.C., two of the main objectives put forward by the Peace Movement in these last years have been attained. We owe it to the magnificent united movement which succeeded in rallying the vital forces of the nation.

The Peace Movement gratefully salutes the tens of thousands of men and women — modest fighters for a noble cause — whose patient work made the people of France understand the gravity of the danger and organised their action. It thanks all who contributed to these victories by their individual activity or by joining in the common struggle. It asks all to continue to serve together the cause of peace and independence.

Unity in the struggle remains more necessary than ever in order to eliminate finally the continually renewed threats to rearm Germany in one form or another.

It is clear to Frenchmen of all points of view that the reconstitution of a German army, whatever screen is used to mask it, would accentuate the armaments race, aggravate the division of Europe and hinder the much needed negotiations between the great powers.

The claim that this rearmement is inevitable is a sheer attempt to deceive the French people.

In view of all the treaties she has signed, France has a great role to play as one of the Five Great Powers recognised by the Charter of the United Nations. Her interests are closely bound up with the ending of the cold war and the maintenance of peace in the world.

She can with authority support the peaceful moves which alone can enable the settlement of the German problem, thereby ensuring the security of all the countries of Europe including Germany. She can herself put forward proposals for the organisation of collective security and assume responsibility for a new effort to reach agreement as soon as possible on general and controlled disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

The French people will enthusiastically support all acts towards this end on the part of the Parliament and Government.

Paris, September 3rd, 1954

"We want a peaceful Europe; we want a place in it for Germany just as we want a place in it for Russia . . .

"You will not find peace by looking for it along the road to war . . .

"We do not want a solution by rearmament or superrearmament, we want a solution to be found for a united Europe, the whole of Europe, and not a Europe composed of five or six powers . . . We want peace by peaceful means and not by the rearmament of certain countries . . .

"I prefer the guarantee contained in four power agreements to the compromise of a six power Europe . . .

"I will have nothing to do with E.D.C.; I want a rapprochement with Germany and with all the other countries of Europe, based on other principles . . .

"I don't see what opposition can be put up against the idea of Europe, the whole of Europe united."

(Excerpts from the speech of M. Edouard Herriot, Honorary President of the French National Assembly, in the debate which resulted in the rejection of E.D.C. — August 30th, 1954.)

✶

As the debate goes on in the National Assembly, we want to reaffirm that the rearmament of Germany in any shape form would

— prevent for years the reunification of Germany and the establishement of peace throughout Europe, and

— deliver up France to a coalition in which, as Brussels showed, she would find herself isolated and overpowered.

Nothing, not even a skilled diplomatic manoeuvre, justifies the taking of such risks and such a surrender. There is no alternative to E.D.C. other than negotiations on Germany and an inter-European agreement.

We ask the French Parliament and Government to take the initiative in making this supreme effort for peace by inviting all interested countries to give details on the conditions of negotiation.

(Statement by a group of eminent people including M. J. M. DOMENACH, editor of the review *Esprit*, Pastor ROSER, the writer VERCORS and M. J. VITOUX, a leader of the Catholic youth movement — *August 30th, 1954.*

✶

Among the public figures who went on record against E.D.C. on the eve of the debate in the National Assembly were:

M. Francisque GAY, *former Vice-President of the Council of Ministers (M.R.P.).*

M. Léon NOEL, *ambassador.*

M. Jean RATY, *President of the Iron and Steel Works of Longwy.*

General WEYGAND.

General DE GAULLE.

The Count of PARIS, *the pretender to the French throne and others.*

Activities for Peace

The Peace Movement in Bulgaria

The Bulgarian National Peace Committee is doing intensive propaganda work under the watchword: "*The peaceful settlement of differences through negotiation.*"

This work takes various forms, enabling all sections of the people to play an active part in the activity of the Peace Movement in Bulgaria.

For example, the National Committee is organising peace meetings at which a short report is given, after which those present ask questions on the present development of the Movement. They are generally followed by an artistic programme. Such meetings were held, in the Tirnovo district in May, attended by 15,000 people; in Sliven, at which more than 30,000 were present, in Stara Zagora, with more than 40,000 participants, and elsewhere.

The local peace committees are also successfully organising "Peace Evenings". In the Houses of Culture or in private houses — especially in the countryside — women meet in the evening and, while knitting or doing embroidery, they discuss current questions in the struggle for peace. This form of work has brought a great number of housewives into the Movement.

During the harvest season supporters of the Movement take advantage of the rest hours to inform the peasants of the Movement's activity throughout the world.

The local peace committees in Bulgaria play an active part in sporting events which are all held under the banner of peace. Banners and peace prizes are awarded to the winners.

The Bulgarian Committee has made a great effort to improve the publication and distribution of leaflets and booklets devoted to the struggle for peace. More than 20 booklets have been published, together with portraits of eminent figures in the World Peace Movement, special bulletins, plays and so on.

Popular Discussion and National Day in Finland

In October 1953, there began in Finland a great **"discussion of the Finnish people on negotiations, independence and peace"**, organised by the Peace Movement. Folders containing statements by eminent Finns and the National Peace Movement's appeal to the Government to support the principles of the peaceful settlement of international differences and of free cultural and economic exchanges were printed and distributed. The people and organisations could either support this statement or put forward their own proposals for activity in favour of peace. The "discussion" went on until the early months of 1954. Nearly 2,000 meetings were held and they were attended by more than 100,000 people.

The popular discussion made it possible to organise a "*National Peace Day*" in Helsinki on February 22nd. This day, which was a real peace congress, was organised by the *Finnish Peace Movement* and the *Union for Peace* (Finnish United Nations association). It was attended by 1,738 delegates and observers from all over the country.

The resolution adopted demanded negotiations to put an to the wars going on, for the peaceful settlement of the German question, the banning of atomic weapons and disarmament, and for the development of economic and cultural exchanges.

An Important Step towards Unity

On the evening of February 22nd, the Peace Movement's Committee for Cultural Exchanges held a great festival in honour of the national epic, the *Kalevala*. Forty thousand people attended.

The National Peace Day was an important event in the history of the Finnish Peace Movement. It was not only the greatest meeting the Movement has so far organised; it was also an important step towards uniting all the country's forces in defence of peace.

The national discussion did not stop on February 22nd. After the atomic tests in the Pacific, petitions forms bearing the texts of a letter to the United Nations and a letter to the Finnish Government demanding that measures be taken for the banning of atomic weapons were distributed among the people or submitted to meetings. Both the individual signatures and the collective votes were sent to the United Nations and to the Finnish Government.

Finnish Peace Movement's Plan of Work

The activity of the Finnish Peace Movement took special forms during the summer period, such as the organisation of summer fêtes, participation in the *Baltic Peace Cruise* and so on. And the Movement is already preparing its Autumn and Winter campaigns.

The development of the international situation and recent events in Finland — the signature of the commercial treaty with the Soviet Union, the joint declaration of the Finnish and Soviet Governments, and the visit of a Finnish parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union, etc. — have created conditions which will enable the Finnish Peace Movement to broaden its action and strengthen its organisation.

On September 4th, anniversary of the armistice between Finland and the Soviet Union, a campaign was launched for the collection of signatures under the text of a letter of greetings to the World Council of Peace.

This will strengthen the campaign for negotiations, for the prohibition of atomic weapons and for collective security in Europe. It will enable the Finnish Movement to make its work and the results obtained more widely known.

Leaflets and Sticky-backs in Portugal

At the present time there is a broad and growing movement of protest against the H-bomb in Portugal. Under the impulse given by the Peace Movement it is reaching circles and public figures who have hitherto refrained from taking a public stand in favour of peace.

Recently, for example, a number of personalities sent the President of the Republic a message in which they declare that they support all moves "*to bring about international negotiations which would enable the latest weapons of mass destruction to be abolished and, in general, prevent recourse to war*".

The message was signed by the writers Sr. Joao de Barros, Sr. Casais Monteiro, Sr. Cardoso Pires, Sr. Aquilino Ribeiro, Sr. Vespeira, Sr. Branquinho da Fonseca; the scientist Sr. José Blank Portugal; General Ferreira Martins; the sculptor Vasco da Conceiçao; Professor Vieira de Almeida; the painters Julio Pomar and Luna de Freitas; and the writers José Marinho, Fidelino de Figueiredo, Ferreira de Castro, Carlos d'Oliveira, Fernando de Azevedo, Antonio Sergio and others.

The Portuguese Peace Movement has also done much to acquaint the Portuguese people with the proposals of the World Council of Peace in favour of the relaxation of international tension and the peaceful solution of differences between nations.

During the last few months thousands of copies of the resolutions of the Berlin Session of the World Council of Peace have been put out and sticky-backs bearing slogans such as "Demand Negotiations!" and "Peace is the only Civil Defence!" have been spread throughout the country.

The aggression against Guatemala has aroused a wave of anger which took the form of letters of protest against foreign intervention in Guatemala, demonstrations and the distribution of leaflets.

Portuguese public opinion is showing great interest in the campaigns of the Portuguese Peace Movement. The peasants, in particular, are becoming more and more aware of the relation between their economic difficulties and the burden of armaments expenditure.

Meeting against the H Bomb in Ireland

A meeting against the H-bomb was held in Belfast on August 8th on the initiative of the local Committee of the Irish Peace Campaign. It adopted a resolution calling upon "political, social, trade union, religious and cultural organisations to consult together, both nationally and internationally, on how best to obtain an agreement by the respective Governments to prohibit the manufacture and use of all weapons of mass destruction".

The speakers at the meeting included a British M.P., the Chairman of the Irish Trade Union Congress and the Chairman of the Belfast Trades Council.

The meeting was an immense success and press comment was favourable; the Belfast and Dublin press in particular carried detailed reports of it.

The Experiences of the Italian Peace Movement in the Struggle against E.D.C.

The Italian Peace Movement's campaign for international negotiation and against E.D.C. passed through a number of stages.

In the first stage the Movement was practically alone in holding this point of view; large sections of public opinion did not consider it to be of pressing importance, and the supporters of E.D.C. strove to keep the public in ignorance of the content and the texts of the treaty.

Because of the political situation, it was impossible to submit the treaty for ratification in Parliament, at least straight away.

This was undoubtedly a first victory for those who wish to bring about a relaxation of international tension and who are resolutely opposed to E.D.C., in view of the intention of the treaty's supporters to submit it for ratification without giving anyone a chance to set public opinion on its guard.

Great care was taken to keep the text of the treaty from the public, and so the Italian Peace Committee's first task was to have it printed and to have many thousands of copies distributed with a simple introduction explaining this omission on the part of the Government.

The publication of the text was accompanied by booklets, leaflets, posters and wall newspapers containing excerpts from and commentaries on the articles of the treaty. Short films showing the possible consequences of the ratification of E.D.C. were also made and proved to be extremely good publicity among the peasants. During this first period the best arguments were: the preservation of national independence and sovereignty and the danger of German rearmament. The actions of the local Peace Committees went on at the same time as the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Resistance, and often they even became part of the organised ceremonies.

In spite of the efforts of the supporters of E.D.C. the people were put on their guard and began to be alarmed at the threats to peace and Italian independence contained in the project.

Debates with supporters of E.D.C. were organised. Often, speakers, even European federalists, taking part in the debates without knowing the real content of the treaty, opposed E.D.C. when they learned the clauses of the treaty in the course of the discussion.

E.D.C. and European Security

The second stage opened in April 1954, with the tabling of the project in the special commission of the Chamber of Deputies.

The supporters of E.D.C. could no longer keep silence. All organised political forces were forced to take a stand. At this stage, the peace committees continued to put emphasis on the arguments of national independence and the threat to Italy contained in German rearmament. But when these arguments became the theme of other organisations the Peace Movement was more and more able to concentrate on the themes peculiar to it: the easing of international tension and the struggle against the division of the world into opposed military blocs. In this framework, one argument stood out, that of unity and European security.

The Soviet proposals for a security pact at the Berlin Conference laid the foundation for particularly fruitful actions, which were, quite naturally, related to the campaign for the banning of the H-bomb in which the Italian Peace Movement had just had important successes.

At the last Federalist Congress Sig. Parri, former President of the Council of Ministers, and one of the most respected founders and leaders of the Federalist movement, openly broke with the policy of the movement and made a clear stand against E.D.C., which he had formerly supported. Along with him the whole *Unita Popular* group and many constituency leaders of the Social Democratic Party went on record against E.D.C. Even among the Christian Democrats and the Catholic Action organisations more and more people began to express reservations about E.D.C. which was not able to get past the Special Commission of the Chamber of Deputies.

Geneva and Brussels

Meanwhile, the Geneva Conference and the ending of hostilities in Indo-China came to strengthen and stimulate the campaign against E.D.C. and to provide it with new arguments. Through the initiative of the peace committees, the people in cities such as Milan were informed of the ending of hostilities in Indo-China by the blowing of factory hooters. In others, leghorn for example, balconies were draped with peace flags. Everywhere meetings and rallies were held on the initiative of the peace committees. The line laid down by the National Committee was as follows: agreement was reached at Geneva because the principles of peaceful coexistence and respect for national independence and sovereignty were accepted as a basis for negotiation. Why not adopt the same principles in seeking a settlement of European problems? Besides, the failure of the Brussels Conference brought further proof of the correctness of these principles. The National Committee summed this up in the following words:

"At Geneva, agreement was reached between belligerent powers which were furthermore divided by great differences in their respective political systems, because the principles of peaceful coexistence were accepted as a basis for negotiation. At Brussels, even though it was meeting between governments with the same political system, agreement was not reached because the negotiations were based on the principles of the division of Europe into opposed military blocs."

The organisational methods employed throughout the campaign were very varied. They included mass meetings, meetings for different sections of the community, village meetings, factory meetings, public debates, deputations and so on. In Italy these methods are distinguished by what one might call their "capillary action"; in the most diverse ways they bring the slogans and actions of the Peace Movement right into the families, the blocks of flats and the small farms.

How the Peace Movement works in Cosenza

Here is a concrete example: the work of the Cosenza Departmental Peace Committee during the month of July. This is an agricultural district in the South of Italy.

The Departmental Committee organised 54 mass meetings in the parishes with its own speakers, as well as organising, public meetings with local speakers elsewhere. In addition, the Committee, together with other supporting bodies, organised a series of demonstrations against E.D.C. designed to reach particular groupings. The Department of Cosenza is one of those in which a beginning has been made on agrarian reform and there is a very active association of peasants who have received allotments of land. During July the Departmental Committee organised 30 meetings of the local committees of this association, 30 general meetings and 60 meetings against E.D.C. on the farms. In the same way, in conjunction with the Small Landowners' Association, 30 local committee meetings and 40 general metings were organised. With the Co-operative Association, 30 Executive Council meetings and 20 general metings of the co-operators were arranged. The trade union organisations, of course, played their part in this activity. There were 100 meetings of trade union branch committees or Trades Councils, 100 trade union meetings and 100 factory and job meetings. Lastly, ten local committee meetings and 20 general meetings were arranged with the women's organisations; in the case of the youth organisations the figures were 60 and 80 respectively.

Furthermore, the Departmental Peace Committee put out a lot of publicity material and co-ordinated the actions against E.D.C. which were conducted jointly with the parties supporting the Peace Movement. The Italian Socialist Party, for example, made a big contribution to the struggle in this Department during July by organising 50 branch committee meetings, 60 branch meetings, a one-day Departmental rally and mass meetings.

"Put your whole Strength unreservedly at the Service of Peace"

APPEAL TO THE WORLD'S CINEMATOGRAPHERS

We have already described in these pages the brilliant film festival which was held recently in Karlovy Vary. We are now happy to be able to publish the appeal to the world's cinematographers which was adopted by the guests and film workers of every kind before they parted.

The appeal runs:

"We cinematographers from 29 countries who have met at the Eighth International Film Festival at Karlovy Vary, after seeing many films from many countries and having once more had an opportunity to see the progress the film industry has made in serving the cause of peace and the independence of the peoples . . .

"Note that a great deal has been done to put the idea of the expansion of international relations into practice. Yet much remains to be done.

"Film workers throughout the world! In the name of the freedom, independence and happiness of the nations and in the interest of the future development of the film art . . . put your whole strength unreservedly at the service of peace! Use your art to increase the possibility of settling all questions through negotiation and agreement. Support the nations' struggle for social progress. Wherever we may live and make our films, we all of us bring the victory of peace nearer through our work. Let us do away with the mistrust which has been artificially created between the nations and establish bonds of friendship!"

Exchanges

A delegation of Italian agricultural technicians went to Moscow during the month of August to visit the Agricultural Exhibition which has been opened in the Soviet capital. They were invited by the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture. The delegation included Professor Mario Bandini, President of the *Ente Maremma* (a company for the distribution of land in the Maremma region); Professor Orlando of the Institute of Agrarian Economy; and Professor Roberto Milletti of Perugia University.

*

It may be remembered that the East Berlin Opera Company recently gave some very well received performances in Paris. In return, the Paris Opera Ballet is going to Berlin on September 12th. After its stay in Berlin it will tour the main towns of the German Democratic Republic.

*

The French National People's Theatre is about to leave for a tour of Canada where it will give a series of performances during September. It will then go to Poland where it will put on a number of plays — including *Don Juan*, *Le Cid* and *Ruy Blas* — between October 4th and 20th.

The Progress of International Scientific Co-operation

From the point of view of the future of culture there are encouraging things in the present international situation; one of them is the number of scientific congresses which have been held in different parts of the world during these last few weeks. They were attended by people working in very different fields — haematologists, astronomers, psychiatrists, gynaecologists, philosophers and physicists — but they all had one common feature: they were the meeting-ground of scientists from nations which differ not only in their geographical, historical and linguistic characteristics, but also in their social systems. By exchanging their views and experiences, the delegates from East and West gave a practical demonstration of the fact that peaceful coexistence is not an illusion but a practical proposition.

And not only practical. It is also a valuable proposition, a source of great benefits for the whole of mankind.

It is easy to prove this statement. Very often, especially when the enemies of peace sought to divide the world into irreconcilable blocs, the finest minds were alarmed, and not without reason, at the great harm inflicted on science and culture in general by this artificial division.

Fortunately, those who tried to sow discord between the nations did not succeed in overcoming the will of the peoples. The persistent struggle of the Peace Movement and all who want to put an end to international tension succeeded in restoring contacts which seemed to be at breaking-point. Cultural relations are being resumed, as is proved by the much more widely representative nature of the scientific meetings mentioned above.

Who would dare to deny the advantages of such an ecxhange of experinces, methods and results between the most qualified experts of different countries? How could one possibly underestimate the benefits the peoples would reap from this co-operation?

We may quote a few recent examples. Psychiatry has made great progress during these last years, but it is very uneven and the lack of knowledge of discoveries made in certain countries creates serious obstacles to progress in others. Quite recently, nearly 2,000 psychiatrists from 54 countries met in Toronto in Canada. They included a large number of very famous specialists whose contributions caused observers to consider this Fifth International Congress of Psychiatrists the most important and most fruitful that has been held to date. The same could be said of the International Cancer Congress which was recently held in Sao Paulo in Brazil. There many reports and informative statements were made and theories advanced which will certainly make it easier to combat this terrible scourge in future. We may presume that the Haematology and Blood Transfusion Congresses which are soon to be held in Paris will give similar results.

Professor Joliot-Curie recommended such exchanges in his opening speech at the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in December 1952. He said:

"Science is without doubt the sphere of human activity which provides the most striking examples of the immense benefits mankind could enjoy through the free circulation of ideas and free travel. No discovery has been made anywhere that was not the happy result of combined work carried on in different parts of the world and without knowledge of which on the part of all concerned the discovery would never have been made.

"The progress of Science — and hence that of civilisation — requires the free diffusion of scientific information. This does not only concern the specialist; it is of the greatest concern to the general public."

The steps that have been taken in this direction since then are an obvious progress, but they are only the beginning of the real scientific collaboration desired both by the scientists and the peoples.

No friend of peace, no man of culture must be sparing in his efforts to make it a splendid reality.

CONGRESSES and MEETINGS

The International Congress of Gynaecology, which was held in Geneva at the end of July and the beginning of August, was attended by 1,600 doctors from various countries. For the first time, a delegation of Soviet doctors took part in the discussion.

*

The reports put forward at the International Cancer Congress, which was held in Sao Paulo in Brazil, were followed very attentively by medical circles throughout the world. Some of the participants, such as Dr. Charles Huggins, Professor of Surgery at Chicago University, and the members of the Soviet delegation, gave press conferences at which they described the research they are doing and the results they have obtained to date.

*

The Fifth International Astronautical Congress was held in Innsbruck (Austria) during the month of August.

A delegation of ten Soviet orientalists, led by Professor Gruber, took part in the International Congress of Orientalists which was held in Cambridge, Great Britain. at the end of August.

*

The Seventeenth Festival of Contemporary Music of the Venice Biennale *is taking place from September 11th to 26th; the opening concert will be devoted to Bela Bartok.*

*

The Fifth Annual International Congress of Psychiatrists opened in Toronto on August 14th. A number of preliminary conferences had been held to prepare the discussion themes: mental hygiene in childhood; the relations between industrial mental health and public mental health; alcoholism. Two thousand eminent specialists from 45 countries of East and West took part in the meeting.

Sport, that close Bond between the Peoples

The European athletics, swimming, rowing and other championships have recently been held in a number of countries — Italy, Holland and Switzerland, for example. It was noticeable that interest in these events was greater than ever before and that amateurs followed them with much more enthusiasm. Why? One of the main reasons is that they were really all European, many countries took part and there were no unfortunate and ridiculous exclusions. And so the Scandinavian, British, French and Italian champions were able to compete with their Soviet, Hungarian and Czechoslovak counterparts. Because the athletes were able to meet regardless of the political systems of their respective countries, these championships were intensely interesting. Each winner had to beat the best of the whole continent.

This greater scope was the distinguishing feature of the celebrated Olympics in Helsinki two years ago and it is becoming more and more characteristic of the various international sports competitions. All who love sport — and they are the overwhelming majority of the people in every country — find only gratification in this state of affairs. There is no doubt that sports meetings are becoming more interesting nowadays: competition is hotter, the athletes have to prepare themselves better and put more into it. As a result, there has been a great improvement in performance recently compared with only a short time ago. Records have been beaten right and left, and the new figures have astounded the specialists.

We have mentioned some of the purely technical advantages from the point of view of the development of sport. But, from the point of view of the improvement of the international climate, the advantages are also great. For these meetings have above all enabled sincere bonds of friendship to be established between the sportsmen of different nations, they have helped to dissipate the fear that has been sown between the peoples and have done much to create a better mutual understanding. In sport, the only things that count are competition and healthy, fraternal rivalry. When the contest is over, the friendship born of this fruitful large-scale contact continues and grows stronger. The great popularity of sport everywhere gives added importance to its role as a real bond between the peoples.

However, much remains to be done. One could wish that there were no exclusions or discrimination of any kind at any sports meeting. Fortunately, the People's Republic of China will be able to take part in the next Olympic Games in Melbourne, but admission is still refused to other countries, such as the German Democratic Republic. Furthermore, it would be a good thing if sporting contacts between different countries were not limited to championships and the sending of official delegations. All clubs, big or small, which have anything to do with physical culture, should be able to take part in these exchanges. Clearly this does not apply only to professional athletes. In every country, thousands and thousands of people devote their leisure time to sport, either in sports clubs or in workers' and students' associations. They, too, should, in various ways, be able to enter into relations with their fellow sportsmen in other countries and meet them in friendly competitions. This international athletic brotherhood too needs to be developed on the widest scale, so that it is shared by millions of sportsmen and lovers of sport.

There is another aspect of the problem that merits careful examination — the exchange of delegations of journalists, critics, and leaders and representatives of sport. Some time ago the Soviet Union, for example, invited sports writers from various Italian daily newspapers and, more recently, a delegation of the leaders of French sport. These visits have had good results as is shown by the statements made by both delegations on their return. Is there any reason why the number of such visits should not be increased and why they should not be reciprocal?

The World Council of Peace has frequently stressed the importance of exchanges in the sphere of sport. Those who support it have done valuable work in improving these exchanges and they know that by working even harder along these lines they will succeed in making sport one of the closest bonds between the nations.

This is a message addressed to the scholars and orientalists of the world by Iranian students on the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of Avicenna which was commemorated by the Iranian Government at the beginning of the year.

Let us recall that in 1952 the great philosopher's anniversary was celebrated internationally by an ad hoc World Committee on the initiative of the World Council of Peace.

The Great Anniversaries

INDIA

The Cultural Section of the All-India Peace Council organised a meeting in Delhi in honour of Anton Chekhov; it was attended by many intellectuals, artists and writers. Writers, critics, poets and journalists and the Soviet ambassador to India spoke. There was a small exhibition of photographs of Chekhov.

Other literary associations have celebrated the anniversary. Various newspapers have published articles on his life and work, particularly periodicals in the various languages of India such as the Urdu monthly literary review, Shahrah, *and the Hindi* Weekly Hindustan.

Three dramatic groups will present one-act plays by Chekhov this month.

In addition, the Indian Radio broadcast a special programme of recordings of works by Antonin Dvorak on the anniversary of his death.

GERMANY

At a ceremony in memory of Dvorak in Dresden, Dr. Eberlein, a member of the Secretariat of the German Peace Committee, stressed how important the commemoration of the cultural anniversaries is for the strengthening of peace and friendship between the peoples. The Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra then performed some of Dvorak's famous works.

Similar ceremonies have been held throughout the German Democratic Republic. The life and works of Dvorak have been dealt with at length in many newspapers and periodicals, and the Ministry of Culture, in collaboration with the German Peace Committee, has published a booklet entitled In Memory of Anton Dvorak.

A Chekhov memorial evening has also been held in the Maxim Gorki Theatre in Berlin. After a lecture by Herr Wolfgang Dübel, a staff member of the Slav Institute of the Humboldt University, the actors of the Maxim Gorki Theatre read several of Chekhov's short stories — Vanka Sadness, Corporal Prishibieieff *— and then acted scenes from* The Seagull *and* The Cherry Orchard. *The evening which ended with a musical programme, was highly appreciated.*

The Hans Otto Theatre Company is also on tour giving performances of two one-act plays by Chekhov — The Bear *and* The Proposal.

URUGUAY

During a broadcast celebrating the ending of the war in Indo-China, during which Sr. José Luis Massera, Secretary of the National Peace Council, gave a speech, the drama group of the Uruguayan National Broadcasting Company acted scenes from Aristophanes' comedy The Peace.

BULGARIA

A Dvorak Memorial Concert has been held in Sofia. After the opening speech by Academician Nadjakov, President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee, and a lecture by the musicologist Veneline Krestev on the life and work of the great composer, the Sofia Philharmonic Orchestra gave a concert of Dvorak's best known works.

Similar memorial evenings have been organised in the main towns of Bulgaria.

In addition, the Bulgarian daily newspapers and periodicals have published a series of articles on Dvorak and there have been a number of radio broadcasts on the life and work of the Czech composer.

Around the World

Holland

In a statement to the Dutch people, the Executive Committee of the Peace Council says:

"Now that peace has been restored in Asia, European security is more than ever the centre of attention and struggle. As long as the plans to revive German militarism are not abandoned . . . the security of Europe and of Holland will be in danger."

The Committee therefore considers that "the conversations between the powers interested in the German problem must be resumed as soon as possible".

The Committee also demands a substantial reduction in military expenditure.

Egypt

In an interview with the periodical "U.S. News and World Report", Colonel Nasser, Prime Minister of Egypt, expressed his astonishment that the United States have not yet recognised China.

"China is a reality they will be forced to recognise, and that will be a step forward towards the ending of the cold war", he said.

Brazil

Commenting on the possibilities of trading with the Soviet Union and the countries of People's Democracy Sr. José Floriano Toledo, Vice-President of the Commerce Association and President of the Chamber of Foreign Commerce of Sao Paulo, had this to say:

"Brazil's present economic position demands that our trade be increased . . .

"I consider that it is the task of a government which wants its country to prosper to win back lost markets."

*

In the State of Ceara the Peace Movement organised a literary competition for school children on the theme of peace. The contributions could be either in prose or verse. The pupils took part in the competition with enthusiasm.

Indonesia

Indonesian newspapers have published a statement by Mrs. Pandit, President of the United Nations General Assembly, who went to Indonesia on the invitation of the Indonesian Government.

Mrs. Pandit said that China must be given her rightful seat in the United Nations.

Nepal

A number of prominent figures of Katmandu, the capital of Nepal, decided, at a meeting on August 17th, to form a Sino-Nepalese Friendship Society. A committee of five was appointed to draw up the society's constitution.

Poland

In Warsaw on September 1st a great meeting took place to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the invasion of Poland by Hitler's armies.

In one of the resolutions adopted the meeting declared:

"We support the universal demand for the calling of a Four Power Conference to settle the German question and of a conference of all European States for the conclusion of an all-European treaty of collective security."

Denmark

The Polish liner S.S. Batory, with 800 passengers on board, put in at Copenhagen, first port of call on the Peace Cruise, at the end of August. During the reception organised by the Danish Peace Committee, Prof. Mogens Fog, its President, stated:

"Everywhere the Batory has gone, the participants in the Peace Cruise have seen that the peoples do not want war, but peace. The will of the peoples must be fulfilled."

*

A Danish commercial exhibition will open in Moscow on September 17th. Eighty Danish firms are represented and 30 Danish businessmen will be present. The aim of the exhibition is to increase trade between Denmark and the Soviet Union.

*

A booklet by Mr. I. B. Noerlund, entitled "The Cold War Can Be Ended", has just been published in Copenhagen.

The booklet shows the harmful effects on Denmark of its participation in the Atlantic Pact.

"The example of Geneva", says the author, "shows that it is possible to settle the most complex international problems peacefully and holds out the prospect of organising a system of collective security.

"This would eliminate the danger of a revival of German militarism and ensure Denmark's independence."

Germany

On the invitation of Japanese meteorologists, meteorologists from the German Democratic Republic have decided to exchange with foreign colleagues observations on the contamination of the atmosphere by radioactivity and on unusual atmospheric phenomena which might be connected with the explosion of hydrogen bombs. The German meteorologists associated themselves with the appeal of the Japanese Meteorological Society for stopping immediately all atomic bomb tests.

*

Approximately 1,200 engineers and technicians from industrial undertakings in the Leipzig region of the German Democratic Republic took part in a discussion on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and the part that technicians can play in activity for the peaceful solution of the German question. The discussion was organised by the district Peace Council.

Professor Robert Havemann of the Humboldt University in Berlin gave the report on the prospects which the peaceful use of atomic energy holds out for mankind.

Puerto Rico

At its last annual congress the Film-workers' Union adopted a resolution supporting the Peace Movement and calling for the banning of weapons of mass destruction and the conclusion of a peace pact between the five great powers.

China

Speaking at a press conference at the end of the British Labour Party delegation's visit to China, Mr. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the Party, said:

"We have been deeply impressed by the efforts of the Chinese people to build their nation on modern lines. We have seen great exertions of the people in the face of primitive industrial techniques and the consequences of so many centuries of social stagnation. We are convinced that the peace of the world depends upon the closer communion between China and the rest of the world. The policy of exclusiveness can only imperil peace.

"We believe that peaceful coexistence along with active co-operation and mutual trade based upon it would ripen understanding and bring us all closer together and thus reduce the danger of war.

"Though there are undoubtedly great ideological differences between new China and the democracies of the West, nevertheless it seemed to us, as it did to the leaders of the Government, that these are not a barrier to peaceful coexistence and co-operation in the many fields where we have common interests."

Iceland

At a meeting held in Reykjavik the Foreign Ministers of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland concluded that it was necessary for the People's Republic of China to be represented in the United Nations.

Rumania

There took place in Bucharest recently a big meeting of representatives of different religions. During the course of the meeting the Orthodox Priest Ion Irimia pointed out that there was not a single peace-loving person in the whole world who did not welcome the ending of the war in Indo-China joyfully. The Christian ethic, he said, condemns those who would unleash war.

The representatives of the various religions demanded the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe in order to carry further the success won at Geneva.

Australia

The Australian Labour M. P.s Calwell and Ward have criticised the Government's plans to involve Australia in S.E.A.T.O., reports the Australian paper Tribune *of August 18th.*

Mr. Calwell said:

"What the world needs today is the new order that was promised after the war and never given. Asians will not fight for the old order, for starvation, blood and tears."

The Atomic Clock will tell you the Exact Time

Atomic energy will now be used to measure time. A Reuter despatch from Moscow announces that Soviet scientists have just constructed an atomic clock which is not more than one millionth of a second out over 24 hours.

This new clock is therefore very much more exact than any other astronomical clock in use.

Reproduction authorised

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

[Paul Robeson, p. 11]

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 19 OCTOBER 1st 1954

Statement of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

A meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace was held in Vienna from September 13th to 15th.

A number of guests, representing many National Peace Movements, took part in the work.

At the opening session Professor Bernal F.R.S., Vice-President of the World Council of Peace, presented a report on the international situation and the tasks resulting therefrom for the World Peace Movement.

The Bureau session adopted the following statement.

Great events have brought a new hope to the world and rewarded the efforts of all who are working for peace.

An armistice has been signed in Korea and in Indo-China; the French Parliament has rejected the treaties on the European army which would have brought about the rebirth of German militarism.

The proposals and campaigns of the World Council of Peace have made it possible to bring the peoples into action and organise their efforts. To-day millions of people in every country feel justly proud of the share they have had in winning this great victory.

Nevertheless, other dangers remain in the world which still call for the vigilance of the forces of peace. One immediate threat hangs over Europe and may well destroy the results already obtained. The reconstitution of a German army as part of a military coalition, which still remains the objective of certain governments, would perpetuate the division of Germany, sharpen the opposition between the two parts into which Europe has been arbitrarily separated, and stimulate the armaments race.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace calls on the peoples to oppose the rearming of Germany in any form or under any pretext. It calls on them to press the governments of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France to resume negotiations without delay. None of the participants must hamper the negotiations by adverse actions or by imposing preliminary conditions.

The peaceful settlement of the German problem must be acceptable to each of the powers concerned and also to the German people. It must put an end to the division of Germany, prevent that country from being used to threaten any of its neighbours and permit, at the same time, the organisation of European security.

Security cannot be assured in a world divided into opposing blocs nor by military coalitions. It demands peaceful co-existence of all states, whatever their political system or social structure, co-operation between them, and agreement on general disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

To concentrate all the forces of peace in order to achieve these great objectives, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace has decided to call a session of the World Council on November 18th, 1954. It will propose the following points for the agenda:

1) Co-operation of all the states of Europe in the organisation of their common security.
2) The situation created in different parts of Asia by foreign intervention and by the system of military blocs and coalitions.
3) The situation created in Latin America by interference in the internal affairs of nations.
4) Action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.
5) Preparation of an Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace in all countries during the first half of 1955.

Vienna, September 15th, 1954

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- What the Press is saying.... 2
- The peoples of Southeast Asia will not accept the Manila pact. Statement on S.E.A.T.O. by the Australian Peace Council 3
- India — celebration of Asian Solidarity Month. The people of Hiroshima address the Secretary General of the United Nations 4
- Meeting in Tokyo. Session of New South Wales Peace Council 5
- Before the "immediate threat which hangs over Europe" the French people are more united than ever. A message from the World Council of Peace and a telegram from the German Peace Council to the French Peace Movement 6
- The workers of the Federal German Republic oppose German rearmament. Appeal by the Chairman of the British Peace Committee. Following the "Peace Cruise" 7
- The work of the Spanish Peace Movement 8
- The Chilean Peace Movement in the struggle to preserve national independence. The Canadian Peace Congress demands the outlawing of the H-bomb and the immediate recognition of the People's Republic of China 9
- Dimitri Shostakovitch receives the International Peace Prize 10
- Celebration of Pablo Neruda's birthday 11
- Around the world 12

What the Press is saying...

The establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation by the Manila Conference roused strong opposition from public opinion, particularly in the countries of Southeast Asia. This is reflected in the columns of the international press, from which we take a few excerpts.

The purpose of S.E.A.T.O. is not so much the stability and security of Southeast Asia as an alliance against China. They say that it is to be defensive, but United States policy has been unambiguous enough to expose its offensive intentions. Apart from N.A.T.O., the use made of the Inter-American Organisation in the Guatemala affair has confirmed the impression that the long arm of the United States will be offensively thrust into the interior of Southeast Asia through S.E.A.T.O.

NATIONAL HERALD (India)

*

Peace in the Far East will mainly depend on the desire to ease tension on the part of the two camps which confront each other.

It is doubtful whether the Manila pact confirms this desire on the part of the anti-communist powers.

LE MONDE (France)

*

The military pact concluded at Manila aims to undermine the peace and security of Asia.

Certain countries of Southeast Asia only recently acquired their independence and need peace and security. But the new aggressive bloc, to which the most important Asian countries do not belong, is purely and simply a threat to their national independence and to peace. This bloc is visibly aimed against the movement of national liberation in the countries of Asia.

TAKUNGPAO
(People's Republic of China)

*

Six of the eight participating countries are not Southeast Asian countries and the three Asian countries taking part, including Pakistan, have already concluded military pacts with the United States. In other Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, opposition to S.E.A.T.O. is ever mounting.

HARIAN RAKJAT (Indonesia)

*

It is the duty of all New Zealanders to give this plan the closest scrutiny, because it threatens to line up our country in a military grouping whose purpose is to commit aggression against our neighbours in Asia.

We advocate the setting up of a mutual security system, not comprising a few Western Powers plus Australia and New Zealand, but all the nations of the area. Under this, all would guarantee each other against aggression.

PEOPLE'S VOICE (New Zealand)

*

The text of the treaty which has been signed confirms that it is a new attempt on the part of the United States to create a military grouping of countries which, at any time and under any pretext, can launch armed intervention on any Southeast Asian territory.

The peoples of Asia realise that the aggressive military pact signed at Manila is aimed at aggravating the situation in this part of the world. They look upon it as a conspiracy against peace and security. That is why the peace-loving peoples of Asia are stiffening their struggle for peace and international security.

PRAVDA (U.S.S.R.)

*

The world's demand for peace must not be ignored. S.E.A.T.O. is to be set up by the Western imperialist and colonial powers, which will demand military bases and manpower from the Asian countries. No patriot should accept such conditions.

IMROZE (Pakistan)

*

The truce that is at present reigning in Indo-China after years of war is threatened by the Manila decision to include the associated states in the zone covered by the treaty.

This decision must be looked upon as a violation of the spirit of the Geneva agreements.

FREE PRESS (India)

*

S.E.A.T.O. is mostly composed of non-Southeast Asian countries. Those Asian countries which have joined it were in need of American military aid.

SULUH INDONESIA (Indonesia)

*

This military bloc is clearly aimed at supporting European colonial rule in Asia.

MORNING NEWS (Pakistan)

*

The most important Southeast Asian countries, India, Indonesia and Burma, rejected the S.E.A.T.O. pact. It has therefore miscarried and cannot exist in the atmosphere of Asia, the peoples of which want peace.

The countries of Asia need no guardian. They are capable of deciding their own destiny. The peoples of Asia want peace.

BERITA INDONESIA (Indonesia)

*

The separate protocol to the treaty mentioned Cambodia, Laos and Viet-Nam and this is apparently aimed at disrupting the Geneva agreements.

Over 500,000,000 people of the principal Southeast Asian countries stand outside and oppose S.E.A.T.O. From the point of view of history, S.E.A.T.O. reverses the process of Asia's liberation from foreign imperialist control.

HINDUSTAN STANDARD (India)

The Colombo powers' refusal to take part in the S.E.A.T.O. military organisation is already a sign that the conference has failed.

The Asian countries taking part in the conference included Thailand and the Philippines; and the only Colombo country to attend the conference was Pakistan. All three were already militarily connected with the United States.

MERDEKA (Indonesia)

*

With five of its eight signatories non-Asian, its non-regional character is obvious. The Southeast Asia treaty seeks to use Asians against Asians; Western domination threatens to return; and it is also blind to realities.

INDIAN EXPRESS (India)

*

The protocol to the treaty has been specially designed to mar the Geneva agreements which stipulated that the three Indo-China states should not join any military alliance with other countries, nor allow foreign troops to station in their territories.

The real purpose of the Southeast Asia treaty is not to make Southeast Asia secure and prosperous ... its primary purpose is to encircle the People's Republic of China from the southeast.

SULUH INDONESIA (Indonesia)

*

Since India, Burma and Indonesia, inhabited by 500,000,000 people, are opposed to it, it is not clear how the signatories propose to "protect" these areas in spite of the wishes of the population. To thrust protection on those who do not want it is direct repudiation of the principles of sovereignty of nations and the self-determination to which the signatories pay lip-service.

The S.E.A.T.O. pact signed at Manila marks a departure from established and accepted principles of international policy although both the treaty and the Pacific charter which accompanies it repeat all the high-sounding platitudes with which all of us have now become familiar.

The most remarkable thing about this treaty is that it refers to an area the vast majority of whose inhabitants are not associated with it, and it is signed mostly by nations farthest away from it.

HINDUSTAN TIMES (India)

*

The results of the Manila Conference would neither be supported by most Southeast Asian countries, nor reduce world tension ... except the United States, the other countries participating in the Manila Conference recently lauded the Geneva agreements ... We all hope that the Geneva agreements will be carried out successfully, but we are aware that the present circumstances could have disturbing consequences.

DUTA MASJARAKAT (Indonesia)

The Peoples of Southeast Asia will not accept the Manila Pact

Commenting on the results of the Manila Conference in its editorial for September 9th, *Le Monde* said:

"*At the moment the analogy between S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O. seems to be more theoretical than real . . . Indeed, it is in this very region, Southeast Asia, that American plans have been cold-shouldered, not to say boycotted. The list of the Asian countries absent speaks for itself . . .*"

Neither India, Indonesia, Ceylon or Burma were present, having officially refused to take part in the conference. Cambodia and Laos were also absent, since, according to the Geneva agreements, they must not make any military commitments. Even the three Southeast Asian governments that were represented at Manila are confronted with a growing wave of protest from their peoples.

● According to information from Karachi, *Imroze*, an Urdu language daily, stated that S.E.A.T.O. would upset the present relaxation of tension in Asia and the world resulting from the Geneva Conference and worsen the situation again.

● The New Zealand paper, *People's Voice*, says that "*S.E.A.T.O. is denounced as a scheme for aggression against Asians by leading people and parties, newspapers and politicians of all shades of opinion in Asian countries, as well as in many others . . .*"

● In Australia, the Council of Railway Shop Committees passed a resolution on August 15th branding the Menzies government's support of S.E.A.T.O. The resolution attacked S.E.A.T.O. as "*a scheme for aggressive war against the Asian people*". It urged: "*In place of such acts of aggression as S.E.A.T.O., we need a policy of friendly relations.*" At their recent annual conference in Sydney, the Building Workers' Industrial Union expressed a similar view. Mr. G. Whitlam, an Australian Labour M.P., urged the Government to adopt a realistic foreign policy, saying: "*We may only delude ourselves by joining S.E.A.T.O.*"

● In India, Mr. Nehru had the following to say of the Manila pact:

"*We must ask ourselves whether taking this step in the present situation will not result in increasing the feeling of insecurity. I, for my part, fear that it will completely upset the good atmosphere created by the settlement in Indo-China.*"

"*Certain countries*", he added, "*are getting together in order to protect other countries which do not want protection. These are very strange goings on and I don't understand them . . .*"

● In Indonesia, Mr. Mangusarkaro, Second Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian National Party, declared in a recent statement to the weekly *Berita Mingguan* that the formation of S.E.A.T.O. would only worsen the critical situation in Southeast Asia.

The Communist countries have shown that their foreign policy reflected the possibility of preserving peace, while the S.E.A.T.O. plan once again revealed that the imperialist countries were contemplating future wars, he said. By means of S.E.A.T.O., the imperialist countries wanted to kick Asian countries around to maintain their colonial rule.

In the eyes of the Asian peoples, S.E.A.T.O. reflected a new style of domination over Southeast Asian countries by foreign colonialists, Mangusarkoro added. He urged more initiative on the part of Indonesia to establish friendly relations with Asian peoples on the basis of peace.

Excerpts from a Statement by the Australian Peace Council on S.E.A.T.O.

Australia occupies a unique position in the world, and reality demands an independent Australian foreign policy in keeping with this position. It is courting disaster to model our policies towards Asia on those of other countries with completely different geographical positions and different reasons for their interest in Asia . . .

Australia's peaceful future and her independence are being undermined by a false conception of her relations with Asia. The Prime Minister's statement on August 24th that "massive and concerted strength" and "definite military commitments" are to be the basis of Australia's relations with that great continent can have tragic results for our country.

In particular, the commitment of Australia to the S.E.A.T.O. organisation will arouse the hostility of hundreds of millions of our neighbours, who see this organisation, in the words of the Indian Prime Minister Mr. Nehru, as "an international organisation designed to hold Asian aspirations in check by force of arms". Other Asian countries, including China, Burma and Indonesia, support this view, and S.E.A.T.O. will be, if consummated, almost entirely non-Asian in composition.

"We do not want to be protected by S.E.A.T.O."

says Mr. Krishna MENON

India's delegate to the United Nations, Mr. Krishna Menon, dwelt on the question of S.E.A.T.O. in a speech in the Council of States of the Indian Parliament. "*By no stretch of imagination or interpretation of the U. N. Charter can this S.E.A.T.O. come under the Charter*", Menon declared.

The U.N. Charter provided for regional organisations, Menon said, "*but this is not a regional organisation; it is an organisation of some people to protect the region. It is a modern version of a protectorate. It is an organisation of some imperial powers and some others who may have an interest in joining together to protect a territory which they say is in danger. We are part of that territory and we say we do not want to be protected. An association of this kind has no place under the Charter of the United Nations as a regional organisation*".

"*To reverse the process of conciliation or lowering of tension that has probably followed the Indo-China conference is a diplomatic and political tragedy*", Menon continued. "*The very fact that, with the exception of Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines, the countries of Southeast Asia are not participating in the S.E.A.T.O. conference, proclaims its character to the world. We have no ill-will towards any of these countries, Asian or European, but at the same time it is our bounden duty to condemn any attempt to build up a military alliance of any kind.*"

The three countries of Indo-China had somewhat entered into the field of the conception of collective peace, Menon added. It was basic to the Geneva agreement that other countries should respect the territorial integrity of each one of them. The three countries of Indo-China should not enter into military alliances with other countries, nor accept military aid except as specified in the Geneva agreement itself, he asserted.

"Today, Peace and Co-operation between the Peoples are more urgently necessary than ever"

Dr. Regmi, Nepal's Foreign Minister, described the S.E.A.T.O. pact signed in Manila as a "new attempt to drag the countries of Southeast Asia into a war".

"Today, peace and co-operation between the peoples are more urgently necessary than ever", Dr. Regmi stated. "We cannot tolerate a repetition of the wrong and unreasonable behaviour which led to the last two world wars. All proposals which tend to strengthen peace must be supported in every possible way. But the treaty signed in Manila is directed not towards supporting peace and co-operation between the peoples, but towards dividing the peoples."

S.E.A.T.O. menaces Peace,

says Burmese Minister

S.E.A.T.O. menaces the peace of Asia, declared U Ba Saw, Burmese Minister of Relief, Resettlement and Social Welfare, at Lucknow.

The Minister said that the time had come for the Asian countries to work out proposals to negate the effects of S.E.A.T.O.

The Burmese Government, he stated, would adhere to the five principles enunciated in the joint statements of the Prime Ministers of China, India and Burma.

India
Celebration of Asian Solidarity Month

The All India Peace Council's call to observe the month of September as *Asian Solidarity Month* met with an encouraging response and brought wider and wider circles into the Movement. An important feature of the campaign is the support which mass organisations of workers, peasants, students, etc. have given to the Asian Solidarity Month.

All India Trade Union Congress

The A.I.T.U.C. has issued a circular letter to all its provincial units asking them to take the initiative in mobilising the workers and other sections of the people during this month.

All India Students Federation

Similarly, the A.I.S.F. issued a statement describing the call of the A.I.P.C. for the observance of the Asian Solidarity Month as "very timely". Lending its fullest support to the call, it "urges upon all students and student bodies to join hands in observing this Month of Asian Solidarity by taking common and effective measures for this. Widespread holding of debates and discussions on the problems related to security and peace in Asia is one of the appropriate means for students to contribute to this cause".

Madras

Various trade unions in Madras have pledged their support to the campaign. Many major trade unions in the city are holding independent meetings during the month to explain the Five Principles enunciated in the Nehru—Chou En-lai agreement.

The Madras Peace Committee is holding meetings in various centres of the city to explain the necessity for Asian nations to come together in defence of the freedom and security of the Asian peoples on the basis of the India-China Agreement. The inaugural meeting was held on August 31st at the Memorial Hall and was attended by citizens representing all shades of opinion.

Peace workers in the city are working with determination to make this campaign a great success; in different parts of the city broad-based committees have been organised to run the campaign in the month of September. A display of the Photographic Exhibition of the Nehru—Chou En-lai meeting in various parts of the city is one of the features of the month.

Bengal

The main form of activity in Bengal is the collection of signatures to an appeal. Leaflets and printed posters are being brought out in large quantities.

The Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress is taking an active part in the preparations and is planning to bring out a pamphlet in Hindi, Urdu and Bengali entitled "Asian Solidarity and the Working-class".

Assam

The Campaign Committee adopted the following programme for the Solidarity Month:

(a) Holding public meetings in different places in Assam on September 1st, the inaugural day of the Month.

(b) Collecting signatures on the A.I.P.C. appeal.

(c) The holding of a symposium on the Five Principles of the Nehru—Chou En-lai declaration under the auspices of the University Union and the Law College Union.

(d) Observing a Trade Union Day for peace.

(e) Holding a peace rally of the students and college and university lecturers.

(f) The holding of the Assam Peace Convention on September 25th and 26th in Gauhati.

(g) The sale of peace literature and the enrolment of subscribers to the *Peace Review*.

(h) The publication of a pamphlet on peace.

The Assam Students' Federation extended full support to the campaign committee, and besides participating in the programme drawn up by this committee, it decided to hold student-teacher peace gatherings and symposia on the Five Principles.

Punjab

On August 22nd, a meeting of the Ludhiana Peace Committee was held to discuss the programme for the Solidarity Month. An important decision was taken to organise a Workers' Convention on September 5th on the issue of Asian Solidarity. Invitations were issued to all unions and trade unionists to join in this Convention. The Convention ended in a public rally and mushaira. Writers in Ludhiana also held a special meeting on September 1st.

The Ludhiana Peace Committee planned to collect 10,000 signatures to an appeal during the Month.

Uttar Pradesh

The General Secretary of the U.P. Peace Council, Mr. Maulana Ishaq Sambhali, appealed to all political parties and democratic groups in Uttar Pradesh to observe September 6th as Asian Solidarity Day.

He welcomed the Nehru Government's refusal to join the S.E.A.T.O. Conference and declared that it was all the more necessary to rally the entire Indian People round the call for Asian solidarity and peace on the basis on the Five Principles laid down by the Nehru—Chou En-lai declaration.

Andhra prepares for Peace Conference

The Working Committee of the Andhra Peace Council met at Bezwada on August 25th, endorsed the decisions of the Calcutta Session of the All India Peace Council and made detailed plans for the observance of Asian Solidarity Month, including the collection of thousands of signatures, assisting in the holding of broad conventions in support of the Five Principles and Asian solidarity in at least 15 centres, meetings of trade unions and kisan sabhas, etc.

The Working Committee heard a report on the immediate campaign of the World Peace Movement from Shri Romesh Chandra, General Secretary of the All India Peace Council, and resolved to begin preparations for the coming All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity in Madras in December.

"Men must live together like Brothers"

Sheikh al Islam Alizadeh Akund Agha, President of the Moslem Council of the Caucasus has just made an appeal to the world's Moslems to defend peace. He says:

"I speak to the millions of Moslems in Turkey and Pakistan, Egypt and Iran, Afghanistan and Iraq, Syria, the Lebanon and Saudi Arabia.

"If we follow the precepts of Allah, we must consider it our duty to oppose war. Remember the seventh verse of the Koran: 'Do not create disorder on the earth after it has been ordered', and the eighth verse which says 'Men must live together like brothers'. Other verses of the Koran ask man to seek peace and avoid war. Is it possible that those in Turkey, Pakistan and the other Moslem countries, who should remember the precepts of Allah, have forgotten them?"

The People of Hiroshima to the Secretary General of the United Nations

In the province of Hiroshima in Japan, 1,013,472 signatures have been collected for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs since last May. They were sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations with the request that they be communicated to the session of the General Assembly. The message to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Hammarskjöld, which accompanied the signatures, says:

"We inhabitants of the Prefecture of Hiroshima were the first to suffer from the atomic bomb. We do not want the whole of mankind to suffer our fate. We express our conviction that the United Nations will prohibit atomic and hydrogen bombs."

New South Wales Peace Council demands Friendship with the Peoples of Asia and the Prohibition of H-Bombs

More than 100 delegates, elected observers and visitors took part in a conference organised by the New South Wales Peace Council in Sydney.

The conference, which was presided over by Rev. Dr. E. Collocott, concentrated its attention on: Australian relations with Asian peoples, the campaign to end the testing of atomic weapons, and the need to develop cultural exchanges with other nations.

In a warmly applauded address, the Reverend A. M. Dickie, national Chairman of the Australian Peace Council, emphasised how world events had borne out the correctness of the basic policies of the World Council of Peace. He said that the widening movement for peace in Australia had benefited, and would continue to benefit, from the consistent contribution made through the work of the World Council.

The conference agreed that Australian policy towards Asia must be based on the cultivation of friendly relations, assisted by cultural and trade exchanges. It called for the development of active contact by Australian people with the peoples of Asia.

The participants agreed to undertake a selling drive with the Council's new booklet, *What are the Horror Weapons?*, as part of the campaign against A- and H-bombs.

As a result of the work of the Conference, a new Council of 27 members was elected.

Here are some excerpts from the resolutions adopted at the conference:

On relations with Asia:

The position of Australia as a neighbour of the Asian countries should be the guiding factor in Australia's foreign policy, in relation to Asia.

Such policy should not be based upon fear of, or antagonism towards, Asia and upon regional military alliances such as the ANZUS pact and S.E.A.T.O. (which are contrary to the principles of the U.N. Charter), and the rearmament of Japan.

Our foreign policy should be based upon a desire for good neighbourly relations with Asian nations, respecting their right to self-determination, and upon trade and cultural exchanges which are in line with the U.N. Charter.

This Conference therefore supports:

1) The replacement of the S.E.A.T.O. plans and the already existing ANZUS treaty with immediate discussions between the Australian and all Asian Governments, whatever their political character may be, to secure regional agreements guaranteeing security and peace to all the countries concerned, as was envisaged in the U.N. Charter.

2) The admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and to the Security Council, and the establishment by Australia of diplomatic relations with China.

Atomic Weapons:

For the preservation of the human family, we urge Australians to press in every way possible for agreement among all the Powers to stop all experiments with H-bombs and A-bombs and to forbid their use. This can best be done by securing Australian Government action to this end, in the international sphere.

Such agreement would ease the task of obtaining total abolition of these weapons at a later date. It would reduce tension, improve prospects for general disarmament, and hasten the peaceful applications of atomic energy.

Meeting in Tokyo
to welcome back the Japanese delegates to the Stockholm Meeting

In Tokio on August 21st 15,000 people gave an enthusiastic welcome to the Japanese delegates who had just come back from the Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension in Stockholm. During the meeting, which was chaired by Dr. Kan Majima, a member of the Japanese Peace Committee, a number of eminent people spoke including Mr. Hyo Hara, Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies; Mr. Aizawa, Vice-President of the National Council of Trade Unions (S.O.H.Y.O.); Mr. Darmes Hwara, a Ceylonese Buddhist; and Professor Ikuo Oyama, President of the Japanese Peace Committee.

Reports on the Meeting were given by the following delegates: Mr. Kiyoshi Ishiguro, a representative of S.O.H.Y.O.; Mr. Goro Sudo, senator; Mr. Shutaro Matsuura M. P.; Mr. Yoshio Domori, senator; Mr. Minoru Shiramizu and Mr. Hidesaku Kunii, both businessmen; Mr. Gosaku Satake, General Secretary of the National Metalworkers' Union; Mr. Shinichi Kobyashi M. P.; Mr. Tsamu Agatsuma, a representative of the Miners' Union; Mr. Koichi Oono, General Secretary of the National Rally for the Protection of the Constitution; Mr. Kenjuro Yanagida, of the Japanese Peace Committee.

The meeting unanimously adopted the following six resolutions:

1) A resolution of thanks to the Japanese delegates at the Stockholm Meeting.
2) A resolution on the banning of H-bombs.
3) A resolution recommending that there be a national welcome for the representatives of the Chinese Red Cross who were invited by the Japanese Red Cross.
4) A resolution recommending the normalisation of relations with the Soviet Union, China and Korea.
5) A resolution recommending the development of trade with China and the Soviet Union.
6) A resolution supporting the calling of the peace conference of the Asian peoples.

The artistic part of the evening consisted of several ballets by the famous Ishii troupe, collective dances performed by over 300 young people, and a magnificent workers' choir of 2,000 under the direction of Mrs. Akiko Seki.

The meeting ended with the enthusiastic singing by 15,000 people of the patriotic song, "Mountains and Seas of the Fatherland".

Before the "immediate threat hanging over Europe" the French people are more united than ever

The rejection of the E.D.C. treaty by the French National Assembly gave rise to enormous enthusiasm and great hope throughout the world.

However, as the Bureau of the World Council of Peace pointed out at the end of its meeting in Vienna, September 13—15, an "immediate threat hangs over Europe". Indeed, recent events clearly show that certain people are trying to find an alternative to E.D.C. that would rearm West Germany just the same.

Now, no matter how it was accomplished, the remilitarisation of West Germany would prevent genuine negotiation. It would ruin all chances of negotiation in advance by perpetuating the policy of military blocs and the division of Europe, and by speeding up the armaments race.

East and West, particularly with a view to a policy of disarmament.

On the same occasion President Herriot recalled that he is being faithful to his whole past in advocating the organisation of a European system of collective security.

Other voices are being raised to condemn the dangerous myth of the inevitability of German rearmament. Those of the well known publicist, M. Maurice Duverger, in two articles in *Le Monde*, and of M. Marcel-Edmond Naegelen, former Socialist candidate for the Presidency of the Republic, in *l'Express*, for example. M. Gaston Palewski, R.P.F. Vice-President of the National Assembly, describes the conclusion of the three Western powers' reply to the Soviet proposals to resume negotiations as being "unreasonable".

MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE FRENCH PEACE MOVEMENT

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace sent the following message to the National Council of the French Peace Movement:

"The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace voices the great response there has been throughout the world to the rejection of E.D.C. by the French Parliament. In all countries and in the most diverse circles this news was hailed as a great victory for peace.

"The peoples received the news of the failure of E.D.C. with joy and enthusiasm, and saw in it the result of the tireless and irresistible activity of the forces of peace in your country and all the countries of Europe and the world. This latest success, following on that of the Geneva Conference, enables world public opinion to realise how powerful is the effect of its action.

"The National Peace Committees and influential persons and organisations have stressed the world-wide importance of this victory. They have also pointed out that it renders signal service to the peoples of Europe in general by eliminating the major obstacle in the way of the peaceful solution of European problems.

"Allow us to add our warm congratulations for the important contribution that the French Peace Movement has made to the realisation of our common aims.

"Please accept our best wishes for further successes in the struggle against the threat of German rearmament in any shape or form and in your efforts for genuine negotiation to ensure the common security of all the peoples of Europe and consolidate world peace."

This obvious fact is coming to be understood by more and more people, and by a constantly increasing number of representatives of the most various forces and trends of opinion.

French public opinion rejoiced at the extraordinary development of tendencies hostile to German rearmament at the last Annual Conference of the T.U.C. in Great Britain.

The West German Social Democratic Party's position in favour of the resumption of four power negotiations, recently reaffirmed by Herr Erich Ollenhauer, and the result of the September 12th elections in Schleswig-Holstein, which were to be a test, have had great repercussions in France as well as in Germany. Events like these help to rally new currents of opinion in France in opposition to the latest manoeuvres to rearm Germany and for the genuine security of all the countries of Europe.

In France, throughout the discussion on E.D.C., M. Daniel Mayer, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission in the National Assembly and M. Jules Moch, who reported to the National Assembly, recommended that vigorous efforts be made to effect a rapprochement between the countries of

The forces which were mainly responsible for the rejection of E.D.C. are getting ready for a new effort to frustrare German rearmament. Throughout the country, the committees set up in the struggle against E.D.C. are now setting themselves the task of working for the peaceful settlement of the German question. This is especially true of the Departments of Dordogne and Seine-et-Oise. Meetings are being held in the localities and factories to celebrate the victory of August 30th and fix new objectives for popular action.

The Peace Movement will work out the line to be followed in rallying the national forces on an ever wider scale at a meeting of its National Council on October 2nd and 3rd.

The University Teachers' Movement for Peace is asking German university men for closer co-operation, and the French Committee for the Peaceful Settlement of the German question will meet very soon. The latter will work out its contribution to the French campaign to meet the new threats and, in the international sphere, will seek ways of strengthening solidarity with the German people and helping to bring the peoples of Europe together to organise their common security.

Telegram from the German Peace Council

The German Peace Council congratulates the French Peace Committee and all peace-loving Frenchmen on the rejection of E.D.C. by the National Assembly. This decision by your Parliament shows us that the French people have decided in favour of peaceful co-operation with all European peoples rather than a policy of strength in alliance with German and other militarists. Our thanks go to the millions of French men and women whose action has obtained this result. In all the important towns, in many big factories, and in the rural districts, the German Peace Council organised meetings and evenings of discussion with the aim of strengthening the struggle against the E.D.C. treaty and the remilitarisation of West Germany and supporting the conclusion of a treaty of European security.

In East Berlin, 40,000 people took part in the demonstrations, while in West Berlin, in spite of the ban, 1,600 people voted against the E.D.C. treaty. In Erfurt, Rostock and Zittau respectively, 40,000, 30,000 and 25,000 people took part in our demonstrations. During Peace Week in West Germany peace demonstrations were held in Essen, Düsseldorf, Hamburg, Munich, Nuremberg, Aachen, Osnabrück, Oldenburg, Stuttgart and other towns. There were French speakers at a number of these meetings. Everywhere, the participants expressed their joy at the French Parliament's decision and their high regard for the French people. Everywhere, the desire was expressed that the peaceful forces of our two peoples should unite even more closely than at present in opposition to any attempt to revive German militarism, and to encourage all efforts to improve the friendly relations between our two peoples. We wish you further success in your work for the common cause.

The German Peace Council
Professor Walther Friedrich

Telegram from the Czechoslovak Peace Committee

The Czechoslovak Peace Committee sent the National Council of the French Peace Movement a telegram congratulating the Movement on the decisive role they played in the rejection of E.D.C.

The telegram points out that the Czechoslovak Peace Movement is quite aware of the still existing danger of the revival of German militarism. Together with the French people and the other peace—loving peoples of Europe, they will continue to struggle, with more energy than ever, to guarantee the collective security of all the nations of Europe.

Workers in the Federal Republic oppose Rearmament

Throughout the Federal German Republic, now that E.D.C. has been rejected by France, a growing number of people are demanding another great power conference for the peaceful settlement of the German question.

The workers of West Germany have shown their hostility to the rearming of their country by taking part in the popular referendum held at factory gates.

In West Berlin, for example, 627 workers and employees of the Siemens factory in Spandau (British zone) voted against E.D.C.; so did 129 workers in the Osram factory. In Mülheim in the Ruhr, 327 workers in an important engineering factory voted for the peaceful reunification of their country. In the same town, 364 of the 416 miners in the Rosenblumendelle pit condemned remilitarisation.

In Witten, 174 railway shop workers voted against remilitarisation and for a peace treaty, as did 143 strikers of the Faun factories in Nuremberg-Doos. In Recklinghausen, 52,000 miners demanded the banning of a Stahlhelm meeting which was to be held on August 28th and 29th. In Iserlohn (Westphalia), the representatives of 6,000 engineers vigourously protested at a meeting of former members of the S. S. which was to be held in September. In the Palatinate, 21 shop stewards and trade union leaders signed an appeal against E.D.C.

The Dortmund and Dusseldorf sections of the engineering union asked their trade union headquarters to oppose the recruitment and rearming of German youth.

In Platting, the executive of the Food, Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union asked that the forthcoming Congress of the D.G.B. (German T.U.C.) declare itself in favour of the peaceful reunification of Germany and against remilitarisation. The building workers' union in Munich and Regensburg, and the painters' union in Rosenheim (Upper Bavaria) have also demanded concrete measures against remilitarisation.

Dockers

During Peace Week a meeting of delegates of the dockers and shipyard workers of the North Sea ports was held in Bremen. A representative of the Bordeaux dockers and a docker from Rostock were present as guests. The conference ended with the adoption of an appeal to all portworkers.

The debates and discussions between the delegates, especially those of Hamburg, Bremen, Emden and Nordenham, were preceded by a report by a representative of the West German Peace Committee, who said:

"The unloading of war supplies is a deceptive way of giving work to the workers, so that they may earn their living. The existence of Germans can only be ensured by peaceful work, and this depends on the peaceful trade relations that a reunited Germany will maintain with all other peoples. The constant transporting of war material into Germany is nothing but preparation for a third world war."

In conclusion, the speaker called on the dockers to work to have the German question dealt with at a conference on collective security on the basis of a common German point of view. An interesting discussion then started. It showed how well the dockers understand and follow the struggle for peace. They forcefully expressed their opposition to remilitarisation, referring to the success of the referendum held in the various ports.

M. Picot, Secretary of the Bordeaux Port Peace Committee, brought greetings from the French dockers and gave a description — which was eagerly followed — of the struggle of the Bordeaux dockers against the loading of war supplies during the conflict in Indo-China and the unloading of war material sent from the United States.

"To date the organised workers of Bordeaux have unloaded no war supplies", concluded M. Picot to enthusiastic applause.

At the end of the conference, the dockers adopted an appeal to all portworkers. It says:

"Oppose the unloading of war material and the revival of German militarism in any shape or form; work for the reunification of Germany, the conclusion of a peace treaty, and Germany's participation in a security pact for the whole of Europe!"

FOLLOWING THE "PEACE CRUISE"

Arriving in Leningrad as one of the participants in the Peace Cruise on board the Polish liner, S. S. Batory, Mr. Bengt Gunnàs, Secretary of the Swedish Peace Committee, said to press representatives:

"The participants in the Peace Cruise include 566 Swedes, 18 Norwegians, 113 Finns, 79 Danes, 4 representatives of the German Democratic Republic and 4 from Poland. Also, of course, there is the Polish crew of the S. S. Batory. The passengers include scientists, doctors, lawyers, journalists, housewives, workers, directors and works managers, men and women of different political and religious views. The cruise is being held under the slogan: "Peace and Friendship between the Peoples of the World."

Before the end of the Peace Cruise the passengers aboard the S. S. Batory adopted a statement from which we take the following excerpts:

"The participants would like to state that the cruise met with no obstacles from the point of view of formalities and that it was devoted to strengthening peace and friendship between the countries of the Baltic sea, countries which have different social systems;

that co-operation between the Baltic countries in favour of international negotiations would strengthen peace;

that a contribution by the Baltic countries to the peaceful solution of the German problem and the establishment of guarantees for security in Europe would be of great importance for the stabilisation of the international situation as a whole."

Resistance to German rearmament focal point of the struggle for Peace

Appeal by Chairman of British Peace Committee

A powerful appeal for united action, under the heading "No German Army in Any Form", by Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Chairman of the British Peace Committee, has just been issued in the Commitee's illustrated Newsletter.

"For five years now", Mr. Schaffer says, "the resistance of the peoples to the rearmament of West Germany has been the focal point of the struggle for peace . . . Today the majority of the peoples of Western Europe are against German rearmament . . . The peoples have made up their minds. However the supporters of German Rearmament manoeuvre, they will face the resistance of the peoples of all the Western European countries."

At the same time the British Peace Committee has published an invitation to all organisations to take part in a British Congress for World Security in London on October 30-31. Recalling the successes in the struggle for Peace of recent months it underlines the danger of atomic war, threatening all nations with destruction, and says:

"Military blocs are being set up, despite the vote of the French Assembly against E.D.C., efforts to rearm Germany continue, whilst proposals for negotiations are still being rejected".

The invitation calls upon all organisations to meet together to discuss the problem of German rearmament and European security, Asian security, and similar issues, and stresses that outstanding differences between the Great Powers on such questions can be resolved through British leadership if public opinion is strong enough.

The weight of opposition to German rearmament among the British people was once more clearly shown at the session of the Trades Union Congress at Brighton at the beginning of September. The General Council of the Congress put forward an emergency resolution supporting the rearming of Germany within N.A.T.O. In spite of very heavy pressure from the leaders of the Congress, the resolution was carried only by an insignificant majority, 4,090,000 votes against 3,622,000. This result was mainly secured by the votes of two very large unions whose members had never been consulted and many of whom had voted against the rearming of Germany in local meetings. Throughout the Press, not only of Great Britain but of other European countries, this result was recognised as a moral defeat for the supporters of German rearmament.

Activity of the Spanish Peace Movement

Though it is confronted with soecial difficulties, the Spanish Peace Movement is exerting a growing influence on public opinion.

The peace Movement's appeals against the military pact between Spain and the United States, signed on September 26th, 1953, are distributed in the factories, the universities, and at other places of work and leisure in both town and country, and thousands of signatures have been collected. In many factories in Madrid, Barcelona, Asturias and the Basque country the workers have signed resolutions against the pact and in favour of peaceful coexistence. For all Spanish patriots, the struggle against the military treaty has become the basis and the hub of work for peace.

In France, where a great number of Spanish refugees live, a broad Peace Movement has been organised in more than 60 important towns and in hundreds of small places. People of all shades of political opinion take part in it. Periodically it publishes booklets containing information on the development of the World Peace Movement, and popularises the texts adopted at international meetings, bringing out their connection with Spanish problems.

After the signing of the military pact, the Movement issued an appeal to all Spaniards, which has already won 50,000 signatures. At the same time, 100,000 postcards and stamps bearing the Appeal were printed and distributed to Spaniards living in France, together with other publicity material.

This September, a year after the signing of the pact, the Peace Committee published a statement, thousands of copies of which have been distributed.

STATEMENT BY THE SPANISH PEACE COMMITTEE

On the organisation of a great day of protest and struggle against the military pact

It is nearly a year since the military, economic and political treaty between the Franco and U.S. Governments was signed.

The twelve months that have gone by have clearly shown the tragic and grievous consequences for Spain implied in the pact.

Our country has been transformed into a military camp for a foreign power.

The independence and sovereignty of the nation have been handed over to foreigners.

The economic crisis is thrusting the country into bankruptcy and ruin.

The already low living standards of the people have been forced even lower, increasing the poverty, privation and hunger from which the people suffer.

These are the agonizing and nightmare results of the pact...

Grave Dangers are threatening the Country

Launching ramps for remote-controlled projectiles and runways for pilotless bombers to carry atom bombs are under construction at Carthagena. The United States Senate has voted to spend 11.5 million dollars on the construction of bases "for special weapons in Spain".

Every day new bases, new aerodromes, strategic runways and underground stores are constructed in Spain. These military installations are so many citadels of foreign occupation on the soil of our dear country.

The pesants' land is expropriated, as in Prat de Llobregat, Castrillon in the province of Asturias, Moron in the province of Seville, and in the provinces of Madrid and Galicia.

Even cemeteries are destroyed, as in Barajas, so that military installations may be enlarged.

This Pact means Ruin

The State Budget has increased by several thousands of millions of pesetas, 70 percent of it being war expenditure... New taxes, such as local and provincial taxes, are forced on the people.

All persons from 18 to 65 years living in localities which have less than 10,000 inhabitants will have to do 15 days of unpaid labour per annum and lend their vehicles and horses for ten days...

Industrial enterprises are closing down, and there is a growing number of suspensions of payment and bankruptcies in the country's commerce. In Madrid, Cataluña, Levante and Asturias unemployment is growing in all branches of industry.

These are the results of the military pact after one year...

United Action of the People can avert Catastrophe

Wrath and indignation fill the hearts of the Spanish people and a powerful wave of protest is arising in all parts of Spain...

In the streets, sticky-backs and slogans appear telling the occupying power to go home. Thousands upon thousands of signatures are being collected to appeals and statements against the pact and all sections of the people are protesting and showing their discontent.

Thus, in their struggle against the pact, the Spanish people are taking part in the great world struggle for peace. The struggle to save Spain helps to prevent the world from being thrown into the horrors of another world war.

A Great National Day

The Peace Movement calls on everyone to unite in a nation-wide movement of opposition to the military pact.

The strength of the national will can put an end to the colonisation of Spain, for the power of the people is enormous when it shows its will in an unequivocal way.

On the first anniversary of the signing of this pact the Peace Mouvement calls on all patriots, on all Spaniards, to organise a great day of protest and struggle.

Let us all unite and make of the great national day of protest against the Pact an expression of the Spanish people's uanimous will to defend the peace, independence and national sovereignty of their country.

New local Peace Committee formed in the Cameroons

The development of the struggle for peace in the Cameroons, and particularly the activity against the war in Viet-Nam in recent months, has resulted in the formation of a new local Peace Committee in Maroua after the signing of the armistice in Indo-China.

The Cameroons Peace Movement is constantly growing in strength. During the past year a number of local committees have been set up in the main towns, and this latest success shows that the people of the Cameroons have confidence in the final outcome of the struggle for peace. It also shows that they are becoming aware of their responsibilities in this struggle alongside the other peoples.

Lebanon – Growing popular Opposition to Military Pacts

The central task of the Lebanese Peace Movement continues to be the struggle against military pacts in their various forms: Middle East Command, Turkey-Pakistan Pact, bilateral treaties, United States military aid, and so on.

The campaigns that the Movement is conducting against the projected military alliances are received with great sympathy by all sections of the nation and even in certain government circles.

We need merely quote, as an example, the statements by M.P.s and ministers opposing the use of the H-bomb, military pacts and foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the country, and demanding the end of hostilities in Indo-China.

Further, in recent months the development of trade with countries whose political system is different has become the slogan of all circles in the field of production, and the campaign for trade on a footing of equality has won notable successes in the signing of economic agreements with Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and, lately, with the Soviet Union.

Cultural exchanges are also growing in volume. Many delegations of sportsmen have taken part in international meetings. Four publishing houses handle the publication of works on peace in the Lebanon.

In this situation, which is developing alongside the victories won by the forces of peace in the world, the warlike circles are continuing their pressure to incorporate the Lebanon in the Turkey-Pakistan Pact.

Because of this danger, a special extended meeting of the National Committee of the Peace Movement was called to study the methods to be used to wage an effective struggle against these war plans.

The preparations for the Second National Congress of the Lebanese Peace Movement, which have already begun in a number of towns and villages, will enable the friends of peace in the Lebanon to widen their movement even more, since all the debates which will take place during the preparations and during the regional conferences will deal particularly with the problems of military pacts and military aid, about which nationalist circles are very sensitive.

Outlaw the H-Bomb and recognise the People's Republic of China immediately says the Canadian Peace Congress

An enlarged meeting of the Executive of the Canadian Peace Congress, attended by several guests, was held in Toronto recently with Dr. James Endicott in the chair.

In the course of the discussion on relations with the People's Republic of China, Dr. Endicott told the Executive that he had already sent an urgent letter to External Affairs Minister, Lester B. Pearson, in which he asked Mr. Pearson to use his influence with Washington to restrain U.S. naval chiefs from taking aggressive action in Chinese waters.

The Committee then approved the text of a statement demanding the immediate recognition of China. It also decided to continue to press for:

the peaceful settlement of all disputes;
the outlawing of the H-bomb;
a peaceful solution in Germany;
world trade and cultural exchanges.

It was noted that important church, labour and political bodies have spoken up in favour of the recognition of China.

Speaking on the campaign Mr. Bruce Mickleburgh stated:

"We will carry through this campaign on two levels. First of all will be the tried and tested door-to-door method which is the main basis of the victories already won by the Peace Movement. We will canvass thousands of homes to generate a mass expression on the grass roots level to the M.P.s and Governments.

"Secondly, we aim to approach all unions and other organisations, as well as a great number of public figures. We will ask them to speak up, separately or together, to make their influence felt.

"In addition, our committees will undoubtedly sponsor public meetings, leaflets and radio broadcasts."

The meeting rejoiced at the broadening of the Peace Movement. More than 60 peace committees exist in important Canadian localities, and a number of influential national organisations are affiliated to the Peace Congress.

For Peace, Recognise China now

(Excerpt from a statement issued on behalf on the Canadian Peace Congress)

To recognise China will be an important step towards lasting peace. It will give to Canadian industry and agriculture the opportunity to trade in the world's largest market.

It will help to end the exclusion of China from her rightful seat in the United Nations. This in turn would help the U.N. to function as an instrument for agreement.

Nobody contests the fact that the government in Peking is the effective government of China. The Geneva Conference has shown that great benefit in the peaceful settlement of disputes can come from establishing normal relations with China.

To recognise the government of any country has never meant approval of the social system in the given country. Our government has recognised this fact and it is no secret that government circles favour recognition of China.

Major church, labour and political bodies, as well as the Peace Movement, have spoken for recognition. Now is the time to act.

We call upon our government to recognise China now. We further call upon all citizens and organisations to make their views on this subject known to their M.P.s and to the government.

The Chilean Peace Movement in the Struggle to defend National Indepence

In the recent period, the Chilean Peace Council has sought to awaken the country to defend its national independence. Together with the Peace Movement, the trade union and cooperative organisations and the most important political groupings have gone on record for free trade with all countries and the denunciation of the Chile-United States bilateral military pact which alienates Chilean independence. The Amalgamated Workers' Trade Union Centre, which has more than a million members, included these two aims among the principles on which it was founded.

As soon as Sr. Baltasar Castro had returned to Chile from Europe where he took part in the Vienna session of the World Council of Peace, the Chilean National Peace Council organised a series of big demonstrations.

Sr. Castro, who is President of the Chamber of Deputies, spoke at a number of report-back meetings together with Sr. Pablo Neruda, Sra Olga Poblete, Colonel de Amesti and others. The meetings were very widely attended. The two great rallies held in Santiago and Valparaiso won support for the referendum on these two questions: free trade, and condemnation of the bilateral military pact.

The speakers then went on big publicity tours during which they visited the provinces of Antofagasta, Arica, Iquique, Valparaiso, Concepcion, Talca, etc.

The more and more open threats to Guatemala's independence did not leave the Chilean friends of peace untouched. The approaches they made to eminent people and organisations led to the formation of the Friends of Guatemala Organisation which has such wide support that 70 per cent of the Chilean Deputies joined it and the Parliament declared its support for Guatemala. When direct aggression was launched against the people of Guatemala the Chamber of Deputies condemned it and popular demonstrations were held daily in response to the call of the "Friends of Guatemala".

Furthermore, the Chilean Peace Movement made its contribution to the organisation and holding of the Latin American Conference of Members of Parliament and Personalities which was held in Santiago from July 8th to 11th and whose central aim was the defence of the independence of nations.

The Chilean Movement took advantage of the celebration of Pablo Neruda's fiftieth birthday to show that the protection of the national culture and the development of cultural relations with all countries is up to the people.

Delegations of intellectuals from the countries of Latin America, the Soviet Union, China, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia took part in the many festivals, conferences, public meetings, meetings of writers, exhibitions, recitals, etc., which were held between July 12th and 27th to celebrate the fiftieth birthday of the great poet, friend of peace and of mankind.

*

The commander of the Sao Paulo division of the Salvation Army, Sr. Henry Steinmetz, made the following statement to the Humanitarian Crusade for Peace:

"Our organisation considers the peaceful coexistence of different systems on the basis of peace pacts to be perfectly feasible. On the other hand, we are opposed to the use of atomic weapons under any pretext, and we believe that they should be outlawed.

Moòca's Crusade against atomic Weapons

In a leaflet, the Peace Crusade of Moòca, an important district of Sao Paulo, gives the views of representatives of the various religions practiced in the neighbourhood on the question of atomic energy.

The leaflet contains statements by Catholic priests, by a Methodist minister, the leaders of the Spiritualists' Federation, a Buddhist religious leader, a Protestant minister and others, accompanied by photographs.

They all implicitly condemn atomic weapons and demand the peaceful use of atomic energy.

"Catholics must take part in peace crusades", said Father Esviglio Concilio, vicar of the church of Sao Januario.

Speaking on behalf of the many Japanese living in Brazil Mr. Schincho Ikoma said: "800 million Buddhists condemn atomic weapons."

The leaflet also points out that the Moòca Peace Crusade collected 260,000 signatures during the campaign round the Stockholm Appeal.

It ends with a demand for the banning of atomic weapons and the peaceful use of atomic energy.

A part of the leaflet is detachable; it can be signed by the reader and sent to the Peace Crusade to support the campaign.

The great Soviet composer Dimitri Shostakovitch receives the International Peace Prize

The International Peace Prize was presented to Dimitri Shostakovitch at a formal ceremony which took place at the Hall of Trade Unions in Moscow on September 4th. The large audience, mostly of composers, writers, artists, scientists and representatives of Soviet factory clubs, paid a moving tribute to the author of the Leningrad Symphony. On the platform were Messrs. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, Ivor Montagu, Secretary of the World Council of Peace, Nazim Hikmet, President of the International Peace Prize Jury, etc.

From left to right: M. Jean Laffitte, Mr. Dimitri Shostakovitch, Mr. Nazim Hikmet, Mr. Tikhon Khrennikov, General Secretary of the Union of Soviet Composers, Mr. Ivor Montagu, Academician Oparin and Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg.

Mr. Tikhon Khrennikov, General Secretary of the Union of Soviet Composers, made the opening speech in which he said: "The name of Dimitri Shostakovitch is known throughout the world. His works are filled with a deep feeling of love for his country, with an immense love of life and of mankind. This evening at this formal gathering we express our great esteem for our friend Shostakovitch and we congratulate him on his prize and his title of Laureat of the International Peace Prize which confers so great an honour."

SPEECH BY M. JEAN LAFFITTE

I have the honour this evening, on behalf of the World Council of Peace and its President, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, to present the International Peace Prize to Dimitri Dimitrievich Shostakovitch. It is not only to the artist, the eminent citizen of his country, who is recognised throughout the world as one of the greatest musicians of our time, that it is being awarded. It is being awarded to the man whose creative genius has made an exceptional contribution to the cause of peace and friendship between the peoples throughout these last years...

Speaking of science, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a French writer who is well known in your country, said:

"What to begin with was the genius of one man later becomes the common sense of the human race."

Similarly, it seems to me that a great work of art, which is the first expression of a stroke of genius, attains its supreme fulfilment when people in all countries find in it the expression of their own ideas or the image of an ideal they share. It was works of this kind that the World Peace Movement decided to celebrate from the day of its foundation, by awarding the International Peace Prizes once a year. It was for these same reasons that the International Peace Prizes for 1953 were awarded to the great Soviet composer, Shostakovitch, and the famous British artist, Charlie Chaplin.

I am not capable of giving an appreciation of the great work of Shostakovitch in all its aspects. But what I and millions of other people know is that, in the peoples' great battle for peace, Shostakovitch's music unfolds like a banner. In it they find love of peace and hatred of war. In it they find the glorification of the Soviet people's peaceful labour. In it they find friendship for and confidence in all other peoples. That is why in so many popular demonstrations in London or Paris, New York or Tokyo, people march under the banner of the Peace Movement to tunes by Shostakovitch.

Dear Shostakovitch, for us you are something more than the artist whose work has won the gratitude of the peoples. You are also the comrade-in-arms who marches in the ranks with us. In 1949, you were in the delegation which, in spite of obstacles and threats, took part in the congress of the American Peace Movement. We had the pleasure of seeing you at the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw in 1950. Later, we met again at the Vienna and Berlin sessions of the World Council. Allow me, in presenting this prize to you, to convey the warm congratulations of all your friends in the World Peace Movement. On their behalf, I thank you and salute you.

SPEECH BY Mr. SHOSTAKOVITCH

The World Council of Peace has done me a great honour in awarding me the International Peace Prize.

With us Soviet people the whole of our daily work is indissolubly bound up with lofty propaganda for peace throughout the world. The great struggle for the well-being of all workers inspires the work of the splendid patriots working on virgin land, of the heroes on the collective and state farms, of the miners in the Donbas, the engineers in the Urals, the women working in the textile mills of Ivanovo. The work of Soviet composers, playwrights and artists is imbued with strength and optimism. The work of Soviet scientists and inventors is characterised by a great drive towards the progress of all mankind.

It gives me great happiness to belong to this splendid community of Soviet people cemented as it is by the fraternal friendship of those who work — a fact which is without precedent in human history.

This friendship is based on boundless love for man, for the worker. We understand — which is why we appreciate it so much — the self-denying love of parents, the happiness and hope that fills young people, and the joyous, carefree chattering of children. We know what benefits man's work can bring him, which is why we shall never cease to spread ardently the great idea of peaceful, creative labour.

I am proud to belong to this community and, in receiving this honorific prize, I feel it my duty to mention, with gratitude, the help and attention that my work receives, like that of every member of our Soviet community.

I should like to recall today, with great satisfaction, the successes the Peace Movement has won in every country in the world. We rejoice over these successes. In spite of the immense difficulties and the ferocious opposition of aggressors in their savage greed, the workers of all countries and peoples are heroically strengthening the noble cause of peace, thus barring the road to the devastation of war.

We Soviet people admire the successes of the Peace Movement and are filled with sincere gratitude towards those best representatives of progressive humanity, the leaders of the World Peace Movement.

I send my warm greetings to the President of the World Council of Peace, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, and to all defenders of peace throughout the world, wishing them success in their noble activity.

For my part, I assure you that I shall devote all my strength to the struggles for the cause of peace, so as to be worthy of this lofty award, so as always to bear honourably the name of a son of the Soviet people, the people which is at the head of the great Peace Movement.

Celebration of Neruda's Birthday

The recent celebration of the fiftieth birthday of the great poet Pablo Neruda in Chile was a cultural event of importance and also a reaffirmation of the close link between culture and peace. The various demonstrations—which received constant and enthusiastic support from the public—were prepared by a committee composed of one hundred eminent Chilean figures from all walks of life. They included national prize-winners for art and literature, M.P.s of different parties, representatives of all the cultural organisations, trade union leaders and others. In response to their invitation, well known intellectuals from the various countries of Latin America, together with delegations from China, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria went to Chile. Many foreign personalities, who were unable to be present, sent messages of greetings. In this way, the demonstrations organised in Chile enabled the high quality of Pablo Neruda's work and his valuable contribution to the cause of peace to be brought out. But they also contained a strong element of cultural fraternisation and served to strengthen friendship between the peoples.

The celebration of Neruda's birthday began with a great public meeting in the Santiago Municipal Theatre at which the speech of Dr. Juan Gomez Millas, Rector of the University of Chile, was read. There after, the programme went on for a week — artistic performances, lectures, plays and ballets, art and bibliographical exhibitions, poetry readings by young poets, and so on. The week ended with a popular folklore festival which was attended by 8,000 people.

Many articles and books were published on this occasion. The cultural reviews gave a lot of space to the author of "Let the Railsplitter Awake", and many books were published, either monographs on Neruda's work or volumes of his poems. The University of Chile organised a fine exhibition of books and photographs of the poet.

During the week important prizes were awarded: the "Mistral-Neruda Poetry Prize" (recently inaugurated by the University of Chile) and the Alliance of Intellectuals Prize for novels.

One of the most significant and positive features of these birthday celebrations were the meetings between writers. They discussed questions of great contemporary interest, such as the preservation and development of national cultural characteristics, the strengthening of international relations between writers, and the moral, economic and social rights of writers. The meetings enabled the American writers present to have an exchange of experiences garnered since the Continental Cultural Congress in April 1953. The Brazilian delegates, for example, pointed out that as a direct result of the First Congress of Intellectuals held in Goiana in February 1954 and taking his stand on the resolutions it adopted, an M.P. presented in Parliament a bill for the preservation and development of the national music. Also, as a result of the support given to painters by the Association which the Congress set up on a permanent basis, a considerable reduction in the price of paints was obtained from the authorities.

In their turn, the Argentinian delegates informed the meeting that, in spite of the obstacles placed in the way of the Argentine Cultural Congress, a body of this name had been created by a large assembly of delegates who had approved a programme which opens up great prospects for future work.

The intellectuals of a number of other countries announced that National Congresses were in preparation, such as that of Uruguay which will take place at the beginning of 1955. The Chilean delegates spoke of organising a Congress of Popular Poets.

Finally, a general statement was adopted. It reaffirms the recommendations of the Continental Cultural Congress to defend the national culture of every Latin American country and the moral and material conditions of intellectuals. In view of the growing persecution of ideas, it also asks that every effort should be made to obtain full freedom of expression in these countries. Further, the statement recommends that congresses should be arranged in those Latin American countries where there have not been any to date. Lastly, it proposes that the Second Continental Cultural Congress might be held during 1955.

Various congresses of foreign writers were held at the same time. They were addressed by such eminent figures as Emi Siao, the Chinese poet, the novelist Jan Drda, President of the Czechoslovak Union of Writers, and Dimitr Dimov, author of the well known Bulgarian novel, *Tobacco*.

Inspired by the wave of solidarity in favour of the restitution of Paul Robeson's passport, the Mexican artist, Leopoldo Mendez has designed this beautiful engraving for the June number of the Mexican peace review "Paz".

Congresses and Meetings

The Fifth International Congress of Haematology was held in the Sorbonne in Paris and was attended by 800 haematologists from 53 countries of East and West. It enabled the greatest specialists in diseases of the blood to review the research work being done in their respective countries and to have an exchange of views. Scientific films were shown and there was also an exhibition of documents giving the history of haematology.

*

In the Sorbonne, too, was held the Fifth International Blood Transfusion Congress, which was attended by scientists from 33 countries.

The Eleventh International Congress of Industrial Medecine was held in Naples from 13th—19th September; scientists from many countries were present.

*

In Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, an international conference of agricultural students has been held. It was attended by students from Belgium, France, Great Britain, Hungary Norway, the Soviet Union and other countries. It studied important agricultural problems and the questions of agricultural training and co-operation between agricultural students the world over.

*

A delegation from the Soviet Academy of Sciences took part in the International Congress of Philosophy which was held in Zurich.

Exchanges

An Indian cultural mission of 25 musicians, singers and dancers recently spent six weeks in the Soviet Union.

*

The Indian Government presented 20 paintings to the Soviet Union through the intermediary of the Indian ambassador in Moscow. He handed them to the Soviet Minister of Culture at a presentation ceremony.

*

After his recent visit to Chile, the Soviet writer Ilya Ehrenburg spent some days in Argentina where he was welcomed by many intellectuals. The Argentine Writers' Society held a reception in his honour in the Writers' House.

A Modern Edition of Avicenna's "Canon of Medecine"

The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan has just published in a Russian translation the first volume of the famous work, *Canon of Medecine*, by Ibn Sina (Avicenna). This is the first time that a complete edition of this thesis has been published in a modern European language.

It was in 1952, following on the decision of the World Council of Peace to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of Ibn Sina, that the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan started to prepare for the publication in Russian of this fundamental work.

Until the 17th century the *Canon of Medecine*, which is a very encyclopedia of medecine, was looked upon as the medical manual. It still is in many Eastern states.

The Russian translation of this remarkable work was accomplished by a number of well known Uzbekistan philologists and doctors.

Around the World

Norway

During the discussions of the General Council of the Liberal International, held in Knocke-le-Zoute, Mr. Christian Oftedal, vice-chairman of the Norwegian Venstre Party demanded that China be represented in the United Nations.

"Universal membership must be the basis of a universal organisation", he stated. "China must be given her place in the United Nations, not for tactical reasons but in conformity with the rules..."

Denmark

On the initiative of a number of well known people of Aarhus, hundreds of people met on August 29th to protest against German rearmament. The watchword of the meeting was: "We have not forgotten the sound of the jackboot — we don't want to live through that again."

After a speech of welcome made by Mr. Kaj Rasmussen, Chairman of the Typographical Union, Mr. Thomas Christensen, Secretary of the Jutland Confederation of Peasants' Organisations, said:

"Everywhere in the world rearmament is a curse. It weighs heavily on the people and wastes resources which should be used to improve the living conditions of ordinary people. In opposing German rearmament we want at the same time to work for disarmament in other countries, so that the whole world may be freed from the plague of militarism and the fear of war."

Great Britain

In an article published in the Labour Party monthly **Fact,** *Mr. Harold Wilson, former Minister of Trade under the Labour Government, shows the need for an expansion of trade between Great Britain and the Soviet Union.*

Mr. Wilson criticises the restrictions imposed by the Americans and stresses that the expansion of trade between East and West can guarantee a stable situation and full employment in those branches of industry which are meeting with sharper and sharper competition in Western markets.

Stalingrad — Coventry

The Executive Committee of the Stalingrad City Soviet has addressed the following letter to the Mayor of Coventry:

"The Executive Committee of Stalingrad City Soviet informs you that the proposal of the Coventry-Stalingrad Friendship Committee and of Coventry City Council to send an appeal for the banning of the hydrogen bomb to the U.N. Disarmament Commission has been received with enthusiasm."

United States

At their annual convention at Newhaven, Connecticut, the representatives of 6,000 congregational churches in all parts of the country, condemned the irresponsible statements made by prominent officials demanding the employment of atomic or thermo-nuclear bombs in the current disputes.

Brazil

In its resolution on international questions the Brazilian Students' Congress calls for a struggle to obtain respect for the national sovereignty of all nations, and for every people's right to choose their own rulers and the constitutional system they consider most suitable.

It also calls for cultural exchanges between the nations by means of delegations, for the banning of weapons of mass destruction, and for the establishment of relations favouring the national economy.

The resolution also condemns colonialism and "any other kind of economic or political oppression".

Hungary

In the work of the Hungarian Peace Movement an important role is assigned to the National Committee's publications.

These are **Peace Fighter,** *a bi-monthly review; the Peace Movement's monthly bulletin; and an important series of* **Notes on Foreign Policy.** *An illustrated folder entitled* **From Budapest to Geneva** *has just appeared, giving an account of the victories won by the World Peace Movement between the Budapest session of the World Council of Peace and the recent Geneva Conference.*

Greece

The newspaper 'Avghi' reports that a deputation of the inhabitants of Neas Anhialos, near Halmyros, went to see the Athens authorities to protest at the expropriation of 375 acres of the best land in order to construct an airfield.

Burma

In a recent statement the Moulmein local Peace Committee voiced support for the five principles for peaceful coexistence enumerated in the joint statement made by the Burmese and Chinese Prime Ministers.

In Prome, representatives of organisations and trade unions pledged their support for the five principles at meetings in preparation for the District Peace Committee session.

Costa Rica

The Costa Rican National Peace Committee has undertaken a campaign to ease the tension in the relations between the countries of Central America.

Postcards are being sent to the President of the Republic asking him to observe the principle of non-intervention in foreign policy.

Signatures have also been collected to a document addressed to U.N.O. and asking that organisation to deal with the tense situation in Central America.

Eleven thousand signatures were collected in a short space of time.

Iceland

In the periodical **Thjodviljinn** *40 prominent Icelanders have published an appeal in which they call for a struggle for the withdrawal of United States troops. The signatories include Messrs. Gudmundur Thoroddsen, a university lecturer, Stefensen, Chairman of the Reykjavik Unskilled Workers' Joint Trade Unions Committee, Bjarnason, Chairman of the Industrial Workers' Union, the writer Halldor Laxness, together with doctors, lawyers and others.*

This appeal marks the beginning of a campaign for signatures which will enable the Icelandic people to express their desire to see the end of foreign occupation.

The appeal concludes by saying that this demand is not provoked by any antagonism towards an other people but it is inspired by the pressing fact that the Icelandic people must control their own destiny. This demand is made in the hope that the Icelandic people will make its best possible contribution to the struggle for peace of all the peoples by keeping the country beyond the pale of the armaments race and war preparations.

Italy

At its session the Italian Peace Committee noted with satisfaction the rejection of the European Army treaty by the French National Assembly. It decided to organise mass rallies on the problems of peace and European security throughout the country during the month of October.

Japan

A peace rally at Osaka in which 35,000 people took part, including representatives of Kochi, Tottori and Shimane and other prefectures, adopted a resolution and a statement demanding a ban on atomic and hydrogen bombs. A programme of songs and dances, in which the theme of peace predominated, was presented at the rally.

Peace Bonfires

On the occasion of Peace Week, organised by the German Peace Council, the German Democratic Republic's frontiers with Poland and Czechoslovakia were the scene of simple and moving demonstrations. In fifty German localities near the borders, the friends of peace lit bonfires as night fell after holding various demonstrations.

Suddenly, the people on the other side of the border replied by lighting their own fires.

An eye-witness says that the people on the German side were very enthusiastic and happy to see that their message had been understood as a message of peace and friendship.

Reproduction authorised

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 22 NOVEMBER 15th, 1954

The President of the World Council of Peace Issues a Warning to Public Opinion about the London and Paris Agreements

The coming weeks will be of vital importance for the future of peace.

The enormous dangers to the preservation of peace contained in the London and Paris agreements make vigorous action by world public opinion necessary. The peoples of the countries directly concerned must act without delay because the Governments which drew up and signed the agreements are striving to get them ratified as swiftly as possible. There is a reason for this haste: if public opinion had sufficient time, it could weigh up the dangers contained in these agreements and compare their worth with the possibilities offered by the Soviet proposals.

Was not the French rejection of the European Defence Community obtained by the joint action of all who see in the maintenance of national independence a guarantee of peace, and in the revival of German militarism a threat of war?

The dangers implicit in the London and Paris agreements can be perceived by all, regardless of personal preferences for one social system rather than another.

To anyone who has studied these agreements attentively and understood their real significance, their approval can only mean approval of the policy of armed peace and rigid, hostile blocs. This policy, which mistakes ultimatum for negotiation, can only aggravate international tension and increase the danger of incidents and war.

It would, therefore, seem as if the signatories of these agreements wanted to increase international tension in the most dangerous manner — and this at a time when this tension had greatly decreased. Today, there are no longer any armed conflicts; economic and cultural exchanges are being developed; the prospects for agreement on disarmament have never been so good; and the European Defence Community treaty has been rejected.

These circumstances warranted the hope for a peaceful settlement of the German question through negotiation between the great powers concerned. However, there would be a danger of jeopardising all this if the agreements signed in London and Paris were ratified, since they settle the rearmament of Germany and its incorporation in the Atlantic Pact.

If these agreements were finally ratified they would, in exactly the same way as E.D.C., maintain and aggravate the division of Germany and Europe. They would delay and endanger any real negotiation with the Soviet Union on the German question by creating an accomplished fact openly directed against that country.

The promise of disarmament contained in the recent debates in the United Nations cannot be reconciled with the rearmament of the Federal German Republic, which can only lead to a speed-up in the armaments race. In order to find some justification for the agreements, the Governments which signed them try to prove that the rearmament of the Federal Republic is inevitable and necessary. Neither in law nor in fact can this statement be justified. What is intended — in the name of an inevitability which cannot be justified by shouting it loudly — is the organisation of an armed coalition with the leaders of West Germany who have never concealed their territorial demands and who are being given a renewed assurance that their authority is the only one that is recognised over the whole of Germany.

Another reason given is the need for reconciliation with Germany. If the London and Paris agreements were ratified they would give military means of action to those who formerly promoted and were responsible for the Hitler regime, who have never hidden their dream of a new European crusade and who would not long be restrained — as history has demonstrated — by the mere pledge not to use force contained in the agreements. Just as after the First World War, the efforts of the Western powers have been wholly directed towards restoring the least democratic and most warlike elements to power. Once again, just as in the past, while powerful currents of opposition to the revival of militarism are revealing themselves among the German people, every attempt is being made to isolate and weaken the peace-loving forces in Germany.

It is, on the contrary, by relying on these Germans, who are very numerous and are fighting courageously, that the way to reconciliation and peace could be opened.

I cannot do better than ask you to ponder the following warning that was given me in 1946 by a German scientist from the Federal Republic. He said: "If the Allies continue along the road of collaboration with former Nazis, there will be another Führer in ten years' time".

(Continued on page 12)

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- Security and Peace Day in Germany. Provincial Meetings in Italy. What the Press is Saying 2
- French Peace Movement Appeals to the Country. — British Congress for World Security 3
- Denmark: "We remember the sound of the Jackboots". Belgium — Socialists declare their opposition to the London and Paris Agreements 4
- India to hold Asian Solidarity Conference. — Opposition to S.E.A.T.O. in Burma and Australia 5
- The work of the Indonesian Peace Movement. — Statement by Professor Oyama. — Memorandum of Israeli Peace Committee 6
- Appeal by Uruguayan National Peace Council. — An article by the Secretary of the Mexican Peace Council. — National Conference in Colombia. — Chilean Movement's current campaign. — Paraguay: Campaign for a Peace Budget ... 7
- Sweden — following the Peace Cruise. — United States: Campaigns for Peaceful Coexistence. — The Japanese people demand the banning of the H-bomb 8
- The Cultural Activities of the Peace Movement. — An Example of Technical Assistance. — Sports Meetings Mean International Friendship 9
- Congratulations to Irene and Frédéric Joliot-Curie. — Charlie Chaplin says, "I believe in Peace". 10
- Commemorating the great anniversaries: Fielding in the U.S.S.R., Chekhov in Czechoslovakia. — The Centenary of the Argentinian Scientist Ameghino celebrated in Moscow 11
- Around the World..... 12

What the Press is saying...

"In the other countries, and particularly in France, it is not without apprehension that the people see a new Wehrmacht arising from the ashes of the old, nine years after the unconditional surrender of Hitler's Reich. To the specific dangers of German militarism is added the fact that Germany remains divided and that no one can with certainty predict what she will do with the arms and authority that are being restored to her."

Le Monde (France)
October 26th

*

Under the title: "What is Collective Security?", the Social Democratic newspaper *Neuer Vorwärts* has published an article by Herr Fritz Erler, a member of the Bundestag. Mr. Erler writes:

"It is sheer deception of the people to present any military alliance as a system of collective security. A military alliance is directed against a power which has stayed outside it; a system of collective security includes even the possible aggressor. The way the system works is that all participants pledge to unite against whichever one of them breaks the peace.

Erler stigmatises "the people who, in fact, do not want such a system but can only envisage a unified Germany as part of a military alliance dominated by the United States, even if that should wreck reunification", and adds:

"It is true that such a system of security can only function if the present tensions are eliminated; there is no way out of this situation unless there is at least some desire for peaceful coexistence. But neither can German unity be obtained without this minimum desire."

Neuer Vorwärts (Federal German Republic)
October 15th

*

"The hardest and most tragic thing about the decision taken by Parliament yesterday is that Denmark has thereby thrown its weight into the scales in favour of a policy which increases tension and the danger of war in the world and speeds up the armaments race. Those who voted for such a policy must indeed have great confidence in Russia's peaceful attitude, otherwise they would never have dared to do it. Since they have this confidence, the basis of their reasons for supporting the rearmament of West Germany collapses like a house of cards. Thus it must be recognised that the rearmament of West Germany is not a necessary act of defence but a gratuitous act of an aggressive nature."

Holbaek Amts Venstreblad
(Journal of the Danish Radical Party)
October 22nd

*

"The recent decisions on the rearmament of West Germany taken at the London Conference are practically the same as those involved in the European Defence Community.

"The rearmament of West Germany represents a serious threat to the German Democratic Republic and the neighbouring countries. It is an obstacle to the unification of Germany; it increases world tension and the danger of war. It can only bring destruction on the countries of Europe and catastrophe to the German people."

Harian Rakjat (Indonesia)
October 11th

GERMANY: *"Security and Peace" Day*

The West German Peace Committee called on all peace committees and the whole people to observe October 31st as "Security and Peace" Day.

Demonstrations took place in Kiel and Flensburg. The participants sent letters to the members of the Federal Parliament demanding the rejection of the London and Paris agreements and the resumption of great power negotiations. A similar demonstration took place the evening before in Lübeck.

A ballot was organised in the big "Goliath" motor car factory in Bremen. More than 90 percent of the workers who took part voted for the conclusion of a peace treaty and against rearmament.

At Herne in Westphalia, 200 miners of the Shamrock I and II pit sent to the local M.P. a resolution demanding the rejection of rearmament in any form.

Other meetings and demonstrations were held in Mannheim, Thübingen, Aachen and other towns.

The "Working Group of the International Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem" of West Germany met in Düsseldorf on October 31st. There was a discussion on the Paris agreement with foreign visitors: Sig. Basso and Sig. Pajetta, both M.P.s, from Italy; M. Stern and M. Ducastel from France; and Mrs. Minnaert from Holland. The meeting proposed the organisation of a European Conference at which the representatives of all the countries of Europe could discuss what to do to prevent the ratification of the Paris agreement.

*

On the occasion of "Security and Peace Day" the North Rhine-Westphalia Peace Committee issued an appeal to the people of which the following is an extract:

"The London Conference has created an immediate threat to Germany and Europe... The reconstitution of a West German army incorporated in a military coalition — such is the aim of the London agreement, as it was of the E.D.C. treaty...

"The rearmament of West Germany runs counter to the wishes of all honest Germans and creates the danger of a fratricidal war between Germans.

"The example of Korea should be a warning to us all. In addition to the mortal danger which threatens our country, the German people would also have to bear the huge burden of rearmament and to pay for arms to be used for the destruction of our country and those of other peoples. Twice in a generation German militarism has brought death and destruction to the whole world. It must not happen a third time. The German people and the peoples of Europe long for security and peace."

Provincial Meetings in ITALY

In the centre of the Italian Peace Movement's activity is the campaign against the London and Paris agreements. The movement is relating to this central theme all other questions, such as national independence, the struggle against foreign military bases, the expansion of trade and cultural co-operation. Meetings on a very broad basis are to be held in all provinces in preparation for a big national meeting.

In the larger provinces — Rome, Milan, Florence, Bologna, Genoa and Naples — the meetings are being preceded by local assemblies.

In Rome, for example, the peace committees sounded public opinion district by district and held interviews with well-known figures and various political groupings in order to find out their opinion on the major international issues. These opinions will be presented to big meetings either by those who collected the statements or, in some cases, by the notabilities themselves and will be discussed.

In Bologna, the provincial meetings are being preceded by assemblies in each of which a number of villages take part. The villages are grouped in zones according to their political, social or economic characteristics, for example: a zone in which the struggle against the nazi occupation was more highly developed and where, in consequence, the people are more alert to the danger of German rearmament; an industrial zone in which trade and production for peaceful purposes are the vital questions; cultural centres (the city of Bologna, for example) where debates on the problem of cultural co-operation are being organised.

In Sienna and Modena a ballot has been organised, presenting the alternative: German rearmament, or the unity and security of Europe. In South Italy activity centres on the theme: disarmament and peaceful investment, and is conducted in collaboration with the great Renaissance movement which works for the modernisation and industrialisation of these backward regions.

In a statement issued by the Italian Peace Committee we read the following:

"The popular forces which thwarted the plans of division and war involved in E.D.C. can face the threat to rearm Germany with new confidence and can forestall it. On the eve of the days during which the Italian people commemorate the victims of the two world wars unleashed by German militarism, the National Committee invites all local and provincial committees to promote and support all actions which can express our people's opposition to German rearmament and to the ratification of the pacts of division and war signed in Paris, and their desire for the unity and security of all the peoples of Europe, for the relaxation of international tension and for peace."

On October 5th, the Executive Committee of the National Union of Primary School Teachers, which has a membership of 48,000 — that is to say, practically all the primary school teachers in France — adopted a resolution which says in part:

"A genuine peace policy demands of men who claim to speak on behalf of the peoples that the four powers occupying Germany should agree to restore that country's unity on the basis of free elections, restore its independence through a peace treaty and keep it disarmed and outside any military coalition, while they themselves proceed with a great reduction of their armed forces."

FRENCH *Peace Movement Appeals to the Country*

The Executive Committee of the National Council of the French Peace Movement has decided to appeal to the country. It asks the people in their millions to sign the following text:

"To all elected representatives.

"If the agreements prepared in London and signed in Paris on October 24th, 1954 were to be ratified by Parliament they would give the green light for the revival of the Wehrmacht.

"They give Adenauer's Germany an army of 500,000 men, 8,000 tanks, 1,500 planes and 180 warships.

"They hand over Africa to the magnates of the Ruhr.

"They reconstitute a powerful armaments industry which, three times in 70 years, has hurled Europe into war and poverty.

"These decisions are opposed to the new possibilities of disarmament and will lead to a new armaments race.

"We French citizens hereby inform all elected representatives of our undying opposition to the rearmament of Germany.

"We say to the members of parliament:

"Do not ratify the London and Paris agreements!

"Ask the Government immediately to accept Four Power negotiation for the peaceful settlement of the German question!"

*

On October 31st most of the towns and villages of France demonstrated their determination to intensify the struggle to prevent the ratification of the London and Paris agreements. Their activity took the most diverse forms.

There was a continual stream of deputations into rooms which were often too small, where they were received by the Sponsoring Committees and in a number of cases by the Municipal Council.

For example, the Socialist Mayor of Alfortville (Seine Department) received 36 deputations; in Toulon the Socialist Mayor M. le Bellegou, barrister, together with his two Socialist deputies and two Communist councillors, received 47 deputations; in Le Havre (Seine Inferieure) the Radical Mayor M. Abadie received the Sponsoring Committee which had previously received 55 deputations in the Municipal Council's reception room; in Roanne (Loire), two Socialist and two Communist municipal councillors received 31 deputations in the Town Hall. In Auxerre, the deputy mayor M. Jean Moreau, an Independent, received the deputations, in Sanvic (Seine Inferieure) M. Siefridt, a member of parliament belonging to the M.R.P.... and so on. In Argenteuil (Seine) there were 82 deputations, in the IInd arrondissement of Paris 46, including 16 from the factories, in the 18th arrondissement 16 factory and 26 local deputations, in the 6th arrondissement 53 deputations.

All these deputations — and they were more numerous than on the national day of action against E.D.C. on July 11th — handed in the first results of the campaign against the revival of German militarism, among them 25,000 signatures in Lyons, 5,000 in Toulouse brought by 85 delegations, 4,000 in Roanne, 3,000 in Tarbes, 5,000 from Narbonne, 5,000 from Limoges, 1,800 from Oyannax, 4,000 from Maubeuge.

Rallies, demonstrations and meetings were held, with hundreds of people participating, in the Corn Exchange at Auch (Gers), at Aix en Provence (Bouches du Rhone), in the Town Hall at Ivry (Seine) where there were 500 people, at St. Florentin (Yonne) in front of the war memorial, before the plaques dedicated to those who were shot by the Nazis in the 6th arrondissement of Paris, and in many other places.

This day of activity has certainly given a new energy to the action of the peace forces in France, thus ensuring a good start to the national petition in which millions of Frenchmen will take part in the coming days. For it is necessary to move quickly and everyone knows it.

Already, a number of County Councils have gone on record either for Four Power negotiations or for disarmament. They are those of Aude (23 Social Democrats, one Communist and seven Radicals), of Corrèze (one Communist, 10 Social Democrats, 10 Radicals and one Independent), of Haute Vienne (22 Social Democrats, one M.R.P., five Communists and one Socialist).

The County Council of Aisne sent a message to M. Mendès-France asking him to accept on behalf of France the invitation to a Four Power Conference.

There is a growing amount of activity, and particularly of deputations to M.P.s, to ensure that the national will is expressed in Parliament, as it was over E. D. C., by the rejection of the London and Paris agreements.

GREAT BRITAIN: *Congress for World Security*

A call for immediate action against the London and Paris agreements was adopted unanimously by the British Congress for World Security in London on October 31st.

The Congress was attended by 650 delegates, of whom two fifths represented organisations of the trade union and Labour Movement, local and regional, and a third were from local peace committees. Many of the peace committees were represented by members of the Labour Party, trade unionists and co-operators.

Typical of the growing sentiment in the Labour Movement in favour of action for peace and with the Peace Movement were the speeches of Mr. John Burns, President of the Fire Brigades Union, and Councillor Edward Dixon of Coventry. Both called for a massive campaign to lift the bans on participation in the Peace Movement and for the democratic right of trade unionists and Labour Party members to take part in the work for peace.

Notable reports were made to the Congress by the Chairman of the British Peace Committee, Mr. Gordon Schaffer, on security, by Mr. John Elton, who analysed the Nine-Power agreements on Germany and their dangers, and by Dr. E.H.S. Burhop, who spoke on disarmament and weapons of mass destruction.

The conviction and confidence of those taking part were expressed by Mr. William Wainwright in his closing speech.

In an appeal the British Congress for World Security **"calls on all supporters of peace to demand that their Members of Parliament vote against the rearmament of Western Germany and call for the immediate re-opening of Four-Power talks on Germany.**

"There is no time to lose: summon meetings; form delegations; approach your Members of Parliament; send letters and telegrams. Save Britain and Europe from the revival of German militarism . . ."

The Congress also adopted a declaration on Germany, a resolution on the Movement's organisational principles and a Declaration on World Security which states:

"The solution of the issues dividing the world and threatening mankind with war can only be attained by the common effort of all toward agreement and co-operation . . .

"We welcome the calling by the World Peace Council of its great new campaign and of a World Assembly for Peace in 1955. We call on supporters of peace in this campaign to urge the governments to start implementing their professions of peace now, and to replace policies based upon blocs and threats of force by a policy of the co-operation of all, without exception, for the security of all."

Statement by British Peace Committee

"No country can be secure if Europe is divided into opposing sides, with a divided Germany at its heart.

"The security of each country can only be guaranteed if all states, whatever their way of life, agree to live together in peace.

"This requires co-operation between all the states of Europe.

"The German problem must be settled in a way that is acceptable to the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Great Britain and France, to the other states of Europe and to the German people.

"This settlement must end the division of Germany, prevent that country from being used to threaten any of its neighbours, permit the organisation of European security, and lead to an agreement on general disarmament including the abolition of weapons of mass destruction.

"This can only be achieved by negotiation between the 4 Great Powers. The Soviet proposals for European Security, and the British-French and Soviet proposals on disarmament provide the basis on which these negotiations could begin."

Women and Workers of Norway

A women's demonstration against the rearmament of West Germany has taken place in Oslo. The women sent to Parliament a motion protesting against the remilitarisation of West Germany and its incorporation in N.A.T.O.

At a recent meeting, the workers of the big *Freia* chocolate factory in Oslo passed a resolution against West Germany's participation in the North Atlantic treaty. It says:

"We call on all organised workers to protest and demand a popular referendum so that the people may be able to make their voices heard on this important question . . ."

A worker's meeting held in Trondheim sent to Parliament a protest against the remilitarisation of West Germany.

From the saltpetre works at Eidger 404 workers sent to the president of the Parliament a letter in which they say:

"We are against any remilitarisation of West Germany . . ."

Denmark says "No":

"We Remember the Sound of the Jackboots"

For several months a wide movement of protest against the remilitarisation of West Germany has been developing in Denmark. Already in August hundreds of people met in Aarhus to protest against German rearmament. The meeting was called by a number of well-known figures and was held under the slogan:

"We remember the sound of the jackboots. We do not want to go through it again."

The Danish people's struggle against the creation of a new German Army in any shape or form, and particularly against Germany's entry into the Atlantic Pact, became even stronger after the French Parliament's rejection of E.D.C.

The decisions of the London Conference were condemned by the Danish people, and the Danish Peace Committee issued an appeal to the country in which it said:

"We call on the Government and Parliament not to decide hastily on Denmark's attitude to the London plans as they have done in recent years in relation to foreign policy decisions of equal importance, but to settle this question through a referendum . . ."

This statement was issued as a leaflet which the people of Denmark were asked to sign.

The Danish Press

Persons of mark gave the protest movement their support in public statements. For example, Professor Jörgen Dich, a well-known Social Democrat, wrote two important articles in the newspaper *Politiken* condemning the rearmament of Germany and its incorporation in the Atlantic Pact.

In an open letter published by the newspaper *Fyns Venstreblad* the young writer Carl Scharnberg called on all Danish citizens to ask their M.P.s to condemn German rearmament.

Many newspapers, including the Conservative *Aarhus Stiftstidende*, the Christian *Kristeligt Dagblad*, the Communist *Land og Folk*, the *Venstres Folkeblad* and the *Middelfart Venstreblad* also reflected the great national trend against German rearmament.

Parliament

The Danish Parliament was asked to vote on the London agreements on October 19th. A majority of the members of parliament, voted for the ratification of the London decisions which put German militarism back in the saddle. During the debate the Radical M.P. Jörgen Jörgensen said:

"The remilitarisation of West Germany makes the reunification of Germany impossible . . . The negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the German question must continue to be conducted as long as the West German army is not a reality . . . The Soviet Union's proposals for disarmament open the way to new negotiations . . ."

Today, from all parts of the country protests against the ratification of the London agreement are flooding in to the Government and Parliament. The collection of signatures goes on.

Popular Ballots

In many factories ballots on the question of West German remilitarisation have been organised. Out of the 223 workers of the "Gutemberg House" printing works, 201 voted against German rearmament.

The Peace Committee of the Bronshoi Husum borough of Copenhagen organised a referendum in the borough and 1,345 out of the 1,500 who took part voted against the remilitarisation of West Germany.

The Copenhagen foundry workers' and engineers' unions, the Aalborg painters' union and the Fredrikshavn naval carpenters' union passed protest resolutions at their last meetings.

In an open letter published in *Land og Folk* a number of important officials of the Social Democratic Party in Jutland, including Professor Jörgen Dich, called on all Social Democrats to fight against German militarism.

Far from putting an end to the Danish people's struggle against the rearmament of West Germany, the vote in Parliament has provoked a revival of the protest movement.

Belgium — Socialists Declare their Opposition

"German rearmament is a thing to be feared and which we cannot accept with a light heart at the very time when the German trade unions are almost unanimously rejecting rearmament.

"Moreover, today in Europe the political barometer is set towards the relaxation of tension. The London agreements threaten to become obstacles in the way of lessening of tension, negotiation and the reunification of Germany."

(Speech of Senator Rolin at the General Council of the Belgian Socialist Party.)

"Our opposition to German rearmament arises from our awareness that the division of Germany is in danger of bringing catastrophe.

"The temptation to unify Germany will become stronger and stronger, particularly if there should be an economic crisis. Reunification can be accomplished either through negotiation or by force. We are afraid that a rearmed Germany will seek to force a solution through reunification and drag us into war."

(Speech of Alderman Sluzny at the General Council of the Belgian Socialist Party.)

Belgian Miners Reaffirm their Opposition

A resolution adopted by the miners of the Tertre, the biggest mine in the Borinage region, says:

"We greet the German labour movement and thank it for refusing to launch itself once more into an adventure from whose tragic consequences the workers themselves have suffered.

"We would recall that when the miners of our pit were asked to vote on the rearmament of Germany, an overwhelming majority rejected it . . ."

In conclusion the miners of the Tertre pit reaffirm their opposition and reject the London agreements.

The resolution was signed by the following: Georges Gabriel, delegate of the Amalgamated Union, Louis Leconte, delegate of the Independent Union, Gustave Declerq, delegate of the Christian Union.

Meeting in Madras

On October 10th, 1954, a public meeting was organised by the Madras Peace Committee at the Crescent Hall, Triplicane, to protest against the decision of the Nine Nations Conference in London to rearm West Germany. Shri V. Parameswaran, member of the World Council of Peace, presided.

Mr. Charles Coutts from Great Britain, Editor of *World Youth*, and Mr. William Devine from Canada, Secretariat member of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, addressed the gathering.

Mr. Coutts strongly critised the decision of the London Conference and said that British youth and workers will not support it. He pleaded for unity between the youth of India, Britain and other countries to prevent the rearmament of West Germany.

Opposition to S.E.A.T.O. in Burma

A meeting to express opposition to the South East Asia Treaty was recently organised in Rangoon by the Rangoon District Committee of the Burma Peace Committee. Representatives of Burmese trade unions and other mass organisations, members of Parliament, monks and people of all walks of life took part.

The Chairman of the meeting, U Shwe Pyu, said that the signing of the South East Asia Treaty, which was designed for the purpose of war, endangered peace in the world and especially in South East Asia. The signing of this treaty aggravated world tension. The people of the whole world were opposed to war and longing for peace. South East Asian countries such as India, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon had all refused to take part. He called on the Burmese people resolutely to oppose this aggressive treaty.

A declaration of the Burma Peace Committee against the South East Asia Treaty was read at the meeting, which adopted a resolution calling for closer solidarity between Asian countries to preserve security in Asia. A demonstration was held after the meeting.

Local branches of the Burma Peace Committee, including those of Mandalay and Letpadon, also held meetings and launched signature campaigns against the South East Asia Treaty.

Protests in Australia

The New South Wales Peace Council has called for the utmost public opposition to the ratification of S.E.A.T.O. by the Australian Parliament.

In Surry Hills a local Peace Group has decided to organise a deputation to Mr. Sheehan M.P. to discuss the S.E.A.T.O. pact. A local petition is being circulated before the deputation goes.

India to hold Asian Solidarity Conference

At a press conference at the end of October Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Vice-President of the All India Peace Council, announced that the All India Congress for Peace and Asian Soldarity would be held in Madras from December 30, 1954, to January 2, 1955.

The convening of the congress, Dr. Anand said, was inspired by the popular enthusiasm in India aroused by recent advances of the peace movement in Asia, the success of the Geneva Conference and the growth of friendship between the two great Asian peoples of China and India, symbolised in the exchange of visits by the Prime Ministers of the two countries and their joint statements.

"The congress has also been inspired," continued Dr. Anand, "by popular indignation against the efforts to divide the Asian peoples and to dominate them through the conclusion of military pacts, particularly the U.S.-Pakistan pact and the latest S.E.A.T.O. agreement."

Dr. Anand expressed confidence that the congress would be "one of the most important demonstrations of our united will for the peace and freedom of all countries of the world." This would pave the way for that Asian solidarity which alone could effectively ensure world peace.

The campaign for Asian Solidarity launched by the All India Peace Council with the observance of the Asian Solidarity month in September is being intensified. The campaign is being linked with the coming All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity.

Various Peace Committees are approaching the local and district units of popular organisations to elect delegates to the Madras Congress.

Central India

A resolution supporting the five principles for peaceful co-existence embodied in the joint statement of Prime Ministers Chou En-lai and Nehru was adopted by the North Madhya Bharat (Central India) Regional Convention held on October 3 in Gwalior.

The resolution stated that these five principles could "lead to the lessening of international tension".

Other resolutions passed by the Convention condemned Western interference in the internal affairs of Asian countries, as exemplified by S.E.A.T.O., as "dangerous to peace in Asia".

Pepsu

Hundreds of Patiala citizens greeted with loud applause Pandit Chatur Narain Malviya's declaration that "no power on earth can turn Asia into an arena of war" at a public meeting on October 1, organised by the Patiala Asian Solidarity Committee. The meeting was presided over by Shri Sunderlal, General Secretary of the Pepsu Pradesh Congress and was addressed by Bhagwant Singh, a Congress party member of the Legislative Assembly, S. Rajinder Singh, Akali leader; Shri Surinder Nath Khosla, Pepsu United Front Assembly Party Secretary and member of the Legislative Assembly, and Shri Ramesh Walia, Secretary, Pepsu Peace Council.

Madura

At a public meeting in the Rajaji Playgrounds organised by the City Peace Committee to observe Asian Solidarity Month, Shri K. Sethuraman, B.A.B.L., a leading lawyer, presided. About 2,000 people attended the meeting.

In his opening remarks the, chairman explained the necessity for the peoples and the governments of Asian countries to raise their voices in protest against S.E.A.T.O.

Prof. S. Ramakrishnan appealed to the Asian peoples to unite. He emphasised the achievements of the Peace Movement and appealed to all Asian nations to accept the Five Principles of the Nehru-Chou statement.

Shri Iman E. Inamdar, a discharged worker of the May and Baker Co. of Bombay, has collected more than 2000 signatures to the Asian Solidarity Appeal in his own village of Knuer.

Punjab

A well attended public meeting at Phagwara was addressed by Shri Lajpat Rai, General Secretary of the Punjab Peace Committee, and S. Bhupinder Singh. A large number of local mill workers were present. The meeting unanimously adopted the Asian Solidarity Appeal issued by the All India Peace Council.

Hyderabad

Five public meetings were held in the Nizamabad District for the Asian Solidarity campaign. The local Kisan Sabha is collecting signatures. Public meetings were held by the workers of Hathi Gold Mines and Shahabad Cement Factory where Shri Makhdoom Mohiuddin, member of the Legislative Assembly, and Shri Raj Bhadur Gour M. P. spoke. Resolutions supporting the Five Principles were unanimously adopted.

In Hyderabad City meetings have been held in various districts to explain the Five Principles.

Engineering workers

The inaugural Session of the General Body of the General Engineering Employees Union, held on October 2, has unanimously passed a resolution appealing to the employees to participate actively in the Asian Solidarity campaign and collect signatures to the Appeal issued by the All India Peace Council.

The resolution denounces S.E.A.T.O. as a move towards war and welcomes the steps taken by Prime Minister Nehru in keeping India out of the pact.

It wholeheartedly supports the Five Principles and demands that the government of India conclude treaties of friendship and co-operation with all peace-loving countries.

... and Petroleum workers

The General meeting of the Bombay Petroleum Workers' Union has passed a resolution welcoming the principles enunciated in the joint declaration of the Prime Ministers of India and China and has urged upon the Government of India to effectively implement the declaration.

The resolution calls for banning the atomic and hydrogen bombs and protests against the U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact.

Statement by Professor OYAMA

Professor Ikuo Oyama, the well-known Japanese peace leader, has said that the speedy progress of the Peace Movement in Japan this year is a reflection of the victory of the peace forces in the world struggle between the forces of war and peace. Professor Oyama made the statement in the October issue of the Japanese magazine *Kaizo*.

Japan's peace movement, Professor Oyama writes, is not only an international movement but also a patriotic movement of the masses of the Japanese people. The increased subordination of Japan to United States imperialism, he says, has caused the Japanese people to begin to think about their country's political and economic independence. This has resulted in a growing demand for trade and cultural exchanges with Japan's neighbours, China and the Soviet Union in particular.

Professor Oyama points out that this point of view is shared not only by Japan's workers, peasants, fishermen and intellectuals, but also by owners of small and medium enterprises and other capitalists, excluding only a handful of monopolists.

The five principles for peaceful coexistence enunciated by the Prime Ministers of China, India and Burma are an embodiment of the unanimous desire of the Asian people for peace, Professor Oyama declares. He calls upon the Japanese people to struggle, on the basis of these five principles, for Japan's independence and for peace in Asia.

Work of the Indonesian Peace Movement

The First National Peace Congress of Indonesia, held at the beginning of 1954, paved the way for the development of the Peace Movement and assured it a place in the social life of the country.

The various campaigns to implement the Congress recommendations have made possible the wide diffusion of the idea of peace, as is shown by the statement recently made at Bandjermasia by the Prime Minister, Mr. Ali Sastroamidjojo: "Indonesia requires peace in order to reconstruct the country."

First Plenary Assembly

The first plenary assembly of the Peace Movement was convened at the same time as the Geneva Conference. Among the resolutions passed were one on the constitution, one on the formation of a full executive committee and one on the organisation of the Movement.

Resolutions were also passed in support of the decisions taken at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Peace Liaison Bureau of the Asian and Pacific Regions and of the decisions of the Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace in Berlin.

Activities and Campaigns

On receiving a delegation from the National Congress President Soekarno said:

"The Peace Movement enjoys the support of the whole Indonesian people because its ideals correspond to their desires . . ."

Indeed, everything the Peace Movement has undertaken concerns Indonesian life very closely. Here are a few examples.

Anti H-bomb Movement

The H-bomb tests in the Pacific aroused the anger of the people and Government of Indonesia. Protest demonstrations were organised in Makassar — the region nearest the site of the tests — by the Makassar Peace Committee and thousands of people joined in. The demonstrations culminated in a unanimous declaration urging the immediate ending of the tests and the absolute banning of the H-bomb as a weapon of war. This action received support from all sections of the people as well as from the Government which later officially demanded the banning of the H-bomb.

For Negotiation and the Relaxation of Tension

A campaign for the relaxation of international tension was conducted on the occasion of the successful conclusion of the Geneva Conference. This campaign, too, was enthusiastically welcomed and supported by the whole Indonesian people, and this was reflected in the telegram sent by the Indonesian Prime Minister to the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and France. He said:

"We hope that this first step to peace will be followed by others and that it will be a first step towards collective security and well-being for the whole of mankind."

Action against S.E.A.T.O.

The attempts to involve Indonesia in military pacts have so far met with failure, especially the attempts made by the United States to involve Indonesia in S.E.A.T.O. The absolute refusal of the Government of Indonesia to take part in this organisation reveals very clearly the Indonesian people's desire to live at peace with the rest of the world. The Peace Movement's activity in favour of a relaxation of international tension has become so popular that even social and political organisations which are usually antagonistic to peace efforts have taken part in the campaigns against S.E.A.T.O.

The Five Principles

The Indonesian Peace Movement's main task in the future is to work for the conclusion of pacts of friendship based on the five principles enunciated in the joint declaration made by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai.

At the present time the need to support the principles of peaceful coexistence is more than ever felt by the people of Indonesia and their Government, who are playing an important role in the consolidation of peace in Asia.

Memorandum of Israeli Peace Committee

The Israeli Peace Committee has presented to the Government and to every M.P. a memorandum on the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. We give the following excerpts:

"It is an utterly unnatural, and also illegal, state of affairs that a state with over 600 million inhabitants, without which no important international problem can be permanently solved, as has lately been proved in international relations, should be kept outside the United Nations Organisation, to whose name the peoples' hopes for peace and international co-operation are attached. With People's China outside U.N.O., the latter cannot fulfil its task properly . . .

"The particular importance of the Geneva Conference lies in the fact that it has recognised the necessity of associating the Chinese Government in all important international negotiations . . . .

"We should like to mention that two years ago 401,000 citizens in Israel of all sections (43 percent of the adult population) signed a petition organised by us for the convening of a Conference of the Five Great Powers, including the People's Republic of China, to settle all the international questions now in dispute and to lay down guarantees for the maintenance of peace. The acceptance of People's China in U.N.O. would facilitate to an unmeasurable degree the calling of such a conference, whose importance has already been demonstrated by the happy results of the first meeting of the Great Powers in Geneva, which brought about the ending of the war in Indo-China . . ."

*

Australian Senator Advocates Recognition of China

Mr. R. Kendall, Liberal Senator of Queensland, advocated the recognition of China in an address to the Victoria branch of the Australia-China Society. He said that inclusion of China in the United Nations, together with Western recognition, would remove the war threat.

Taiwan was an internal Chinese issue; China should be left to solve her own problems, Mr. Kendall added.

Appeal of Uruguayan National Peace Council

"Abrogate the military treaty with the United States!"

The arrival in Uruguay of war supplies and United States military technicians by virtue of the stipulations of the bilateral military treaty between the United States and Uruguay has been commented on by many Uruguayan newspapers and has aroused great indignation among all sections of the population. The National Peace Council immediately issued the following appeal:

"There is great haste to implement the military treaty with the United States. Dozens of military aircraft and other war supplies are arriving in the country through the port of Montevideo and Carrasco airport. Several dozen North American instructors have also arrived to reinforce the military and civilian personnel who interfere in every aspect of the national life.

"The tragic experience of Guatemala has made clear, even to the most naive, what the aim of such preparations is. These armaments and military treaties serve to drown in blood the freedom and the national independence of the countries of Latin America. They bring war to our peoples.

"Furthermore, the arms deliveries and the upkeep of foreign military technicians necessitate the expenditure of tens of millions of pesos, which are paid by the people. Every delivery of military aircraft means further increases in taxes and in the prices of bread and meat. The military treaty increases the poverty from which the people are suffering.

"Many political parties are now speaking out for peace. The National Peace Council rejoices at this for it means that the correctness our of people's struggle for peace is being recognised — our people who prevented the sending of troops to Korea, courageously fought the ratification of the military treaty and expressed their ardent solidarity with Guatemala. But today it is not enough to talk of peace; the will to preserve peace must be demonstrated in concrete acts. The Government can do this by immediately abrogating the military treaty.

"The National Peace Council calls on the people to intensify their activity for peace by demanding the non-implementation and abrogation of the treaty, an end to buying armaments and the departure from Uruguay of the North American military men and technicians."

Support for the People of Guatemala

In Uruguay demonstrations of solidarity with the people of Guatemala continue. During September a further meeting in Montevideo called by the Movement for the Defence of Guatemala was a great success. The speakers, who included two M.P.s, condemned the policy of aggression which made a victim of Guatemala and which is a permanent threat to the peoples of Latin America.

Speaking at a meeting organised by a students' association, Dr. Eduardo Jiminez de Arechaga, Professor of International Law at Montevideo University and General Secretary of the National Council of the Uruguayan Government, had the following to say of the attitude adopted by the United Nations Security Council to the complaint lodged by the Arbenz Government at the time of the aggression against Guatemala:

"It must be pointed out that Guatemala's request did not merely refer to an international dispute of a regional character — a contingency covered by article 52, paragraph 2 (of the United Nations Charter Ed.) which was invoked by the United States delegate — but, on the contrary, to something much more serious and urgent, namely, an act of international aggression and the non-observance by the aggressors of the provisional measures taken by the Security Council.

"It may be said that the Security Council's negative attitude to a step of this kind constitutes a violation of the provisions of the Charter which lays down the Council's special responsibility for the maintenance of security in any case of aggression . . ."

Colombia

National Conference

A national conference of the Friends of Peace has been convened for the second half of November in Bogota.

In addition to the general questions confronting the Peace Movement, the conference will take up what is at present Colombia's most acute problem: the artificial lowering of the price of coffee through foreign economic interference. To remedy this situation, business circles are widely urging the restoration of normal commercial relations with all countries without distinction.

The conference will also examine organisational questions, particularly the following: how to strengthen the various units of the Movement and bring the widest sections of the people into action for peace.

An Article by the Secretary of the Mexican Peace Council

In an article entitled "For Security and Peace" Sr. Juan Pablo Sainz, teacher, secretary of the Mexican National Peace Council, says:

". . . At present, their (those who want war Ed.) strongest efforts are concentrated on rearming Germany and perpetuating the division of that country. They intend to use Germany as a shock brigade against the peoples of Europe, trampling on their right to self-determination and independence, and especially against the Soviet Union.

"It is because of this that the German question must receive priority and that the activity of the Peace Movement throughout the world must be concentrated on achieving its peaceful settlement.

"This question and those arising from the creation of aggressive blocs, the use of violence against the peoples to suppress their right to self-determination and independence, interference in the internal affairs of other countries, the armaments race and the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction make the fight for security the central task of the peoples. The best formulation of security is to be found in the principles put forward by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai . . .

"Our country's security is inseparably bound up with the preservation of our national independence and sovereignty . . . The essential characteristic of the Movement is that it is wide, popular, democratic and non-party . . . Experience shows that mass actions are the fundamental necessity . . ."

Theme of Movement's current Campaign in Chile

In a statement issued on October 14th, the Executive Committee of the Chilean Peace Movement gives the following definition of the principles on which the current work of the Movement is based:

"We advocate peaceful coexistence between East and West as the sole way of preserving peace . . .

"On the national level the central theme of our struggle is respect for Chile's sovereignty, with all the rights it entails: freedom to have the government of one's choice; free and sovereign rights over the national production to trade with all countries, seeking the most suitable prices; the establishment of diplomatic relations with all countries; the denunciation of treaties and pacts which restrict our national independence, and so on."

Paraguay — Campaign for a Peace Budget

In its Information Bulletin the Paraguayan Committee of the Friends of Peace advocates a peace policy and points out that 49.8 percent of the new Paraguayan budget is devoted to the Ministries of Defence and the Interior.

"This situation", says the bulletin, "has harmful consequences for the people of Paraguay . . . Paraguay must have a policy of peace and the relaxation of international tension . . . The National Peace Movement publicly denounces this state of affairs and draws the Government's attention to the fact that unproductive expenditure must cease and that the parts of the budget devoted to the well-being of the people must be increased. The people of Paraguay want and fight for a policy of peace and prosperity."

From the same bulletin we take the following statement:

"Guatemala possessed a democratic regime which had the support of the people. It was advancing along the road of national independence and democratic rights for the people. The agrarian reforms, which were opposed to the influence of the United Fruit Company, were transforming the general structure of the Guatemalan economy . . .

"In Paraguay, as in Guatemala, the story of United States diplomatic, economic and military intervention is a bloody one . . .

"The struggle for peace, democratic freedoms and national independence is closely bound up with the struggle against North American interference in the State of Paraguay, with the departure of the North American military mission and the recovery of our wealth from the big foreign monopolies."

Sweden:

After the Peace Cruise

Recently those who took part in the *Peace Cruise*, members of the Swedish Peace Movement and many well-known figures held a meeting in the big hall of the *House of Citizens* in Stockholm.

Dr. Varenius, President of the Swedish Peace Committee, stressed the great importance of the cruise for friendly relations between the Baltic countries. He then spoke of the contribution the Nordic countries were making to the world movement for the relaxation of international tension, the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the reduction of armaments and the restoration of the right of the People's Republic of China to a seat in the United Nations.

The documentary film, *Peace Cruise*, which was taken on board the *Batory*, was shown.

Japanese People demand Banning of H-Bomb

The Bureau of the National Council of Signature-collecting Movements for the Banning of the Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, meeting in Tokyo on October 5th, decided to continue the collection of signatures till the end of the year.

On this occasion the message sent by the World Council of Peace to the National Council of Signature-collecting Movements was published.

Fishermen

Japanese fishermen have once more come forward with the demand that hydrogen bombs be banned and that full compensation be paid by the United States for damages suffered as a result of the hydrogen bomb tests.

U.S. hydrogen bomb tests have brought heavy losses to Japan's fishing industry. By September 30th more than 155,000 pounds of tuna had been condemned as unfit for consumption in the Tsukiji central fish market in Tokyo.

A resolution to this effect was adopted at a national fishermen's rally held in Tokyo on October 12th to commemorate the death of the late hydrogen bomb victim, Aikichi Kuboyama. The rally was attended by nearly a thousand representatives of fishermen from all over Japan.

Following the rally the fishermen divided into separate groups which then presented their demand to the U.S. Embassy, the Upper and Lower Houses of the Diet and the Government.

Catholics

The New York *Catholic Worker* has published a communication from the Catholic Social Problems Association in Japan concerning the American hydrogen bomb tests, demanding that the Japanese victims of the Bikini explosion be compensated. The communication states:

"Following the will of his Holiness and with the permission of Bishop Furaya, a campaign for the banning of H-bombs has been undertaken by three churches in the city of Kyoto ... A similar campaign is being carried on by many Catholic churches in Japan ..."

Scientists

A resolution against atomic energy research for war was adopted on October 21st at a meeting of the Japan Science Conference, a major organisation of Japanese scientists.

The meeting also adopted a resolution to promote Sino—Japanese scientific and cultural exchanges.

IN THE UNITED STATES

Election Appeal by American Peace Crusade

Meeting recently in New York, the American Peace Crusade Resident Board urged American voters to seek support on a number of peace issues from all candidates for public office. These issues include: a strengthened, all-inclusive United Nations; the opening of markets to American business and the creation of jobs for American workers by ending restrictions on East-West trade; participation in a programme of international cultural exchange to encourage goodwill and better understanding among all.

Speaking of the coming elections, the American Peace Crusade Resident Board pointed to the need for people to influence candidates to speak for peaceful negotiations.

Noting that the people of all nations had compelled an end to the wars in Korea and Indo-China through peaceful negotiations, the American Peace Crusade stated that "negotiations can also settle all other disputes which carry the risk of new conflicts".

The Crusade warned of explosive grounds for new wars in a divided, remilitarised Germany and a divided Asia. It noted further incitement to war in a policy of repression of colonial peoples' struggles for freedom and independence.

"The peoples of all nations, fearful of H-bomb destruction, demand that their governments get together and solve these problems so that all countries, regardless of political and economic systems, live together in peace", stated the Resident Board.

The Board also decided that there be the widest observance of the Eighth Anniversary of the United Nations on October 24th.

For Collective Security

The last number of the monthly review *Mir*, published by the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, is entirely devoted to the question of the security of nations. The articles contained in this issue describe the untiring activity of the peoples of Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, the Soviet Union and other European countries for the establishment of a system of security.

Our photo shows the cover of the review bearing the title: *For Collective Security*, and illustrated by the French artist, Jean Effel.

Argentine:

Continued Campaign against Atomic Weapons

The campaign against the H-bomb goes on throughout the country. Following the action taken by the doctors of Rosario, which was a great success, the doctors of Buenos Aires are intensifying their campaign for the banning of the H-bomb and other weapons of mass destruction.

In an interesting article published in *La Prensa*, Dr. Bustos Fierro, M. P. demonstrates the importance of such international meetings as the one that took place in Stockholm and stresses the necessity of the campaign against the use of thermo-nuclear weapons. Furthermore, at the Vienna session of the Interparliamentary Union Mrs. Delia de Parodi, the Argentine delegate, put forward a motion urging the stopping of the armaments race and the banning of thermo-nuclear weapons.

Stalingrad Receives the Mayor of Coventry

On the invitation of the Mayor of Stalingrad, the Lord Mayor of Coventry, Alderman John Fennel, and five other council members, have made a three week visit to the Soviet Union. We have already reported in the Bulletin that the Coventry City Council proposed to the Stalingrad Council that they publish a joint appeal of the two martyred cities demanding the banning of atomic and thermo-nuclear weapons.

As the delegation left Coventry by air Alderman John Fennel declared that the visit would reinforce the relations between the two countries. He added:

"Our primary object is to get a joint statement with Stalingrad and ourselves on the agenda of the Unites Nations conference for outlawing atom and hydrogen bombs.

"If possible, we want to suggest an international conference respecting disarmament."

An old Labour Party member, Councillor Arthur James Waugh, said:

"We intend to start a new chain reaction with the Russians and launch total peacefare."

THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Since its foundation the World Council of Peace has devoted particular attention to the question of cultural exchanges and has sought to encourage all individual or collective cultural activities which favour peace. It has done so not only for humanistic reasons, which in themselves are sufficient justification for this attitude, but also, and mainly, to frustrate those who, with the aim of dividing the world into two irreconcilable parts, try by every means to break the bonds that link all the cultures of the world.

In vast regions of the world where, because of the atmosphere of mistrust and hysteria, this scheming has been able to sow confusion in certain sections of public opinion, this work of the World Council of Peace is not easy. Nonetheless, it has given quite appreciable results. In spite of the many obstacles that international tension places in the way of cultural exchanges, it can easily be seen that these exchanges are being established and increased in every field and in all directions on an ever broader scale and in an ever more sustained and fruitful manner. But here, as in every other sphere of international relations, the successes won cannot conceal all the obstacles that still bar the way.

Our Movement itself suffers from weaknesses in the organisation of its cultural activities. The idea of the celebration of cultural anniversaries is a good one, but it must be materialised in all countries, it must be made to live, and the masses of the people must be brought into it by explaining its real meaning and making them play an active part in it. This is also true of the International Peace Prizes, which every National Committee and every member of our Movement should know and make known to others. We must also support in an active and sustained way meetings between men of culture, we should help to bring them about and publicise their results.

Lastly, we must be more energetic and take many more measures to implement the recommendations, resolutions and appeals of the World Council of Peace in this field. At the forthcoming session of the World Council the cultural commission will be of particular importance. The recommendations which it will certainly draw up must be put into practice by every National Committee, and every member of the Peace Movement must have his or her own task in this field. Cultural activities are not of special interest only to a more or less numerous elite. Nothing should be allowed to restrict this campaign whose results will exert such a great influence on the life of the scientist and the worker, the future of artists and students, the well-being of peasants and officeworkers. Our Movement lives and grows on the support of hundreds of millions of men and women. For all of them, cultural activities and exchanges must mean what in reality they are: the finest basis of understanding and friendship between the peoples; a living source of respect for the diverse characteristics of the national genius of every people; a climate favourable to the peaceful coexistence of different economic and social systems; a lasting bond of peace between men and nations.

AN EXAMPLE OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

During its recent visit to the People's Republic of China the Soviet Government delegation made the Chinese people a gift of a complete set of equipment for a 50,000 acre farm. The gift includes: 94 caterpillar tractors; four tractors of the *Byelorussian* type for weeding; 100 combine harvesters; 30 lorries; four petrol tankers; four lorries for petrol distribution; two mobile workshops; 9 cars; 10 side-cars; six two-wheeled trailers; 8 four-wheeled trailers; 128 tractor-drawn ploughs; 120 tractor-drawn sowers; 100 cultivators and ploughs for ploughing stubble; 1,600 harrows; 16 machines for cleaning grain; 16 hay-gathering machines; 14 different machine-tools for equipping the repair shops; two complete sets of electric welding equipment; installations for a power station; 13 wireless transmitters of different kinds; a telephone exchange for one hundred telephones; and a mobile cinema.

This gift constitutes a concrete aid in the technical development of Chinese agricultural production. There are no conditions whatever attached to it and it may be considered as an example to follow in the sphere of international technical assistance.

Sports Meetings Mean International Friendship

In recent weeks there has been an increased number of international sports meetings, particularly between the countries of East and West. Events have confirmed the correctness of the persistent campaign the World Council of Peace has conducted in this field; sports meetings are a valuable contribution to the reinforcement of friendship between the peoples. Each sports meeting has become a festival of physical culture and international friendship.

*

The British public gave a very friendly welcome to the Soviet athletes who competed in the London-Moscow sports meeting. The 50,000 spectators in the White City stadium received the visitors with loud applause to which they answered with the cry of 'Peace and friendship between the peoples'. The many men's and women's events were fiercely contested.

*

The World Weight-lifting Championships took place in Vienna and the results were sensational. The best weight-lifters from many countries took part, including the United States, the Soviet Union, Iran, Egypt, France, Burma, Czechoslovakia, the Federal German Republic, Austria, Finland, Italy and Sweden. Several new world records were established.

*

Moscow Dynamo have visited France to play against the Girondins and other clubs, after which the Soviet team toured several European countries.

*

The Fifth World Modern Pentathlon Championships were held in Budapest; there were teams from Sweden, the United States, Switzerland, France, Hungary, Finland, Austria and other countries.

*

The Czechoslovak and French men's national volley-ball teams met at the Coubertin Stadium in Paris; there was not an empty seat.

*

Belgium has received a visit from Spartak, the Moscow football team, which played teams from Anderlecht and Liège.

*

In London, the famous Hungarian football team, Honved, played West Bromwich Albion.

*

The Rumanian International Athletic Championships have been held in Bucharest; teams from Poland, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, Sweden and France participated.

*

Egypt's weight-lifting champions went to the Soviet Union where they competed against their Soviet colleagues in Leningrad.

*

Austria's footballers have met a Bucharest select eleven. The Austrian visitors were given a cordial reception by more than 100,000 spectators and expressed their satisfaction, saying that their team's visit to Bucharest would create a warmer friendship between the Austrian and Rumanian peoples.

*

In Amsterdam there have recently been a large number of international competitions between athletes from East and West.

Charlie Chaplin dist ibutes Peace Prize money, says:

"I believe in Peace"

On October 15th Charlie Chaplin received the Abbé Pierre at the Crillon Hotel in Paris and gave him two million francs to help build houses for the homeless. This amount was a third of the International Peace Prize for 1953 which the World Council of Peace awarded to the eminent British artist.

Three days later, Charlie Chaplin was in his native Lambeth, where he presented the Mayor with a cheque for £2000 at a ceremony in the Town Hall. As he handed over the cheque he said:

"I can think of no better way to distribute the money that came from peace than to help the poor, the old and the homeless."

Addressing the Borough Council, Chaplin recalled the results of the blitz:

"I have seen Lambeth and I know that poor old Lambeth has been knocked about a bit. I don't want to see it knocked about any more." Then he paused and added, **"I believe in peace not through the hydrogen bomb but through disarmament."**

The people of Lambeth gave an enthusiastic and affectionate reception to the most famous son of this London borough.

Vienna has also benefited from Chaplin's distribution of the International Peace Prize money; the Austrian Peace Council has set up a "Charlie Chaplin Peace Fund" and initiated on November 1st a series of competitions open to writers, musicians, painters, workers, students, professional people and the general public. The theme of all these competitions is peace and friendship between the peoples.

20th Anniversary of the Discovery of Artificial Radioactivity
Tribute to Irene and Frédéric Joliot-Curie

A view of the platform during the speech of M. Louis de Broglie, Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences

An official ceremony in honour of Irene and Frédéric Joliot-Curie, commemorating the 20th anniversary of their discovery of artificial radioactivity, took place on October 21st in the amphitheatre of the Sorbonne in Paris. In the presence of many scientists, members of the Institute, research workers, students, etc. the most eminent figures in the French scientific world expressed their admiration and affection for Irene and Frédéric Joliot-Curie.

Presiding over the ceremony was the Minister of Education and those present included the Secretary of State for Scientific Research and Technical Progress and M. Louis de Broglie, the Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, M. Maurice de Broglie, President of the Academy of Sciences, M. Armand Faral, the Administrative Head of the Collège de France, Professor Joseph Pérès, the Dean of the Paris Faculty of Sciences, M. Gaston Dupouy, the Director of the National Centre for Scientific Research, M. Francis Perrin, the High Commissioner for Atomic Energy, Professor Lacassagne, member of the Institute and Director of the Radium Institute, Professor Bénard and others.

First to speak was Mr. Louis de Broglie. He recalled the first discoveries of radioactivity, in which "the magnificent work of Irene and Frédéric Joliot-Curie marked a decisive stage"... "We were given a veritable fortune of knowledge"... "We owe them our thanks and congratulations".

Professor Bénard read a message from the Dean of the Academy of Sciences which ended with these words: "The fruits of the labours of M. and Mme. Joliot-Curie are already so great that they deserve the gratitude of every doctor and even more that of the patients."

M. Armand Faral mentioned the great debt which is owed to Professor Joliot-Curie and his wife.

M. Joseph Pérès recalled the scientific tradition of Mme. Joliot-Curie's family.

After Gaston Dupouy and Francis Perrin had spoken, Professor Lacassagne said: "We are celebrating this twentieth anniversary as a national victory."

The Minister of Education, M. Berthoin, expressed the official congratulations of the government, recalling that it was the work of M. and Mme Joliot-Curie which had enabled France to have its first atomic pile.

Replying on behalf both of himself and of Mme. Joliot-Curie, Frédéric Joliot-Curie thanked all the speakers and said: "As we see it, these praises are really due to those to whom we owe so much, our parents, our teachers, our laboratory colleagues and our fellow citizens from whose earnings comes the money with which science is financed."

He recalled his studies at the school of Physics and Chemistry under Paul Langevin and expressed his gratitude to this school and its masters and especially to Paul Langevin, "that outstanding teacher who brought me to love science". He then went on to show the necessity for research workers to have laboratories, payment and equipment on a scale commensurate with the services which they render to the nation.

He concluded his speech with some remarks on the value to scientific progress of international co-operation:

"International contacts between research workers, which were frank and cordial in those days, made a great contribution to the extraordinary harvest of discoveries before 1939. Then came the war and science was used to make terrible weapons of mass destruction. Measures of secrecy and discrimination have resulted in great difficulties in scientific relations, both nationally and internationally. We should all work to improve these relations and to see that our country of which we are so fond uses all its scientists fully.

"At a time when science is in danger of loosing its standing because it is so widely used for destructive purposes and when the advance of civilisation itself is likely to be affected as a result, we must oppose the misuse of science. But the solution of this problem does not depend on scientists alone. When these noble aims become reality, we will once more be able to work without suffering agonies of conscience and experience the joys of discovery in all their fullness."

Hungarian Music and Folklore in Paris

The Hungarian cymbalon player Ida Tarjani-Toth, Professor at the Budapest Conservatoire, and other artists recently gave a concert of Hungarian music at the Salle Gaveau in Paris.

The programme included works by the best modern Hungarian composers, and Ida Tarjani-Toth brought out their full richness with her solos on the cymbalon, an instrument peculiar to Hungary.

*

An exhibition of Hungarian folklore which was opened in Paris recently includes costumes, pottery, embroidery etc..., all showing the rich centuries-old tradition in Hungarian decorative art.

International Congress of Mathematicians

The International Congress of Mathematicians, held recently in Amsterdam, brought together 1,600 specialists, as delegates and individuals, from almost every country in the world including the United States, the Soviet Union, Italy, France, Poland, Hungary.

Besides participating in stimulating debates and other events, the mathematicians were also able to make useful personal contacts in a cordial and co-operative atmosphere and some delegations met together with the aim of organising an exchange of publications. For example the Rumanian Delegation established relations with the United States *Mathematical Review* and with specialised bookshops in Amsterdam.

Soviet Musicians in Belgium

The composer and conductor Konstantin Ivanov, who conducts the U.S.S.R. Symphony Orchestra, has been invited by the Liège Conservatoire to make a concert tour of Belgium. He is accompanied by the pianist Malinin and the violonist Igor Bezrodny.

The Great Anniversaries...

Fielding in the U.S.S.R.

In commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the death of Henry Fielding many ceremonies, to which British writers have been invited, have been held in the Soviet Union.

The State Publishing House for Belles-Lettres has issued a two volume collection of the works of the great English writer. The first volume contains plays, pamphlets and the novels "Jonathan Wild" and "Joseph Andrews", and the second "Tom Jones". An essay on the life and work of Fielding by Dr. Elistratova has also been published. The works of Fielding have been nine times republished in the Soviet Union, seven times in Russian and twice in English. The total issue is more than a quarter of a million copies.

Fielding's plays are included in the repertory of the Moscow and Leningrad theatres. Exhibitions presenting different editions of Fielding, illustrations and monographs, have been opened. The Leningrad exhibition includes English, German, French and Russian editions dating back to 1772.

A Fielding memorial meeting was held in the Great Hall of the Moscow Conservatoire on October 11. (See photograph.) Organised jointly by the Soviet Peace Committee, the Union of Soviet Writers and the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, the meeting was attended by writers, representatives of the sciences and the arts, members of the Peace Committee, workers and students.

Following the writer V. Kataev, who praised the memory of the great humanist and democrat, A. Elistratova, Doctor of Philology, gave a detailed appreciation of the work of Fielding. The English writer Jack Lindsay also spoke. The meeting closed with a reading of extracts from Fielding and other English writers.

Chekhov in Czechoslovakia

In every big town in Czechoslovakia, the 50th anniversary of the death of Chekhov was marked by lectures, exhibitions, and theatrical performances.

In Prague, in the course of a memorial meeting at the National Theatre, Mr. Zdenek Nejedly, former Minister of Culture, President of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, and Dr. Julius Delansky, University Professor, spoke about Chekhov and the importance of his work.

Similar meetings have been held in Brno and Bratislava, with performances of the *Cherry Orchard* and *Uncle Vanya* and exhibitions on the life and work of Chekhov.

Many professional theatres, as well as local amateur bodies in the towns and villages, have put Chekhov's plays in their programme.

In addition two special postage stamps have been issued.

*

In Argentina: The Mascara Theatre of Buenos-Aires is presenting Chekhov's play *Uncle Vanya*.

Centenary of the Argentinian Scientist Ameghino celebrated in Moscow

A memorial meeting for the centenary of the Argentinian scientist Florentino Ameghino was held in Moscow during September. Scientific figures, representatives of scientific reviews, students, etc., took part in this meeting in the presence of Mr. Bravo, the Argentine Ambassador and other official representatives of Argentine and the Soviet Union. Academican Oparin pointed out the happy coincidence that this meeting was taking place at the same time as cultural relations were being re-established between Argentine and the U.S.S.R. by the visit of well-known Argentinians to the U.S.S.R. and the visit of several Soviet performers and sportsmen to Argentine.

Academician Orlov, Director of the Institute of Paleontology, spoke warmly of the work of Ameghino, one of the great twentieth century scientists, and of his contribution to Paleontology.

In the name of his country the Argentine ambassador said that he agreed with Professor Oparin in considering cultural relations as an effective means of building friendship between the peoples.

Professor Lipschutz, the eminent Chilian pathologist and physiologist, recently visited China at the invitation of the Chinese Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. He gave several lectures in Peking, Shanghai and Tientsin and had discussions with Chinese scientists. He also saw some of the achievements of the Chinese People's Republic in the field of science and medicine. From China Professor Lipschutz went on to the U.S.S.R.

The President of the World Council of Peace Issues a Warning to Public Opinion about the London and Paris Agreements

(Continuation of page 1)

Certain of the countries which signed the agreements are bound to the Soviet Union by treaties which have not been denounced. The clauses of the London and Paris agreements flagrantly contradict the spirit and the letter of these treaties. By failing to honour their signature these countries would set a dangerous example and would nullify the pledge not to resort to force.

I would urgently ask all of you to study the texts which are going to be submitted for ratification by your Parliaments. Examine them carefully, weigh up their full consequences. Your representatives must not be made to vote before you have acquainted them with your personal opinion.

The decision they are going to have to take is fraught with dire consequences and you will not have done your duty to your family or your country unless you forcefully express your feelings to them.

There are other roads open to the Governments if they want to guarantee their peoples' future and contribute to a lasting improvement in international relations.

The responsibility that this choice places on them must be brought home to the Governments concerned. For at the present time everything is possible:

— the settlement of the problem of the democratic and peaceful reunification of Germany;

— the organisation of collective security for all the countries of Europe regardless of their economic and social system;

— the promotion of general disarmament;

— the deliverance of mankind from the terrible threat of weapons of mass destruction and a great improvement in the standard of living through the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

But, while it is true that rarely have such possibilities been brought together, there is nonetheless a very pressing danger that they may all be destroyed together by adverse actions.

Do not allow the implementation of the policy that will only negotiate from positions of strength.

Negotiation is not made easier by piling up arms, by increasing the size of armies and by stockpiling atom and hydrogen bombs — on the contrary, that means heading for atomic war. We must immediately prevent the starting of a mechanism which would take us away from the genuine paths to peace and risk crushing us all.

Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie
Paris, October 30th, 1954

A Sign of the Times

In San Francisco and other United States towns, collections of peace stamps have been put on sale in the 10 cent stores.

It is well known that throughout the world, this type of shop is only interested in goods which have a wide appeal.

Thus this fact is a tacit but significant recognition of the growing concern of the American people for peace.

Around the World

Spain

Under the title "Spain — an Atomic Arsenal" the paper of the Spanish Peace Movement publishes an article which strongly condemns the construction, near Cartagena, of launching installations for guided missiles. The article mentions various news items received from Associated Press according to which "work has been started near Cartagena to construct launching sites and underground stores of guided missiles" on the base, which would be used by "squadrons of bombers equipped for carrying thermonuclear weapons".

Rumania

A demonstration of Bucharest workers took place on October 29 as part of the struggle against the rearmament of Western Germany. Professor Radaceanu, Vice-President of the Peace Committee, spoke on the theme: "The interests of peace in Europe demand the setting up of a united, democratic and peaceful Germany." The speaker said that the London and Paris agreements represent a new danger to the life and liberty of the peoples of Europe, the German people included.

Austria

The Alsergrund People's University in Vienna has organised a discussion meeting on the topic: "Can the atomic bomb prevent war?"

Professor Holländer, a Roman Catholic priest, supported the banning of all weapons of mass destruction.

Dr. Kent pointed out that, as President Truman himself admitted, it was only the moral force of public opinion that prevented the use of the atomic bomb in Korea.

Those taking part were unanimous in giving their support to a policy of disarmament and decreased international tension.

Australia

The Australian Peace Council has held a reception in honour of Professor Hromadka, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace; 450 people were present. The Rev. Alfred Dickie, President of the Australian National Council, welcomed Dr. Hromadka and the Rev. Frank Hartley presented him with a collection of books on Australia.

Professor Hromadka spoke with great enthusiasm of the work of the World Council of Peace and said that he was proud to be associated with the Council's activities.

Great Britain

The Executive Committee of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War has published a statement asking for a ban on weapons of mass destruction. In addition the Committee calls for the conclusion of an agreement to make the manufacture and use of atomic weapons illegal and to set up an effective international supervisory body.

Italy

Sig. Andrea Gaggero was presented with the Stalin International Peace Prize by Sig. Pietro Nenni at a formal ceremony in Rome. In acknowledging the prize Sig. Gaggero stressed how certain he was that men of good faith would succeed in bringing about an atmosphere of fraternal friendship between the peoples and would make further contributions to the cause of peace.

German Federal Republic

The North Rhine-Westphalia Parliamentary Commission on the frontier areas has protested against the plan to set up a new air force station in the Schleiden district near Dahlem-Schmidtheim. It pointed out that the occupation forces had already taken over more than ten percent of the area.

The destruction of 5,000 acres of trees, which is involved in the plan to build the airfield, would put the district at the mercy of extensive damage from floods.

Reproduction authorised

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 23—24 DECEMBER 15th, 1954

The Stockholm Session

18—23 November 1954

The World Council of Peace met in Stockholm from 18th to 23rd November.

The session took place in the beautiful setting of the Swedish National Park at Skansen; three hundred and thirty three guests and members of the Council from 55 countries took part.

The following points were included on the agenda:

1 Cooperation of all the States of Europe in the organisation of their common security.

2 The situation created in different parts of Asia by foreign pressure and by the system of military blocs and coalitions.

3 The situation created in Latin America by interference in the internal affairs of nations.

4 Action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

5. Preparation of an Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace in all countries during the first half of 1955.

This Bulletin contains the texts of all the documents adopted by the Council and extracts from many of the speeches made in full session.

Skansen

At Skansen, the most popular place in Stockholm

The Skansen National Park, where the World Council session was held, was founded by the historian Artur Hazelius who, in 1872, undertook to save the ethnographical remains and the relics of Sweden's past from destruction. This is what gives Skansen Park its character of an open-air museum presenting the different aspects of Swedish national life since the Middle Ages in a living and picturesque way.

Old country buildings, manors, mountain chalets, farms, Lapp camps, wind and water mills, sheep folds, sacrificial stones, belfries and gold and glass workshops are reverently preserved there and form a natural background for the old rural customs which are revived every year in the dark shadows of Skansen's fir trees: the songs of St. Lucy before Christmas, village dances round the maypole, Midsummer Day celebrations, etc.

The two million Swedish and foreign visitors who climb the slopes of Skansen hill every year see spread beneath them the magnificent panorama of Stockholm, the "old town" with its quays reflected in the waters of Lake Mälaren.

The name Skansen reflects this unique situation because it is a reminder of the fact that in days gone by there was a fort there. The ancient muzzle-loading cannon standing round the big esplanade are further evidence of this.

Skansen also has Sweden's only zoo. The fauna of the country is to be found there, breeding in captivity.

Concerts, theatrical shows, art exhibitions and displays of old dances are frequently held in the park. This makes it a cultural centre which is very much appreciated by all foreign visitors and very popular with the Swedish public in whose eyes it is a symbol of "the national culture and national independence", as Pastor Sven Hector said in his opening speech.

THE SWEDISH PRESS

The Swedish press carried reports on the work of the session of the World Council of Peace.

Articles on the session and interviews with persons taking part in it were published in a number of newspapers representing the various shades of Swedish opinion. They included *Dagens Nyheter*, *Svenska Dagbladet*, *Morgon-Tidningen*, *Ny Dag*, *Aftonbladet*, *Arbetar Tidningen*, *Vecko-Journalen*, *Norrskensflamman* and the official Swedish press agency *Tidningarnas Telegrambyra*.

Statement by Swedish Artists

A group of Swedish artists greeted the World Council of Peace on November 21st. The painter, Mr. Svenolov Ehrén, came to the rostrum to read the following statement, signed by 62 Swedish artists:

"Sweden's artists have often shown their solidarity by taking part in assistance to countries which had suffered from war and the catastrophes of war. In various ways they have shown their interest in work for peace and their detestation of war and militarism. There are, at the present time, very special reasons for recalling peace demonstrations against Nazism and militarism.

"The Berlin Conference, which led to peace in Korea and to the agreements on Indo-China concluded at Geneva, opened the way to negotiations for peace and the lessening of international tension. And this way is the only one which can lead to the reunification of a peaceful and democratic Germany in accordance with the Potsdam Agreements concluded by the victorious powers. The agreements on German rearmament recently signed in London and Paris can become an obstacle rendering the future uncertain.

"For this reason we artists welcome any move from any quarter which can help to bring about peace and the relaxation of international tension. World peace demands the taking of immediate measures against German rearmament and the creation of guarantees for European security. We share the hope of the majority of the Swedish people that our Government will do its part for world peace and the lessening of international tension by taking steps both in and outside the United Nations."

On November 19th, a deputation of Swedish participants in the Baltic Peace Cruise brought their greetings to the World Council of Peace.

The Women of Stockholm:

"We shall go from house to house and speak to every mother in our city"

The World Council session also received a deputation of Swedish mothers and their children.

The following is the text of the declaration they made to the Council on behalf of Swedish women:

"We members of the Stockholm Section of the Swedish Democratic Women's Society are proud and happy to welcome to our city, as dear friends, the eminent members of the delegations from near and far participating in this big international Peace meeting.

"The Stockholm Appeal has made our city known all over the world as a symbol of the fight against the atomic weapon, as a symbol of Peace. Since then the idea of Peace has won many great victories. But we are still not safe from the evils of war and new threatening clouds are appearing on the international horizon, especially as a result of the militarisation of Western Germany. This necessitates new and speedy efforts by all friends of peace.

"We wish you every success in the work of the Session to ensure a life of peace for all mankind, and we promise, as at the time of the Stockholm Appeal, to go from house to house and make the decisions of this meeting known to every woman and mother in our city. We promise to do everything possible to live up to the tradition implied in the name of Stockholm. We want negotiations between all countries on the question of war and peace which is so important for our children's future. We want life to conquer war."

Decisions of the Session

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLES

JUST AS THE ENDING OF THE WARS in Korea and Indo-China and the rejection of E.D.C. had given the world the hope of seeing the quarrels that divide the nations grow less, the London and Paris Agreements have suddenly confronted the peoples with the fearful danger for them all involved in the revival of the Wehrmacht.

Just as new proposals have been advanced that make possible the unification of Germany, the London and Paris Agreements are about to deal a heavy blow to the democratic and patriotic forces of the German people, to feed the ambitions of German militarism and set a seal on the division of Germany and Europe.

Just as the progress achieved at the United Nations on the vital question of disarmament and weapons of mass destruction has strengthened these hopes of Peace, the London and Paris Agreements are about to give the signal for an arms race which will rapidly become a crushing burden upon everyone.

The ratification of these Agreements, far from leaving intact the possibility of negotiation would create a situation fraught with new dangers to Peace in Europe and throughout the world.

The peoples are thus faced with a crucial alternative: either negotiation with every possibility of reaching a fair agreement, or an arbitrary act that risks nullifying the progress made toward reduction of world tension, namely, the rearmament of Western Germany and its inclusion in a military bloc.

The peoples must oppose the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements.

The peoples must demand the immediate opening of negotiations between the Four Powers with the object of reuniting Germany by free elections and concluding a State Treaty on Austria.

The peoples must demand immediate opening of negotiations including all European states, whatever their political system, with the object of ensuring their security and common prosperity through the cooperation of all.

It is not within the power of any government, of any Parliament, to settle the fate of a people against its will.

The people will not let the irreparable happen.

They will stop the rearmament of Germany and, by action all together, will open the road to European security and world Peace.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

APPEAL

FOR THE CALLING OF A WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE

In a world in which there are still great chances of Peace, new dangers appear which may destroy them all.

Only a powerful movement of the peoples can prevent the division of the world into opposing blocs, prevent the rebirth of the armies that have been the source of so much misery and mourning, and free mankind from the crushing cost of arms budgets. Only such a powerful movement can ensure the cooperation of all nations for their welfare, their independence and the security of all.

The World Council of Peace calls to all those whose activities make for Peace, to every man and woman who longs to live free from fear, mistrust, and hate for other peoples. It calls on them to get together before it is too late.

It resolves that a great World Assembly shall be held, including representatives of all the forces and tendencies that make for Peace, to meet in the second half of May 1955.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Resolution

on the Action of the Peace Forces in Favour of Disarmament and the Banning of Weapons of Mass Destruction

Four years ago the Appeal for the absolute banning of atomic arms was made in Stockholm.

The campaign for this Appeal by all peoples prevented the use of the bomb in Korea and Indo-China. The determined action of the peoples has also compelled the governments to stop the fighting in Korea and Indo-China.

Nevertheless, today we are once more faced by the danger of war resulting from intensification of the arms race and the continued development of still more destructive weapons of mass extermination.

Once more, the will of the peoples can and must avert the danger.

The World Council of Peace is gratified by the progress made at the United Nations Organisation in the discussion on disarmament and the banning of atomic weapons. It points out that this result has been achieved by negotiation, thus demonstrating that agreement is possible on the basis of compromise. It is precisely this method which has enabled the General Assembly to pass unanimously a resolution which clears the way to a solution of these problems. But the expressed desire of the Western Powers to rearm Western Germany and to include it in a military bloc, in the framework of the London and Paris Agreements, is undermining the efforts now being made to achieve disarmament and endangering the results so far achieved.

The World Council of Peace acclaims the conversations now in progress concerning the peaceful use of atomic energy. It declares, however, that mankind will not be able to make full peaceful, industrial use of nuclear energy until the use of such energy for military ends is banned. It is convinced that agreement in this field is entirely possible and that a satisfactory system of inspection and strict control is entirely capable of being established.

It calls on the Great Powers to redouble their efforts to secure speedy agreement on these vital questions on the basis of the proposals now being discussed. It demands that they meanwhile reach immediate agreement on the banning of all experimental explosions of atomic and hydrogen bombs, a measure which the present state of scientific knowledge makes susceptible of easy and immediate control. It likewise demands urgently that all governments without exception immediately undertake never to use nuclear weapons whatever may be the pretext.

These measures would, nonetheless, be but an urgent interim step that must in no way hinder the attack on the cardinal problem: the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, atomic, bacteriological and chemical, and general disarmament. On the contrary, these measures are in themselves a great step towards a wider and more important agreement on the general reduction of armaments, the banning of weapons of mass destruction and the establishment of an international control system including the dispatch of inspection teams to all countries.

The World Council of Peace urges strongly that the credits now used for military purposes, but which would be made available by general controlled disarmament, should be devoted to raising the living standards of the peoples, in particular the economically under-developed countries.

It calls upon all the peoples of the world to demand, constantly and everywhere, the banning of weapons of mass destruction and general disarmament — without which a policy of Peace is impossible.

The will of the peoples can and will achieve these aims if the peoples unite in this sacred struggle, if all the nations press upon the governments and the United Nations, in one single effort, the expression of their tremendous longing for Peace, for mutual understanding and human solidarity.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Resolution

on the Situation Created in Various Parts of Asia by Foreign Pressure and by the System of Blocs and Military Coalitions

The Session of the World Council of Peace, examining the situation in Asia, expresses its deep satisfaction with the significant and welcome developments which have contributed to the ending of the wars in Korea and Indo-China, created the conditions for Peace in Asia and helped to lessen international tension.

The Geneva Conference was a victory for the forces of Peace. A cease-fire has taken place in Indo-China, and for the first time for many years no major war is in progress in this region.

The joint declaration of the Prime Ministers of India and China has given practical shape to the ideal of peaceful coexistence on the basis of the following five principles:

1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
2. Mutual non-aggression,
3. Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
4. Equality and mutual benefit,
5. Peaceful coexistence.

These principles have been warmly welcomed by the peoples of Asia and the world, and have been accepted by the Governments of Burma, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Soviet Union and by Government leaders of Indonesia. The five principles have not only laid the foundations for collective Peace and security in Asia, but their acceptance would provide the basis for peaceful coexistence and friendly relations among all countries.

These events have strengthened Asian unity and solidarity, frustrating the efforts of those who hope to make "Asians fight Asians". However, the makers of war, desperate at the setbacks they have suffered, are striving to develop their plans to dominate Asia, by the construction of war alliances and pacts, by provocative military adventures, by growing interference in the internal affairs of the Asian nations, and by increased violence against the peoples.

In order to defeat these designs and to ensure Peace and security for Asia, the World Council of Peace appeals to the peoples of Asia and the world:

1) to widen and strengthen the area of Peace in Asia and establish collective Peace and security on the basis of the five principles;

2) to oppose and defeat S.E.A.T.O. and all plans for military blocs, such as the U.S.-Pakistan Pact, which set Asians against Asians, and constitute a threat to world Peace;

3) to demand an end to foreign domination and intervention in every part of Asia — including Malaya, West Irian (Dutch New Guinea) and Goa — the withdrawal from Asian soil of all foreign military forces and the abolition of all foreign military bases in Asia, and the immediate cessation of the dangerous atom bomb and hydrogen bomb tests which have already had deadly effects in the Pacific and have poisoned Asian air and waters with life-destroying elements;

4) to demand an end to foreign intervention in the Chinese territory of Taiwan (Formosa) and insist that the People's Republic of China take its legitimate place in the United Nations;

5) to demand the speedy resumption by the countries concerned, with the participation of neutral Asian states, of the Conference for the peaceful unification of Korea, in accordance with the aspirations of the Korean people, and demand the strict observance of the armistice terms in Indo-China;

6) to oppose the remilitarisation of Japan, which threatens the Peace and security of Asia and the world.

Only thus can the peoples of Asia secure Peace, freedom and opportunities of progress for themselves, as well as play their part in ensuring Peace in the world.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Resolution

on the situation created in Latin America by foreign interference in the internal life of the nations

In the guise of pacts and agreements supposedly intended to guarantee the collective security of the American Continent one state alone is continously increasing domination over the countries of Latin America and the interference of this state in their lives constitutes a factor of general insecurity.

The conditions which the countries of Latin America are now experiencing are an obstacle to international relaxation.

They are:

— the insecurity resulting from the policy of preparation for war which finds its expression in certain pacts and regional agreements impairing the sovereignty and the liberties of the states of Latin America, and in foreign intervention such as that which recently brought about the fall of the legitimate Government of Guatemala;

— the signing of bilateral military pacts and regional agreements which further the political decisions of the Conference of Caracas and which integrate the countries of Latin America in aggressive blocs, obliging them to devote a large part of their natural wealth to purely warlike ends and running the risk of dragging peaceful peoples into wars contrary to all their interests and their hopes;

— the costly and unjustified intensification of the arms race in the Latin American countries, to the great detriment of their national economy and the already precarious conditions of life of their people;

— the pressure exercised on the countries of Latin America which has shown itself many times by their votes in numerous international organisations, thus opposing an obstacle to the improvement of international relations and the solution by means of negotiation of the pending conflicts and problems;

— the restriction of the freedom of trade and distribution of raw materials of Latin America with the object of creating a forced market with unilateral fixing of prices and preventing the strengthening of the bonds of friendship with other countries on a basis of reciprocal advantage;

— the limitation of cultural exchanges with all the countries of the world and the pressure which is brought to bear on national cultures in order to impose alien forms on them.

Fighting to safeguard their sovereignty and to win real security for each and every one, the peoples of Latin America are contributing effectively to the struggle for Peace in America and the whole world.

The World Council of Peace considers that it is only by cooperation between the peoples of the American continent on the basis of equality and mutual respect that the peoples of Latin America can gain prosperity and security.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Appeal

for great cultural anniversaries

During 1955 throughout the world the peoples will join together in honouring great representatives of their common cultural heritage:

SCHILLER — 150th anniversary of his death.

MICKIEWICZ — 100th anniversary of his death.

MONTESQUIEU — 200th anniversary of his death.

ANDERSEN — 150th anniversary of his birth.

CERVANTES — 350th anniversary of his publication of *Don Quixote*.

WHITMAN — 100th anniversary of the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*.

In this way the peoples will speak to one another across the frontiers, learn to understand one another better and strengthen and develop peaceful cooperation.

The World Council of Peace appeals to all peoples, to writers and artists, to scientists, historians and teachers, to all cultural and popular organisations to join in celebrating these great anniversaries.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Resolution

on the situation created in the dependent and semi-dependent countries by foreign pressure and by the system of blocs and military coalitions

The World Peace Movement has always, ever since its foundation, considered as a grave menace to Peace the violence used to maintain peoples in a state of dependence and colonial oppression.

It has always considered that foreign intervention in the internal affairs of semi-dependent peoples, the inclusion of their countries in aggressive pacts and the establishment of foreign strategic bases on their territories, aggravate international tension. The London and Paris Agreements do not only constitute a menace to the security of the peoples of Europe and world Peace, but their application would have direct and burdensome effects upon the lives of colonial and dependent peoples who are already suffering such a hard and at times tragic fate.

The World Council of Peace draws the attention of world opinion once more to the dangers for Peace resulting from the situations created in various dependent and semi-dependent countries.

In Malaya, in Kenya, in North Africa, there is a danger that armed conflicts may become open wars and may jeopardise world Peace.

Concerning the Indo-Chinese war, the World Peace Movement proclaimed the need and the possibility of ending such conflicts by peaceful means. We have been justified by the event.

In the Middle and Near East foreign meddling in different forms in the internal affairs of the peoples in order to force on them pacts and military blocs — the Turkish-Pakistan Pact, Near East Mutual Defence Pact, and others — constitutes a threat to Peace.

The World Council of Peace calls for the earliest possible settlement of these conflicts by peaceful means.

The World Council of Peace declares that relations between all states, great or small, should be founded on respect for the five principles enunciated in the mutual declarations of India, China and Burma — principles conforming with the United Nations Charter.

The World Council of Peace considers that the ending of the armed conflicts now in progress, respect for independence and the realisation of the national and democratic aspirations of all peoples are essential factors in the relief of international tension.

It calls on world opinion to demand the adoption and the application of these principles, which are indispensible to the safety of us all.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

OPENING SPEECH

Pastor Sven Hector — *Sweden*

I believe that I speak today for all true friends of peace in Sweden, when I bid you all a warm welcome to Sweden, in this capital made known to the whole world by one of the most noble actions of the world peace forces — the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal. We are truly delighted that this Conference should take place at Skansen, which, for every Swede, is a symbol of that national culture and national independence which all of us want to see develop in our own country against a background of world peace . . .

We are all aware that these are decisive times. Will we carry on to reach further milestones of victory on the road to a lessening of international tension? Or will new plots against peace force us to retreat? . . .

The day has now come when the peoples must put all their strength into the task of making known their proposals for the solution of the questions which still block the road to a lessening of international tension. Today we have much to defend, but we have still more to win in the future. In this spirit I once again bid you welcome to Stockholm. Let us make this new meeting in our capital the starting-point for new victories of the forces which speak for peace and understanding on behalf of the whole world.

Point One of the Agenda

COOPERATION OF ALL THE STATES OF EUROPE IN THE ORGANISATION OF THEIR COMMON SECURITY

Senator Ambrogio Donini — *Italy*

First Report on Point One of the Agenda

Allow me first of all to review the development of the international situation since the last meeting of the World Council of Peace, in Berlin from 24th to 28th May this year.

Above all, there have been the Geneva Conference and the signing of the agreement on Indo-China: a triumph of the spirit of negotiation over the policy of strength. The success of the Geneva Conference has shown to the world the part played by the peaceful peoples of Asia, and primarily by India and China, in spite of all the differences in their social and political systems, in building peace and easing international tension. But the participation of France, Great Britain and the Soviet Union in the work at Geneva, in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect, has shown at the same time the real possibilities of collaboration between the European Powers, and the concrete possibility of a new policy of agreement and unity in Europe.

This new prospect of peace and cooperation in Europe was increased by the French Parliament's rejection of E.D.C. . . .

In all the countries of the world, in Latin America as in Africa, in Asia as in Europe, this success was interpreted as proof that it is possible to link the ordinary people mobilised by our Movement with other trends of public opinion: with trade union and religious organisations, with cultural circles and even with Parliamentary bodies, neglecting no alliance, however partial or temporary. It is an important lesson for us, a lesson which we must not lose sight of, at a time when we are meeting together to discuss the problems raised by the present international situation . . .

The changes which occurred in the international situation with the failure of E.D.C. also had repercussions among groups which had not yet worked with us and do not intend to, but which have realised that there is a definite possibility of contributing to the solution of world problems; even those who believed the promises of a sham European unity saw with increasing clarity the new paths opening for the establishment of security and cooperation in Europe. With the rejection of E.D.C. the road was opened for the creation of real European unity which is the basis for indivisible security and a guarantee of national independence, national sovereignty and peace in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The road was opened for the establishment of a united and democratic Germany; for the implementation of a policy of agreements and disarmament at the United Nations, against the dangers of atomic war and of thermo-nuclear destruction.

Others have sought a solution of these problems along different and perilous lines . . .

The agreements signed by certain countries in London and Paris have a very clear meaning — to make negotiations impossible; to perpetuate the policy of opposing blocs and of the division of Germany and Europe; to re-establish the German army on an aggressive basis and to impose once more on the peoples of the world the burden of a new armaments race and the danger of atomic extermination and the end of civilisation . . .

With the danger of the rearmament of Western Germany a whole series of dangers loom on the horizon:

1. A sudden halt on the road to an easing of international tension, where certain progress has been made since 1953.

2. The division of Germany, the prolongation of the allied occupation and the political servitude of Germany for an indefinite period. In this case the real heads of Western Germany would be the Nazi generals.

3. The impossibility of the peaceful unification of Germany and of the creation, in the heart of Europe, of a democratic and free country, which is the wish of the German people themselves in both West and East Germany.

4. An insurmountable obstacle to the creation of a system of general collective security in Europe, with the participation of all countries, great or small.

5. Finally, the perpetuation of the division of the world into opposing blocs, and the continuation of the armaments race with the terrible consequences that history has many times shown us . . .

These protocols, these agreements, these conventions are now being submitted for ratification by the parliaments of the countries concerned. They talk of haste, but we must not confuse this haste with the real possibility of carrying out this plan . . .

We believe we can say that the work accomplished by the Peace Movement in the last few years confirms the possibilities of a popular victory over this new danger. The possibilities are real, and the peoples' recent successes in the fight against E.D.C. demonstrate this . . .

The only alternative to the real and immediate dangers inherent in the London and Paris Agreements is the speedy creation of a system of security in Europe which will make possible a peaceful settlement of the German problem and free elections in Germany by an agreement between the Four Powers, an agreement acceptable to the German people who want national unity and sovereignty in conditions of peace and democracy . . .

Therefore, at this session of the World Council our movement must study every means of immediately translating into deeds the existing will to avoid the irreparable.

The problem of European security is our central task. The solution of this problem would, in fact, open the way to the settlement of all the present international disputes — from the problems raised by the peoples of Latin America and Africa, to the problems of safeguarding the newly regained peace in Asia, where the guns no longer roar; from the problem of the national, social and cultural demands of the colonial peoples to the problem of the indivisibility of security and peace . . .

Certain press organs put forward the theory of parallel negotiations held by certain members of Western governments. Parallel negotiations, certainly, but parallel in the sense that they should meet and not at infinity as in geometry. Parallel negotiations, certainly, but dealing with the concrete reality of the preservation of peace; parallel negotiations between the Four Great Powers on the German problem; parallel negotiations between the countries of Europe to establish real security; parallel negotiations at U.N.O. for disarmament and the peaceful use of atomic energy, but not parallel negotiations aiming at German rearmament and disarmament, at war and peace, at unity and division, at one and the same time . . .

Today, all the peoples of the world are interested in the immediate holding of negotiations, beginning with the central problem, which is the establishment of security in Europe.

The struggle will be hard and will not be won in one single battle. But all the forces of peace must rally now in order to win victories in this sphere and so ward off the terrible threat of a further conflagration . . .

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Friends, you see, therefore, that our Movement has now entered a new phase — doubtless, the most important in its existence. Our movement has gained prestige, but there are still forces, trends and even countries around us which can be won over to the struggle for the establishment of security in Europe, for the peaceful settlement of the German question and of all outstanding international disputes.

We must continue to discuss and even carry on a polemic with these forces. I believe that today we have the possibility of uniting them around this great common ideal, though we make no claim to a monopoly of the struggle for peace. At the same time, we should point out the results of the experience we have gained and the possibility of using this to pave the road towards unity and European security. It is along these lines, I believe, that we must direct our preparatory work for calling, during the early part of next year, a great Assembly of the forces of peace of all countries and of all trends, irrespective of social, economic or religious opinions. We must direct our work towards this Assembly, while realising that the essential problem of the fight for the security of Europe and the world is facing us now, that time is short and that this meeting must issue a clear message, which will resound among the peaceful peoples of the world.

Mr. Gilbert de Chambrun — *France*

DEPUTY IN THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Second Report on Point One of the Agenda

The basis of the London and Paris agreements is exactly the same as that of E.D.C. and they are both equally dangerous. In both cases it is a question of the unilateral rearmament of Western Germany . . .

When the military danger implicit in these texts is pointed out to them, official circles put forward an unforeseen argument in their defence . . .

The proper way to negotiate with the Soviet government would be to start off from a position of strength, they say. The ratification of the rearmament of Western Germany is necessary, they conclude, in order to negotiate better with the Soviet Union.

So at the present time the following alternative is put to us — negotiation beforehand or negotiation afterwards.

If negotiation takes place before any debate on the ratification of the London and Paris agreements, it is clear from all that I have said on the development of international politics that the time is very favourable for avoiding the revival of German militarism, for reuniting Germany by free elections, for signing the Austrian treaty and for bringing the negotiations on general, simultaneous and controlled disarmament to a decisive stage . . .

On the other hand, when they talk of negotiating after ratification, the question arises whether the *fait accompli* of ratification would not jeopardise or retard negotiation . . .

If twelve divisions are set up in Western Germany it is now clear that twelve divisions will answer them in Eastern Germany. What will be the consequences of such a state of affairs for the vital problems of the unification of Germany, European security and general disarmament?

The unification of Germany will become very difficult. After the setting up of these armed German forces has been agreed on, signed and ratified by both sides, we shall have set out on a road of no return. On the other hand, no country anxious for its security can then consent to the reunification of Germany if there is the slightest risk that at any given moment it might find these 24 German divisions joined against it . . .

In conclusion, it is necessary to negotiate before taking the irreparable step.

Negotiate on what? A simple reminder of the views consistently held by the Peace Movement gives the answer.

Negotiation should deal in the first place with the peaceful solution of the German problem and secondly with the organisation of real security for all the countries of Europe which should, without exception, enjoy the same rights and accept the same responsibilities, thus precluding the division of Europe into two antagonistic blocs . . .

The campaign has already started. At the moment, I can only speak for France, where hundreds of thousands of signatures have already been collected to a petition which ends: "Don't ratify! Negotiate!" . . .

It depends on world public opinion whether the year 1955 will be the year of security and disarmament, the year of the entry of a unified Germany into the community of peaceful nations, the year of the relaxation of international tension and peace. It is essential that millions of people should feel their responsibility and show themselves equal to the task that faces them.

Mrs. Thea Arnold — *German Federal Republic*

Third Report on Point One of the Agenda

The most significant formula of the London and Paris agreements is the one which proclaims that the Bonn government is the only body which can legitimately speak for the whole of Germany. One does not have to do any subtle legal and political research to recognise that in this matter the Adenauer government has succeeded in making the Western Powers accept a point of view which in no way corresponds to the historical facts and which, for as long as it is accepted, makes the reunification of Germany impossible . . .

The Paris Treaties render impossible the peaceful reunification of Germany. They threaten the security of Europe, they increase international tension and lead to a renewed armaments race and to the brink of another war. This explains why the intention to ratify the new agreements is meeting a quite different welcome from the West German people, the Federal Parliament and even the Coalition Government than was the case with the Bonn Treaty and the E.D.C. Agreements. Awareness of the danger has grown and the sense of national responsibility is making itself more strongly felt than hitherto . . .

It is as if a flash of awareness and a wave of national feeling for peace were sweeping through the people of the Federal Republic.

This movement is not confined to the man in the street, although he and he alone is, of course, the deciding factor. Under the pressure of public opinion signs of crisis are appearing in the Bonn coalition government...

Today, the people of Western Germany realise that the world no longer wants lip service from them, but expects action. They realise that responsibility for the fate of Germany rests not with the occupying Powers but with themselves.

In this decisive phase in the struggle for world peace, West Germany, too, will, as the events of recent months have shown, raise its voice louder than hitherto and call for a new and different line of policy, the creation of a strong public opinion and acts indicative of a desire for agreement.

Mr. Wilhelm Elfes — *German Federal Republic*

(Message read by Mrs. Thea Arnold)

Whatever religious and political opinions each one of us may hold personally, we are none the less in perfect agreement in our great World Peace Movement that peace is a most precious possession, an indispensable prerequisite for the well-being and happiness of all mankind. So we must faithfully preserve our unity across all frontiers; we will not be discouraged by our present difficulties and we will put all our strength into the achievement of international friendship and World Peace.

Mr. Gordon Schaffer — *Great Britain*

In opposing German rearmament, the Peace Movement in my country, although still banned by some organisations, still boycotted by the press, radio and television, is the real voice of the British people. It is the voice of true patriotism against those who would trust the fate of our proud little island to the goodwill of Nazi generals and would condemn our sons and grandsons, yes, and our great-grandsons to occupy the European continent for the rest of this century.

The alternative to the Nazi generals is a united Germany. The alternative to a new Wehrmacht is collective peace in Europe. And peace in Europe would be the harbinger of peace throughout the world. And with peace would come the possibility of genuine disarmament and the release of the illimitable resources of science for the betterment of the peoples...

If we can reach the millions of little people.. we shall rally immeasurable and innumerable forces behind the banner for peace...

Our task must be to widen our horizons, to ensure by deeds as well as words that our Movement embraces every man and woman who wants peace and excludes only those who plan war. We must take new and decisive steps to break down the barriers dividing the peoples.

Mr. Jiichiro Matsumoto — *Japan*

MEMBER OF THE SENATE; FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE DIET

In Asia, Japan, and in Europe, Western Germany are intended to serve as the spearhead of a new aggressive war against the Soviet Union and the people of China in the interests of the U.S.A.

Dear European friends, especially from Germany, France and Great Britain, we Japanese people suffered incalculable damage during and after World War II begun by the Axis, the military bloc at that time. Consequently, we have been fighting and will continue to fight resolutely against the incorporation of Japan in any military bloc or its participation in any aggressive war.

At the same time, we should also oppose the participation of France, Western Germany, Great Britain and any other European countries in the London and Paris Agreements. Europe must not be divided into two opposing groups. Every European country is an integral part of Europe. Coexistence and cooperation among nations is indispensable in Europe as well as in Asia. The European version of the "let Asians fight Asians" policy must never materialise.

At no time in the past have European problems been so closely connected with the interests of the people of the whole world.

Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg — *U. S. S. R.*

The possibility of peaceful coexistence is as simple as ABC. The peoples now want more...

We must insist, not only on the possibility of peaceful coexistence, but also on the indispensability of the cooperation of all states both to ensure the security of each, and to raise the material and cultural level of mankind.

Not only fear, but also hope, not only hate of war, but also love of peace, bid us examine the position in Europe today with special attentiveness.

How is it possible to ensure peace in Europe? The supporters of the policy of strength say that it can be done by reinforcing one military bloc, by increasing armaments and, in particular, by the rearmament of Western Germany. It is unlikely, however, that the final division of Europe into two mutually hostile blocs will further cooperation of the Eastern states with the Western, or even their peaceful coexistence...

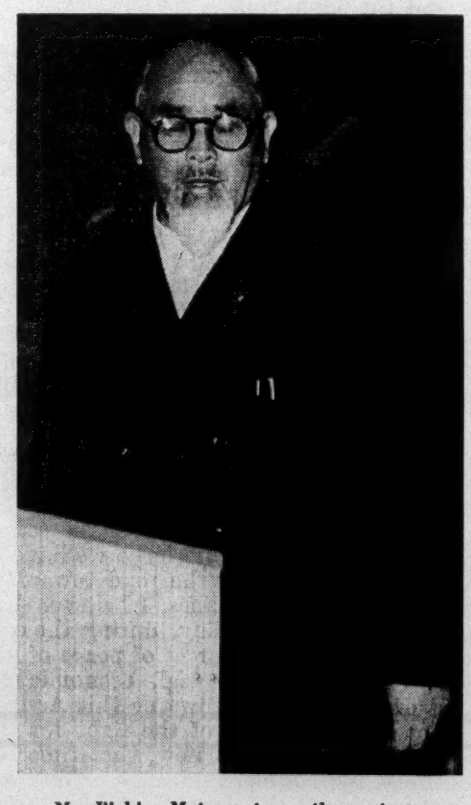
The history of the last 80 years has demonstrated that, despite pretty adequate records of belligerency scored by the governments of certain other European states, the champions' laurels for launching war belong to the German militarists and the bosses of German industry. Surely it cannot be possible that now, when not yet ten years have passed since the end of the late atrocious war, there is only one way of preserving peace — the revival of the Wehrmacht and the arsenals of the Ruhr?...

The revival of German militarism threatens every people in Europe, the Germans among their number. That is why many political figures remote from any sympathy with the German Democratic Republic are protesting against the London agreement: Mr. Bevan and the Christian Democrat Sig. Melloni, Herr Ollenhauer and the Belgian Senator M. Rollin. As for France, her feelings were well described by the Paris correspondent of the *New York Times:* "No bridegroom obliged to undergo a shot-gun wedding ever showed such reluctance as France showed this week in agreeing to the entry of Germany into the Western Military Alliance."

The supporters of the policy of strength have led the states of Western Europe into an impasse of contradictions...

I am, of course, convinced that France will contrive to emerge from the impasse, and that her will to peace will show her a course worthy of her. Recalling the phrase of the *New York Times* correspondent about the shot-gun and the bridegroom, I think that maybe some match-makers have been a bit precipitate with the wedding programme. Much yet depends on the French people. This summer, in an American newspaper, France was called "the land of big disappointments". For the supporters of peace, in whatsoever corner of the world, France was, is and will be a land of great hopes and great possibilities.

People who, sincerely or reluctantly, defend the London agreement say that there is no other way out for Western Europe, that the Soviet Union does not want a united Germany and refuses all proposals for free elections. The defenders of peace must, in every country, on every street corner, in every home,



Mr. Jiichiro Matsumoto on the rostrum

denounce this new lie of the enemies of peace. The Soviet Union has proclaimed that it seeks the unification of Germany; it proposes conversations with the three Western Powers and is agreeable to examine the Western proposals for free elections in Germany. Why then is its offer to this day not accepted? Why, instead of negotiations with their allies in the war against German militarism, do some French Radicals and some Bitish Labourites prefer to rearm S.S. men, revive the Wehrmacht and repeat the tragicomedy that led to the second World War?...

Neither military blocs nor an armed Germany can safeguard the future for the cornfields and the children of Europe. It is necessary to find another path — a new path, the path of peace. The Soviet Government proposes the calling of a conference of all European States, with the participation of representatives from the United States, to examine how joint measures can be taken to ensure the security of Europe. Any participant in this conference may propose his plan. From such a joint examination must emerge some concrete agreement acceptable to all.

To wait longer is impossible. The time has come to call on all European states to cooperate, regardless of the principles that guide their internal policy. The representatives of all European States can and must agree on the organisation of collective security.

The United States of America should likewise be included in this union, because twice it has happened that she has been dragged into a war begun in Europe, and because the American people have close economic ties with many of the peoples of Western Europe...

Our session is meeting in days that may decide the future of Europe and the whole of humanity. The peoples may yet avert the supreme misfortune. The peoples may yet avert the splitting of Europe and a new arms race. The peoples must not allow the spectre of war to be ensconced anew in the very heart of Europe...

Every day is precious. Friends, remember what we pledged in the past, here in this lovely city. From here went out our Appeal, that maybe saved the world from the horror of the atomic bomb. At that time we were much weaker than we are now: now the stream has turned into a broad river. With us, now, is the public opinion of the entire world. But we must rouse in our hearts the fire of old. We must find the passion of the days of the Stockholm Appeal. Do not let the irreparable come to pass. Protect the road to peace!

Professor H. L. Hromadka — *Czechoslovakia*

DEAN OF THE FACULTY OF EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY, PRAGUE UNIVERSITY

A collective security conference would give all European nations a feeling of relief and establish a basis of real trust and cooperation, whereas the London and Paris Agreements would seal the division of Germany, of Europe, and above all they would seal the division of the whole world. We have to face all the consequences of their eventual implementation. What are we going to do? The agreements would force our nation and our neighbours to take all indispensable measures for our security.

May I, once more, point to the sinister experiences of our people under the Nazi regime? How often we were assured by the western nations that, in the end, our country would be protected against the dangers of Nazi militarist threats and that we should not be unduly alarmed! And what was the real end of our security in those dark days of 1938—39? We are encouraged by the earnest proposal of the Soviet Government and have a feeling of satisfaction about the fact that the Government of my country and the Government of Poland have decided to be co-organisers of a Collective Security Conference.

Mr. Gabriel d'Arboussier — *French West Africa*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

If genuine collective security were organised between all the peoples of Europe the face of Africa would at once be changed.

Do not misunderstand me, I am not saying that the particular problems of the African people would be resolved as though by magic, but that their solution would be made easier. And anyway, I am absolutely convinced that European insecurity and the plans leading to war make the fulfilment of their national and democratic aspirations more and more difficult.

As Mr. Donini truly said this morning, the clauses of the London and Paris Agreements providing for the installation of atomic plants in Africa are a direct threat not only to the peoples of Europe and Africa, but to all the peoples of the world.

Africa wishes to be neither an apple of discord for Europe, nor a refuge in the war plans which are increasing the poverty and oppression to which our peoples are subject.

And there, in my opinion, is the real basis for solidarity between the peoples of Europe and Africa in the struggle for peace.

Prof. Jean Dembowski — *Poland*

SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT; PRESIDENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

The enemies of peace, the enemies of peaceful cooperation, are trying to give the impression that the problem of West German rearmament is already finally settled and that one must resign oneself to it. That is not true. We must not give way to this fatalistic enemy propaganda, whose aim is to disarm the peoples' will to peace. It is on our efforts to make known the real character of the London and Paris Agreements, to show what they entail, it is on our work and our struggle that the failure of their calculations depends...

There is still time to halt the course of events which, beginning with the rearmament of Germany, would lead to an aggravation of international tension and create a dangerous centre for warlike adventures and provocations in the heart of Europe...

It is not by creating closed military groupings but by uniting the efforts of all the European states that peace can be assured on this continent. An agreement of this sort would offer real guarantees of security to France, Poland, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, and to all the states of Europe, great and small. An agreement of this nature would bring about a real and lasting relaxation of the tension in international relations and would put a stop to the armaments race which weighs so heavily on the backs of the population and in some countries prevents the satisfaction of their needs...

It goes without saying that Germany's neighbours, who have already twice in one generation fallen victims to aggression by German militarism, cannot allow it to be rebuilt once more; they cannot remain passive before the development of this threat to their national existence. The peaceful peoples of Europe who are menaced by the reconstitution of the neo-hitlerite Wehrmacht are vigilant and will unite their efforts to safeguard their security and independence.

Professor Heinz Kamnitzer — *German Democratic Republic*

The Paris Agreements propose to rearm the very part of Germany which twice in the twentieth century has provided the biggest arsenal and the most dangerous armoury of two world wars. They give the merchants of death of the Rhine and the Ruhr the instruments of military power so that they may pursue for the third time a policy of strength.

In this respect the Paris Agreement offers even better initial conditions than did the Versailles Treaty. The Reichswehr was then a strong regular army of 100,000 men but was not allowed to have aircraft or tanks. It took them some time to transform themselves into the Wehrmacht of the Second World War.

The new Wehrmacht is not only to be five times as big but, by means of conscription, will train several million soldiers for active service in a short time. It possesses an air force, armoured units and all the modern means of mass destruction. What justification is there for the assumption that the Federal Army of 500,000 men can be more easily controlled than the Reichswehr of 100,000?...

If the agreements are ratified they will bring into being a military State which will sweep away the illusory controls and petty restrictions, the moment it is fully rearmed...

We owe it to the world, to our people and to our neighbours to issue a public warning. If weapons are again placed in the hands of the groups and the men who blame Hitler for losing the last war, then the same beginning will pave the way for the same terrible consequences...

It will be just as difficult in the future as it was in the past to know which way the guns will be pointed...

Germany must cease to a bone of contention. Neither part of it must be made into or used as a political bulwark or military outpost. No doubt even then international disagreements and power blocs would still exist. But by the neutralisation of the whole of Germany, the very country in the heart of Europe where the acute tension between the great powers threatens to break out into a conflagration would then be excluded from the calculations of power politics...

Neutralisation of Germany, as we envisage it, would in no way mean that it would be powerless. On the contrary. It would ensure the harmonious development of economic, political, and cultural relationships with all neighbouring countries and the whole world. Neutralisation would, on the one hand, preclude the possibility that Germany, or any part of Germany, would undertake military commitments in any direction. But, on the other hand, Germany would, whether divided or united, take its place on an equal footing in the system of European security and would honour this equality of status by maintaining uniform relations with all the other treaty partners.

On the grounds of self-preservation, Germany has every reason to: —

1. keep out of any unilateral military or political committment such as are embodied in the Paris Agreement.

2. seek to associate herself with an all-embracing alliance such as the system of collective security for all Europe.

This possibility can now result in a settlement in the interests of the German people and all the peoples of the continent.

The Soviet Union's new proposal has found an extraordinary response both in East and West Germany because the people on both sides see in such a conference a great possibility of obviating threatening dangers by way of negotiation.

Once again Germany stands at the parting of the ways. Not only have we a vital interest in seeing that the fatal London and Paris decisions are not ratified and that the door is left open for European understanding, but also as Germans we accept the major responsibility for this . . .

Mrs. Isabelle Blume — *Belgium*

SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The people are saying that to give arms once again to Germany at a time when she has not yet regained her unity, nor accepted her present frontiers, means both undermining the basis of German democracy and endangering peace . . .

The average Belgian smiles when he hears talk about the limitation of German strength and armaments which have been fixed at a high level in any case. Already there are agreements which provide that this level can be changed if N.A.T.O. demands it and that it would only need a simple majority vote of the Western European Union to do so.

The peace-loving people of Belgium quite naturally think that the doctrine of peace through strength must be replaced by the policy of collective security and disarmament . . .

Our struggle for European Security must therefore be waged on three fronts: —

a) The fight against ratification: Our ministers, having learned to their cost that it was bad policy to be in too great a hurry to ratify agreements before their French and German neighbours, will not this time start the procedure of ratification before France and Germany. So we still have some time left.

b) We must enlighten the people so that they realise that it is not possible to rearm Germany and negotiate a system of European security at one and the same time. Like many others, our rulers have made the people believe that with Western Europe organised and strong, it would be easier to deal with the Soviet Union and to obtain greater concessions from her. But it is becoming more and more difficult to make them believe such stupid nonsense. This year they have been impressed by the character of the genuine negotiations on Korea and Indo-China and they are beginning to understand that it is impossible to negotiate between a gun and an atom bomb . . .

c) Towards Collective Security: More and more the people remember that the concept of collective security was one of their greatest hopes between the wars and that it was because our Governments rejected all proposals for collective security presented to the League of Nations that the Second World War broke out. Understanding that for them there is only one alternative, collective security and disarmament or a war of total destruction, the peoples of the small countries say to themselves with good reason: we know the results of war, so why shouldn't we try seriously for once to live under the banner of collective security? . . .

Our Movement intends to carry through successfully its great campaign against German rearmament and for collective security, to ensure that negotiation precedes the ratification of the treaties. It has learnt from experience that it is often necessary for the peoples to show their governments the way, and that is why many public figures and groupings are replying favourably to the invitation to the European Conference which will be held in Paris at the beginning of December.

Indeed, it is necessary that in intelligent and fraternal unity, all the peoples of Europe should show their determination to organise their security and to develop their relations in every sphere . . .

Mr. Tsai Ting-kai — *China*

MEMBER OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS OF CHINA

The present struggle of the European peoples against the revival of German militarism and for the establishment of Europe's collective security and peace is a movement of the utmost importance for the defence of world peace. We Chinese people, as well as the other peoples of Asia, are extremely concerned with this struggle. We all live in the same world, and the peace and security which we all need is so closely knit together that it is indivisible . . .

Nobody can conceal the fact that the rearming of West Germany and the revival of German militarism, under whatever form, will contain unbounded dangers. For this will perpetuate the division of Germany and make impossible the democratic unification of the country so eagerly desired by the German people. Furthermore, it will divide Europe into opposing military blocs and let a revanchist West Germany play the main role in an aggressive bloc. It will create tension, thereby aggravating the danger of war. It will bring to the peoples of Europe infinite horror and calamity. So this will not only seriously menace the peace and security of Europe but will also seriously menace the peace and security of Asia and the whole world . . .

The Metropolitan Nikolai — *U. S. S. R.*

We are again met together to examine the obstacles blocking the road to peace, to concentrate our constructive efforts on the most dangerous point of the world contradictions.

It is clear to all that at the present time this point is the continued division of Germany which is leading to the revival of militarism in the heart of Europe. There is an equally clear understanding, especially after the Soviet Government note of 13th November, of the deep meaning of the problem of European security, the solution of which would also enable the German problem to be settled. Likewise, there can be no doubt as to the way in which this double task can be accomplished provided it is clearly understood by all the Governments and peoples of Europe. Indeed, after the Berlin and Geneva conferences, it would seem that no one should entertain any doubt that contacts with a view to the peaceful discussion of the questions in dispute — in other words negotiations — can reduce international tension and even produce results as important as the ending of bloodshed in Indo-China . . .

Who would dare to affirm that a family can live without the mutual trust of its members?

The peaceful life of Mankind is likewise impossible without this trust, the more so since each new victory of science over time and space makes mankind more of a great united family. That is why from the Christian point of view, according to which each man is in the image of God, trust between the peoples and their governments must be the first condition for peaceful coexistence . . .

The Christian churches can and must press their governments to strengthen this spirit of mutual trust . . .

We know that pagan Rome knew no other law than that of force, but Christian love has shown itself stronger and more substantial than death. This same love, this same power of the Christian faith, this Christian unity for the defence of Peace, must now become one of the sources of this trust between men and between peoples without which victory over the imperialist policy of force and hatred is impossible . . .

But have the Christian Churches of the West done everything possible to establish complete unity with other Churches in the interests of peace? Could we not long since have started discussing this question on a world-wide Christian basis? . . . .

My country has recently shown the peoples of Europe that they can reap the advantages of security with confidence and cooperation which, answering the vital interests of the European countries, could have a decisive importance in consolidating peace in general. A big step could be made along this road, thanks to Christian trust, if all the Christian Churches of the West, together with the Orthodox Churches, in common with all peace-loving people, were to intervene in the interests of this cause upon whose success depends the well-being of Europe and of mankind the world over.

To all religious organisations, to all religions in the world, I make this fervent appeal: "In the name of Him in whom we believe, in the name of a happy life for our children, and our young people, in the name of the happiness of all mankind, let us spare no effort, let us work to unite in a massive endeavour in defence of peace on earth . . .

Mr. Yaari — *Israel*
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

Over 400,000 citizens of our country, 42 per cent of the adult population of the state, have, during the last few months, signed the demands of the People's Referendum, organised by the Israel Peace Movement. The first demand expresses opposition to the rearming of Germany in any form whatsoever. The results of this referendum prove that the masses of the people have not forgotten what crimes were committed against us and what are likely to be committed against us and the whole of mankind by the neo-Nazi militarism now being resurrected...

Mr. John Burns — *Great Britain*

It is true that the present British Government has agreed that German rearmament should be put into effect, and as soon as possible.

It is true that support for such a policy was carried at Scarborough. But the present Government will go.

And the policy of the Labour Party which will be the next Government in Britain can and will be changed...

So therefore I say to this Conference: let us not approach the future with any feeling of pessimism or what is worse in a spirit of defeatism, but let us support all efforts to bring about a meeting of all the European nations, or the Four Great Powers, before the wish of certain right wing elements is transformed into the deed. Let us do this, for we will gather friends and allies on the way and, as true as I stand here, the day will come when the common man will triumph over the forces of reaction...

Mr. Alain Le Leap — *France*
GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS OF FRANCE (C.G.T.)

Our people will not be satisfied with the rejection of the London and Paris Agreements, after having forced the rejection of E.D.C. They intend that France shall play her part in the construction of European Collective Security. This idea of collective security, supported, for example, by such men as Mr. Herriot and Mr. Paul Boncour, has spread throughout the most varied sections of the French nation...

Because we feel that the position of France can be the determining factor, as it was in the fight against E.D.C., it is our duty to tell you with the utmost gravity that we consider the situation to be serious. Serious because our Parliament does not reflect the wishes of our people. Serious because in the Chamber of Deputies those formerly hostile to E.D.C. are not yet taking a clear stand against the London and Paris Agreements, for a variety of reasons. But have no fear, we are without the slightest trace of discouragement, resignation or surrender. Our pressure will be forcefully exerted, there will be the maximum number of deputations, lobbying members of Parliament and making them listen to the voice of the nation...

Your friendship imposes on us the duty of telling you that the hour is grave, very grave; we must realise that. It is a question of the future and even of the lives of our peoples. By our common efforts we can still win a new success, a decisive success. It is upon us Frenchmen, but also upon all of you, especially those of you who represent the peoples of Western Europe, that the future of Peace and of the world depends.

Mrs. M. Minnaert-Coelingh — *Netherlands*

The feeling of uneasiness about the London and Paris agreements is widespread and much greater than it was over E.D.C....

Always the danger of an independent German army was pointed out in order to stress that a supra-national organisation was needed to avert it. Now the idea of a supra-national organisation has been thrown overboard and an almost independent German army with its own General Staff is proposed, as though nothing had happened in the interim. This has suddenly made the situation much clearer and warrants us speaking of a feeling of general anxiety.

Prof. H. Brandweiner — *Austria*

The Charter of the United Nations provides for regional agreements which can fulfil similar functions for certain parts of the world in so far as and so long as the Security Council does not intervene...

Such regional agreements, however, must not, under any circumstances, be directed against one or several of the Great Powers. This is so because the Charter of the United Nations has given them collectively the main responsibility for the maintenance of world peace and international security. This fundamental principle of the unanimity of the great powers is made abundantly clear in Article 27, paragraph 3, of the Charter.

Regional agreements which are directed against one or more of the Five Great Powers are, therefore, a violation of the Charter and are, like all other international agreements which contradict it, subject to the sanction that commitments arising out of the statute have priority. Every state which fails to honour these obligations, and in the execution of such regional agreements resorts to war, must expect to be treated as an aggressor.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I would ask you to give special attention to this point. So far, in the theory of International Law, no attempt has been made to define a criterion which would enable us to look upon agreements such as the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, which founded the Organisation of American States, or the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship as being regional agreements of the type provided for in the United Nations Charter, and which, on the other hand, will enable us to determine why military pacts such as N.A.T.O., the Manila Pact, the Anzus Pact or E.D.C., which met its end in Paris, are not regional treaties in the sense of the Charter.

The criterion rests on the fact that the latter treaties are directed against one or several of the Great Powers — against China and the Soviet Union. In this way they contradict the United Nations Charter because it links the building of a system of collective security with the principle of the unanimity of the Great Powers. This became abundantly clear when the Soviet Union offered to enter N.A.T.O. The refusal of the N.A.T.O. Powers to accept the Soviet Union in this treaty system clearly showed — what was never in doubt from the start — that in fact N.A.T.O. is directed against the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union's entry into N.A.T.O. would have transformed this treaty into a valid regional agreement...

In the light of these points of international law, we can say that the all-European collective security treaty proposed by the Soviet Union possesses all the requirements of a regional agreement in the sense of the United Nations Charter. In principle it is not directed against any country; it provides for the participation of the United States of America; it embraces countries of different social systems and forms of Government; it respects the national sovereignty of all the participating states. At the same time it makes impossible the use of the remaining national armies for purposes of aggression.

The parties to this agreement pledge not to attack each other and to refrain from any threat or use of force in their relations with each other...

Prof. Göran Von Bonsdorff — *Finland*

From the point of view of principle the security problem is not a question of power but a common interest for all the countries concerned. This question is of special importance for Finland bearing in mind the position of the country between East and West, and the more one considers the special position of Finland the more one sees how important it is for its people to contribute as much as possible to a relaxation of the tension in Europe. It should be

Herr Otto Nuschke delivering his speech to the World Council of Peace

observed that Finland as well as other small countries has a full right to work out and present its own proposals. And I do not hesitate to say that such proposals should be presented. That is that measures for the relaxation of international tension should not be regarded as the privilege of the Great Powers, in whose hands the final decision lies. They should rather be regarded as a common interest of the Great Powers as well as the small states, both those which are members of blocs and independent countries. Only in this way can we hope to obtain acceptable and reliable results from the standpoint of preserving peace.

Pastor Uffe Hansen — *Denmark*

It is illogical to open peace negotiations with Germany by providing her once again with the means of waging war; one can hardly make the Germans believe this any longer.

Doctor Sliman ben Sliman — *Tunisia*

These (*London and Paris, Ed.*) agreements, which have a barely concealed similarity to the plan for a European defence army, that was defeated by the struggle of the peoples and of the World Peace Movement, constitute a danger to the people. For they mortgage the future not only of Europe, but also of the peoples of North Africa, especially Tunisia.

So the question of European security has a direct interest for our country . . .

Mr. Piero Jahier — *Italy*

On the subject of this substitute for the European Defence Community, that is, the Agreements in the course of ratification which we have been discussing, it seems natural to me to ask our German brothers: "Isn't progressive disarmament one of the most urgent aims of the United Nations? Therefore, does not the disarmed Germany of the present time occupy an advance post on the road which all the European nations will have to follow?"

It will be for this disarmed but reunited Germany to decide its rearmament needs for itself in an atmosphere of collective security. Is it not humiliating for a great nation which has given Beethoven and Kant to the world to see its capacity for organisation and its military tradition looked upon as so much merchandise to be bought or sold? Are we going towards rearmament or disarmament?

Mr. Otto Nuschke — *German Democratic Republic*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

The first and foremost task of all European peoples must be to eliminate the blocs and the aggressive military pacts which are disguised as security pacts. This saving idea came out in the proposals made by Mr. Molotov at the Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe . . .

Naturally, the new system of collective security in Europe would have to avoid the mistakes of the past. Under no circumstances should the participation of one of the largest European states — the U.S.S.R. — be renounced. On the contrary, the Soviet Union should be a guarantor of peace and security in Europe.

We in the German Democratic Republic also welcome the Soviet suggestion to bring America into the negotiations on collective security in Europe. Here the U.S.A. could make a contribution worthy of her great traditions. If, in this way, the collective security of Europe were also guaranted by the U.S.A., then France's desire to have her security guaranteed both by Washington and Moscow could be fulfilled. Finally, the participation of the great Chinese nation in such a conference would make it clear to the world that peace is global, that world peace is indivisible; that we must aim to ensure it collectively in every corner of the earth...

The hope for a change in the relationship of forces through the setting up of West German divisions is built on sand. First ratification, then negotiations, this is the argument of blackmailers. The chain reaction of the prophets of Western German power then goes on: first rearmament, then negotiations! first war, then negotiations! first capitulation then — perhaps — negotiations! These were Hitler's arguments. Let his imitators and followers remember this: *Vestigia terrent,* tracks frighten.

Those who really want genuine and honest negotiations must come to them unreservedly and without preconditions. Only in this way can peace be preserved.

In this connection allow me to say a few words on the elections. On this question the government of the German Democratic Republic has the following attitude: in preparing for the re-establishment of a united and democratic German republic the principles of the Weimar Constitution must of course be taken into consideration. Why should we not make use of the positive experiences of the Weimar Republic or even of the experiences we gathered in building up the state both in East and West Germany in the post-war years? This is particularly indispensable for the holding of free all-German elections. The government of the German Democratic Republic lays down no conditions for negotiations with the Federal Republic on the preparation and holding of free, all-German, democratic elections. We are also, of course, of the opinion that acceptance of the electoral system used either in the Federal Republic or the Democratic Republic should not be made a condition of the negotiations. The only thing that matters is to negotiate and to reach agreement . . .

The German question can be solved in a peaceful manner and peace in Europe can be secured if we observe the following principles:

1) In Germany the policy of understanding must be continually carried forward. This policy of understanding is after all the most sensible one.

2) The rearmament of Western Germany must be prevented whatever happens, because without German infantry there can be no third world war.

3) The settlement of the German problem cannot be achieved through a partial solution or perhaps even a violent solution. But such a settlement is possible through the reunification of Germany on a peaceful and democratic basis and through the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe.

4) Just as it is impossible to attain a partial solution of the German problem, so it is also impossible to try and solve this complex question by a policy of preconditions. It can only be solved on the basis of honest negotiations.

5) Today the greatest responsibility for the consolidation of peace in Europe rests with the German people.

It is by recalling their great and noble humanist and national traditions that the German people will be able to live up to this responsibility.

Point two of the Agenda

THE SITUATION CREATED IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF ASIA BY FOREIGN PRESSURE AND BY THE SYSTEM OF MILITARY BLOCS AND COALITIONS

Mr. Romesh Chandra — *India*

Report presented on behalf of the Indian delegation

In the months that have followed the Geneva Conference, the bonds of Asian solidarity have grown with a rapidity that must have startled those who thrive on Asian disunity. Friendship between India and China has grown since the June meeting between Prime Ministers Nehru and Chou En-lai as the vital factor in building the new Asian Solidarity.

Trade agreements have been signed, opening the door to a commerce, which can help the progress of both countries. Cultural delegations have crossed and continue to cross into each other's lands...

Prime Minister Nehru has again and again stated that his dominant impression of China — an impression which all the malicious propaganda of the imperialist powers will not be able to obliterate — is that the Chinese people and their Government desire peace above everything else, that they are busy reconstructing their country, that they have built a new life for themselves, and that they earnestly seek friendly relations with their brother Asian peoples and with the peoples of the whole world...

The Five Principles do precisely mean the removal of the fear of war and aggression.

1. The first principle guarantees the freedom of all countries. Unless all countries are free there can never be any lasting peace. Unless each country is guaranteed against threats to its territorial integrity and sovereignty there will always be fear and consequent preparations for war, military alliances and building up of armaments.

2. The second principle provides for a guarantee against aggression. Only such a guarantee can create that climate of peace which will make war impossible.

3. The third principle ensures that each country will be free to develop in its own way, to adopt whatever system the people may desire without foreigners interfering, directly or indirectly, in their affairs.

4. The fourth principle ensures the development of normal economic and cultural relations between nations without discriminations and restrictions, relations based on equality and mutual benefit, instead of the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries by the imperialist powers.

5. The fifth principle of peaceful coexistence is, of course, the key and most important principle of all. It recognises the right of different countries to have different systems. It firmly opposes the theory that different social systems cannot exist side by side and must inevitably come into armed conflict...

The concept of an Area of Peace in Asia has blossomed and has by now become the glorious vision of a continent of peace as part of a world of peace. May we say that we Indians yearn for the day when instead of poverty and hunger in the minds of men, the word "Asia" will become a synonym for peace. To make Asia a Continent of Peace, to make the world a world of peace — that is the goal of our endeavours...

The makers of war are now madly rushing forward to complete their plans for the domination of Asia.

The South East Asia Treaty Organisation has come into being. Its meaning is clear enough and it has been rightly condemned by the Government of India and by all sections of the Indian people...

All these sinister efforts cannot be fought back if the peoples of Asia remain complacent, if they feel that with the growth of India-China friendship and solidarity, with the increasing acceptance of the Five Principles, with the ending of wars in Korea and Indo-China they can now sit back and let events march forward by themselves.

We in India know well that it is not enough for the people to watch while the governments act alone...

That is why we of the Indian Peace Movement, together with the rest of the people of our country, know well that it is necessary for the peoples of Asia to struggle, to raise their voices for peace.

During the last three months, the campaign for Asian Solidarity has swept through our country...

The mass organisations of workers, peasants, youth and women are taking an increasingly active part in the Peace Movement.

At present, the Peace Movement is intensifying the campaign for Asian Solidarity, which has been given a new fillip both by the dangers arising after the signing of the S.E.A.T.O. arrangement and by the new perspectives of Asian Solidarity which have arisen after Pandit Nehru's visit to China.

The All India Peace Council has called an All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity (the fourth Congress of the Peace Movement) at Madras from December 30, 1954 to January 2, 1955. For this Congress delegates are being elected on a mass scale from all types of organisations which support the peace Movement and the Five Peace Principles...

An announcement has recently been made regarding the formation of an Indian Preparatory Committee to convene a Conference of Asian Countries to assist in the promotion of peace in Asia and in the whole world. This preparatory Committee is headed by leading personalities, Members of Parliament and others, of the Congress, the Praja Socialist and Communist Parties.

The Conference is to be held in Delhi early in 1955 and is bound to be a great contribution to the development of the struggle for peace and towards the unification of the forces of peace in India and in other Asian countries. The people of Asia look forward now to the great world Congress of the Forces of Peace in all countries to be called next year: this Congress will help to forge new links between the peoples of the world and to plan new and greater efforts to outlaw war...

The aims of our movements for Asian Solidarity must be focussed clearly before the whole world.

First, we seek to build a Continent of Peace — a powerful Area of Peace — of countries bound together by a series of bilateral and multilateral agreements based on the historic Five Principles. Among ourselves and with countries of the whole world our relations shall be built on the basis of these Five Principles. We seek peace for our continent and peace for the world. We work together with each other and together with the rest of the peoples of the world.

Secondly, we demand an end to all military pacts which seek to divide and dominate us. Let the rallying cry of the Asian people be heard all over the world: "Down with the U.S.-Pakistan Pact! Down with the South East Asia Treaty Organisation! Down with the proposed Middle East Defence Organisation!"

Thirdly, we fight for an end to colonialism, to foreign interference in our affairs, to foreign bases and occupation of our soil. When we think of Asian freedom, let us not forget for a moment that in Malaya a savage war of oppression and brutality still continues. The Asian people say the Malayan people must be free.

Next our solidarity movement demands the immediate admission of the People's Republic of China to its rightful place in the United Nations. The campaign for the achievment of this simple demand of peace-loving people the world over must become irresistible. It is not enough to go on repeating the demand. We must see that our Governments take positive action which will compel the U.S.A. to end its unlawful and dangerous obstruction.

Fifthly, the campaign for Asian Solidarity must make every effort for a solution of the Japanese question to ensure the creation

of a free and peaceful Japan without foreign bases on its soil, and with friendly relations with all powers. The fact that the U.S. Government is more or less in complete occupation of Japan and that the rearmament of Japan is being carried out has roused among the peoples of Asia and in the Far East the realisation that Japan is sought to be utilised by the American war makers for their aggressive plans of war. The campaign for Asian solidarity will assist the great Japanese people to free themselves from foreign oppression and domination and to ensure that a new Japan will emerge to take its rightful place as a free and independent country pledged to peace.

Lastly, the campaign for Asian Solidarity must ensure the carrying forward of the cease-fires in Indo-China and Korea to a successful peace guaranteeing the freedom and unity of the peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia...

The peoples of Asia know that as long as Taiwan is allowed to be a base for U.S. military forces so long will there be a constant danger of war.

Taiwan belongs by right to China and has always been recognised as such. The interests of Peace and Justice and national sovereignty demand that Taiwan be liberated and restored to the Motherland.

This must be done without delay — this is the demand of the peoples of Asia...

The peoples of Asia look towards the World Council of Peace for assistance and advice in their struggle for peace. They are watching closely the outcome of our deliberations. They are confident that this Council will lead to the carrying forward more rapidly than ever before of their struggle for Asian Solidarity, for the building of Asia into a Continent of Peace.

We look upon our movement for Asian solidarity as part of the world struggle for peace; our movement's success depends on the links we forge with our brothers in Europe and America, Africa and Australia. Our movement stands foursquare behind the peoples of Europe in their struggle for security and against German rearmament. Our movement stands solidly behind the peoples of Latin America in their struggle against foreign intervention and behind the African peoples in their struggle against colonial slavery...

Mr. Han Sul Ya — *People's Democratic Republic of Korea*

Facts clearly show that nothing will be able to hold back the movement of the Asian peoples who are firmly resolved to defend their liberty and independence to the end.

The ruling circles of the United States refuse to recognise the great historic changes which are taking place everywhere on this vast continent. They are trying to wipe out all the precious victories achieved by the peace forces at the price of enormous sacrifices; they are trying to complicate the situation in Asia and to impose their domination on the Asian peoples. To this end, not hesitating to endanger the armistices in Korea and Indo-China, the ruling circles of the United States are violating the armistice agreements and are creating various military blocs in Asia...

The peaceful settlement of the Korean problem is of tremendous importance for the maintenance of peace and security in Asia. That is why the Korean people, supported by all peace-loving peoples, have struggled and will struggle for the peaceful solution of the Korean question and for the reunification of their country, and consider that their struggle is a sacred duty, a contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and throughout the world...

But the ruling circles of the U.S.A., urging plans for aggression against Korea, tried to raise obstacles to the peaceful settlement of the Korean problem by all means and are continuing to raise these obstacles...

We consider that in the very near future a conference will have to be called on the Korean problem with the wide participation of the governments concerned; we stress this point.

The Korean problem can and must be settled on a peaceful basis without fail...

Today, North and South Koreans, vigorously supporting this appeal, have risen to fight for the establishment of contacts, for the strengthening and development of economic and cultural relations between the South and the North, and to hasten the peaceful unification of the country.

Without taking this into account, the Americans and Syngman Rhee, who abhor a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem, are attempting at all costs to prevent the appeal from succeeding...

The Americans intend to embark on a new military adventure in Korea and are continuing to elaborate their sinister plans to turn the Korean people into colonial slaves.

The Korean people do not desire bloodshed. The Korean people, whose mothers and orphans have shed so many bitter tears, know better than anyone the horrors and immense suffering following in the wake of war.

Mr. M. B. Alavi — *Iran*

The foreign interventionists are persecuting the Iranian people in order to drag our country into military blocs and to pillage her natural wealth. They are constructing still more air bases everywhere, at Hamadan, at Kimmanchak, Meched, Abadan, in the North and near Teheran.

The American military missions plan to build an army equipped with the most up-to-date weapons and which would be three times its present size...

You will soon be returning to your countries bearing the great decisions which will be taken during this important session. These decisions will open new prospects for all peace-loving people whose thoughts are turned to you. We ask your to transmit the Iranian people's greetings to your people and to your movement and to assure them that the Iranian people will, together with you, carry on their struggle for peace and independence, in spite of the cruel measures being taken against them. They will go forward because they know that they are not alone, that they have the support of all peace forces throughout the world. They will continue their struggle because they know that they will win victory, the victory of peace and friendship between the peoples.

Rev. J. S. Williams — *India*

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE ALLINDIA FEDERATION OF NATIONAL CHURCHES

The Indian delegation considers that it is once again necessary to draw specific attention to the increasing violence being employed against the colonial peoples. We desire to bring before you the example of Kenya, which has seen two terrible years of killing, bombing and burning...

The Indian delegation draws your attention also to the struggle of the people of Malaya... There is no doubt in the minds of honest men and women that the struggle in Malaya is the struggle of the entire people against their rulers...

We should also like to draw particular attention to the character of the military pacts which are now being entered into. Prime Minister Nehru has again and again pointed out that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation is intended especially to defend the colonial territories of the imperialist powers.

The latest military pact, S.E.A.T.O., is also clearly intended to consolidate the imperialist powers' strength in Asia and is directed at suppressing the rising tide of the Asian struggle for liberation... Immediately after the signing of the S.E.A.T.O. document, Prime Minister Nehru sharply debunked the pretensions of S.E.A.T.O. to be a champion of the right of self-government of colonies...

I would like to add a personal note to this brief speech on the violence being employed against the colonial peoples in order to continue their subjection.

I stand before you as a follower of Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace. He came to this earth with the great and noble purpose of bringing about peace on earth and goodwill among men. I bow my head in shame, because it is on the pretext of bringing Christian civilisation to the world that the crimes I have enumerated are being carried out in Kenya and the other colonial countries...

What crimes are being committed in the name of Christ! I appeal with all my heart to the Christian peoples of the U.S.A., Britain, France, Holland, Portugal and all imperialist countries to compel their governments to act as Christ would have them act, to stop their violence against their colonies and to grant them their independence immediately.

God made all men equal. Let us pray and work to create the kind of world, to build which Christ gave His life for us.

Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhasani — *Pakistan*

PRESIDENT OF THE EAST PAKISTAN AWAMI LEAGUE

The Geneva Conference has shown our strength and was able substantially to reduce international tension, but elements of another world war are present in the existing situation and it is our sacred task to prevent the unleashing of another war and remove the causes which create wars. In this connection I venture to suggest a few points for consideration...

The Korean question should again be taken up with the intention of solving the outstanding problems and of taking steps to bring about the unification of the country.

The withdrawal of U.S. forces from Formosa is essential for peace in Asia. For this purpose there should be world-wide demand to stop U.S. interference in this matter internal to China.

The five points of Peaceful Coexistence as outlined in the joint declarations of the Prime Ministers of China and India, and China and Burma, form the basis of lasting peace between the nations of the world and acceptance of them by other nations of the world would substantially reduce international tension and would provide a chance for the development of a period of cooperation and friendship between the countries...

I take this opportunity also to renew my pledge to do everything I can and to use all my strength in the cause of peace, in spite of my failing health at the advanced age of sixty-nine. There is no doubt that I want to live a long time so that I can see peace reigning in the world. If, however, I am to die before, my last breath will be dedicated to the cause of peace. This is not a wish alone, it is my determination which has emerged out of my conviction and faith in my religion — Islam, which means peace. The word "Islam" is derived from the word "Salm". "Salm" also means peace, and literally "Islam" means one who is dedicated to the cause of peace. Therefore, I take it to be one of my religious duties to work for the cause of peace and I am most sincerely determined to live up to the instructions of my religious faith...

Miss Raymonde-Hawkins — *Great Britain*

Particularly am I unhappy as a woman of British nationality at my country's activities in Kenya... As a woman I deplore this suffering and this injustice. From this rostrum I wish all countries represented here to know that there are in Great Britain many just and kind and peace-loving women, who will never condone this evil and will untiringly strive to restore Human Rights to all peoples...

Mr. Le Dinh Tham — *Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED FRONT

Peace returned to Indo-China more than three months ago as a result of the long and difficult fight of the peoples of Viet-Nam, Laos and Cambodia, alongside the French people and the peace-loving peoples of the world...

It the Geneva Agreement is scrupulously respected by both sides, the peoples of Indo-China will be able to build a peaceful and happy life and to establish friendly and peaceful relations among themselves, between the peoples of Indo-China and their neighbours, between the peoples of Indo-China and the French people, thus contributing effectively to the consolidation of peace in South-East Asia and in the world...

The whole world knows that before and during the Geneva Conference the American Government sought by every available means to sabotage it. When, in spite of their wishes, the Conference concluded successfully, it hurried to set up S.E.A.T.O.

S.E.A.T.O., far from being a defence organisation, is in reality an aggressive bloc created by the United States with the aim of enabling her to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries of South-East Asia, to plunder their natural wealth and to turn them into military bases for use against China in a third world war. Primarily this bloc is designed to sabotage the Geneva agreement, by extending its zone of protection to include Laos, Cambodia and South Viet-Nam. It is a crude violation of articles 18 and 19 of this agreement...

Nonetheless, in spite of the sabotage inspired by this sudden change, the people and government of Viet-Nam will do everything in their power to honour their signature. They are determined to scrupulously carry out the Geneva Agreement; they are ready to continue negotiations with France for the establishment of friendly relations between our two countries...

Whilst fighting for peace in Indo-China and South-East Asia, the Vietnamese people will support the struggle of the people of the whole world for national independence, the relaxation of international tension and peace. Especially will they support the French people's fight against West German rearmament, for they know that peace is indivisible...

The forces of peace are vast. Let us endeavour to mobilise them for the forthcoming Peace Congress in 1955. They must be invincible.

Mr. Liu Ning-I — *China*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE ALL CHINA FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

There have been new developments in the situation of peace in Asia, but this does not mean that there is no longer the menace of war and aggression...

The United States fleet is still stationed in the Taiwan Strait and Taiwan has become a nest of traitors and pirates...

Taiwan is Chinese territory. This is an indisputable fact. The liberation of the Chinese territory, Taiwan Province, and the islands of the Chinese sea coast, is a matter of Chinese sovereignty and is her internal affair...

The Chinese people's opposition to U.S. intervention in and occupation of Taiwan or to interference in China's internal affairs, is fixed and unchangeable. The Chinese people's struggle to liberate Taiwan is also a struggle to defend world peace...

We want to point out the serious danger to peace in Asia of the so-called "South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty". The signatories of this treaty, except the three Asian countries which have already signed military aid pacts with the United States, are not countries in Asia. Obviously, the organisation established by this treaty is only a military alliance of colonial powers. This military alliance supports the United States' hostile policy to China and facilitates United States aggression in all the Asian countries. As pointed out by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, this is "a sphere of influence controlled by great powers"...

The United States has already built up in Asia the aggressive A.N.Z.U.S. pact, the U.S.-Pakistan Military Aid Agreement and S.E.A.T.O. Now the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek mutual security pact is being prepared. The United States is also preparing to organise a North-East Asia alliance which will drag in Japan. What we peoples of Asia demand is peaceful coexistence, whereas what the United States warlike clique is creating in Asia is division and war, which is completely opposed to the interests of the Asian peoples...

Therefore the tasks before us are:

1) To stop the United States occupation of Chinese territory in Taiwan, oppose the unreasonable interference in, and any form of obstruction of the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people...

2) To solve as soon as possible the question of the peaceful unification of Korea on the principle of respect for the national rights of the Korean people and safeguarding peace in Asia and the world...

3) To observe strictly the various agreements relating to the armistice in Indo-China and stop all direct and indirect acts of sabotage of the armistice agreement.

4) To resolutely oppose S.E.A.T.O., the rearming of Japan and other plans for military blocs which serve the purpose of division and war...

5) To extend the Five Principles of peaceful coexistence to all countries of Asia and to the countries outside Asia. To extend the area of peace and establish collective peace and security.

Mrs. Yves Farge — *France*

Two opposing policies are already confronting each other in Viet-Nam; one is a constructive policy which recognises the validity of the agreements made at Geneva, and wants on this basis to develop peaceful cooperation; the other seeks to maintain and impose, against all logic, a policy of force which has already been proved disastrous and which aims, perhaps, at avoiding the 1956 elections envisaged by the Geneva Agreements and which would enable the people of Viet-Nam to find Peace, unity and national independence again.

Unfortunately, the fears aroused by this latter policy soon proved to be well founded, for on 9th September last France signed the Manila Agreement which is completely opposed to the spirit of the Geneva Agreement ...

But I can assure you that the meaning of these dangers has not escaped the vigilance of the French people who understand that there is only one reasonable policy for France to follow, that of scrupulously observing the Geneva agreements and of concluding the economic and cultural agreements indispensable for the establishment of a lasting cooperation between our two countries...

This policy of mutual respect and cooperation which France ought to pursue with Viet-Nam, must also be the golden rule in her relations with the peoples of the overseas territories.

Mr. Salem Ahmad — *Iraq*

The Iraqi people fight the Middle Eastern military pact because they know that Peace means freedom and that war means increased subjection and atomic destruction.

The National Front which was formed six months ago between right and left wing parties adopted the following points in its programme:

1. The annulment of the 1930 Anglo-Iraqi Treaty and the evacuation of foreign troops from Iraq.

2. Opposition to all military and imperialist pacts, including the Turkey-Pakistan Pact.

3. Rejection of American military assistance.

4. To work to save Iraq and the Arab countries from the horrors of an imperialist war and for the adoption by Iraq of an attitude favourable to the peaceful settlement of international issues through negotiation.

Mr. Tawfiq Toubi — *Israel*

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

Wishing to make the Middle East an auxiliary base for their operations for carrying out their policy of power politics, armaments and military alliances, the authors of the London and Paris Agreements labour unceasingly to build up an aggressive military pact of the countries of the Middle East... and to lead the Arab countries and Israel into an arms race, which, while creating military reserves in our region, binds these countries hard and fast to the imperialist chariot even more than at present.

Doctor George Hanna — *Lebanon*

The peoples of the Near and Middle East — and I know them very well — have the greatest possible dread of the idea of war, not only because they understand all the horror and peril of its threat to human civilisation, but still more because they see that war is the only remaining pretext which the imperialists can invoke to enforce their plans and postpone liberation for as long as possible...

I am pleased to be able to tell you here that our people's struggle is always positive in content. Our people are no longer satisfied with passive resistance to the war plans and to imperialism. As a result of the growing effect of this struggle, trade is increasing between our countries and other countries of widely differing political systems, in spite of the imperialist pressure which formerly forced the governments to trade only with the Western Powers. The Great International Fair held in Damascus last summer helped this trade and showed how valuable it is.

Mr. Mustapha Amin — *Syria*

Our people fight the policy of war blocs and alliances and support with all their strength the timely proposal for the conclusion of a pact of collective security between the Great Powers in which all the other states would take part...

It is becoming more and more difficult for any people who hope for Peace and progress, and to enjoy their independence, their national sovereignty and their natural wealth, to remain unscathed by the policy of war pacts and blocs...

And it is for precisely this reason that the proposal for the conclusion of a pact of collective security meets with a warm response from small colonial or dependent nations.

Mr. Abdel Kader — *Jordan*

The people of Jordan, together with the other peoples of the Middle East, are beginning to understand the full importance of world peace and the extent to which it is linked with their freedom and their country's sovereignty and independence...

That is why we are defenders of peace and why we struggle for its consolidation as far as our poor means allow. That is why we have opposed and continue to oppose military pacts and blocs in any shape or form...

Mr. Sugardo — *Indonesia*

Only peace can give us the opportunity to build up our new Republic, to give back to our people the energy to endure any spiritual or material test, to restore the means of production, to nationalise those means of production which control the life of the nation, to produce the raw materials which are necessary for building up a national industry.

That is why we reject any idea of war or any idea which can lead to war, such as military pacts or embargoes. We, the government and the people, reject S.E.A.T.O. for instance...

West Irian, an integral part of Indonesia, is still a colony. Any form of colonisation is a menace to Peace.

This colonised territory of Indonesia is being used as a base for activities contrary to the interests of our people, our legal Government and our country. This too is a menace to Peace.

Not only is it being used as a base for aggressive purposes against Indonesia, but also it could be very conveniently used by S.E.A.T.O. as a base for aggressive purposes in East Asia. It is therefore a menace to world Peace...

I would draw your attention to the latest development in international politics in South-East Asia, namely the preparation by our government, heartily assisted by the Indian Government, of a conference of Asian and African countries at the beginning of next year...

We can contribute by holding a similar conference to put the people's point of view. It is for this reason that the Indonesian delegation welcomes the news of the Asian Peace Conference which is now being prepared by the Peace Movement in India...

Professor Schmidt speaking in the Cultural Commission

Point Five of the Agenda

SITUATION CREATED IN LATIN AMERICA BY INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF NATIONS

Mr. Jose da Frota Moreira — *Brasil*

MEMBER OF FEDERAL PARLIAMENT
GENERAL SECRETARY BRAZILIAN LABOUR PARTY

Report presented on behalf of the Brazilian delegation

The rousing of Latin American public opinion against weapons of mass destruction, against atomic and hydrogen bombs and bacteriological warfare, the great continent-wide campaign to prevent our peoples from being dragged into the Korean war, the movement against bilateral pacts which was conducted among the peoples and in the parliaments of various countries, the campaign for a peace pact between the Five Great Powers and for the peaceful solution of international issues, the consistent and ever more energetic action of our peoples to defend their countries' sovereignty against the attacks made on it as a result of the policy of war preparations — these are some aspects of Latin America's contribution to the cause of world peace...

In Europe and Asia, where the peoples are winning such significant victories, the forces interested in war feel the ground very shaky under their feet. They are therefore greatly increasing their pressure on Latin America. Really dramatic events are taking place in our countries and our peoples are menaced by grave threats...

A whole series of agreements, pacts and treaties — of which a typical example is the Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, the precursor of the Atlantic Pact, and in fact the legal instrument binding all the countries of Latin America to the Atlantic Pact — and bilateral pacts run counter at many points to what is specifically set out in the Constitutions of a number of Latin American countries. Moreover, they in no way correspond to the interests of our nations since they lay on the latter the legal obligation to take part in wars all over the world, without our peoples being consulted and even against their will. It is to be noted that this policy is so little to the liking of public opinion that in a number of countries these treaties have not yet been ratified by parliament.

Treaties, pacts and agreements can only be accepted and respected by the peoples of Latin America if they obey the Charter of the United Nations in the letter and in the spirit, that is to say if they further collaboration and cooperation between the nations on a world scale... Unfortunately, we are seeing the transformation of the countries of Latin America, alongside the United States, into a regional military bloc which limits our countries' participation in an overall policy of world cooperation. The restrictive nature of this bloc is so marked that up to now Canada, one of the most important countries on the American continent, has not joined it because it contains too many limitations...

What we are witnessing is a whole process of intensive militarisation of the countries of Latin America whose effects are to be seen in the growth of the war industries, above all the strategic minerals industry, to the detriment of the peacetime industries which are coming up against growing difficulties in all the countries of Latin America...

There is also a well-known fact to which the delegates of Uruguay and Ecuador at the Ninth General Assembly of the United Nations made constant reference. It is that the United States do not give credits to be used for improving the standard of living of the peoples of Latin America, whereas they always grant credit facilities for undertakings of a purely strategic nature... These works are not only unremunerative; they involve an increase in the burdens weighing down our peoples.

One aspect of the present situation in Latin America which cannot be mentioned too often is the discrimination and restrictions imposed on the diplomatic, economic and cultural relations between our countries and the other countries of the world on the pretext of differing and incompatible social and political systems. This artificial and forced restriction of our international relations to a narrow circle of countries is a cause of growing difficulties of all kinds, mainly in the economic and financial fields...

The national budgets of our countries are not peace budgets. The biggest items of expenditure in these budgets are for military purposes and they are increasing every year...

A wide network of newspapers, radio programmes and other means of publicity is being used for war propaganda... This propaganda is diametrically opposed to the peaceful traditions of our national cultures for its aim is to create a mentality favourable to war and seeks to subordinate all cultural activity to the interests of those who want war...

It is thus clear that in Latin America we are faced with open and direct interference by aggressive international forces in the internal life and affairs of our countries. The participation of the countries of Latin America in international life is not based on the needs of our national life, the real interests and the best aspirations of our peoples, but, on the contrary, reflects the interference of foreign forces in our internal affairs. Since this interference inevitably means the oppression of our peoples and can only be carried out by holding down their growing resistance, its champions are now beginning to use extreme methods. That is why Latin America is going through a period of states of emergency, of *coups d'Etat* setting up military dictatorships, of attempts to set our peoples against each other... and to provoke the foreign invasion of certain countries...

The reality of this situation on our continent is recognised and publicly proclaimed by a growing number of eminent people, especially now that the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas has thrown a new light on these problems. For at Caracas the Latin American delegates had imposed on them an agenda the central aim of which was that the countries of Latin America should renounce their sovereignty. In spite of the insistence of a number of Latin American delegates it was impossible to get problems connected with the bad economic and financial situation of our countries discussed there. What they wanted to do, and what they did, at Caracas, in spite of the resistance of such countries as Guatemala, Mexico, Argentine and Uruguay, was to legally establish the principle of armed intervention by certain countries on the continent in the internal affairs of certain others under the pretext of defending the continent. This principle was immediately afterwards applied in the case of Guatemala.

On the international level this situation is leading the governments of the countries of Latin America to give systematic support to the policy of blocs, of collective insecurity and of the cold war. The most striking example of this, generally speaking, is the behaviour of the Latin American delegates in the United Nations. The countries of Latin America represent approximately a third of the member countries of this great world organisation and it is almost always they who decide the result of the votes and render difficult the implementation of the express principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In this way they make international disputes worse instead of seeking a peaceful settlement of them. It is not even necessary to say that this stand adopted by the Latin American delegations does not meet with the support of our peoples, who have never stopped demanding loyalty to the Charter and particularly the recognition of the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China to membership of the United Nations, which they look upon as a factor making for peace...

A people cannot rise to defend itself against aggression unless it has a heritage to defend, its freedom and its rights, its culture,

traditions and customs, its particular way of life, and its own outlook. But the policy of war preparations — which is presented as being based on the need to defend ourselves against so-called aggressors from outside — tends to exterminate democratic freedoms and the rights of the citizens. It implies the spiritual deformation of the people and the imposition of the way of life of those who deal in war. Through all the difficulties of their development our peoples have created cultures whose most authentic and deepest characteristic — and we are proud of this — is their love of peace and of other peoples. How could we defend, as they are trying to make us do, a conception of international policy which presents the H-bomb as the principal guardian of peace? This, as we can see, is a gross distortion of our outlook . . .

It is in no way an exaggeration to say that in truth we are confronted with external aggression — real and palpable this time — which is working our economic ruin and our intellectual deformation, which is, in short, leading to the disappearance of the national sovereignty of our countries . . .

Within the general compass of the struggle for a relaxation of international tension during 1954 there developed in Latin America, and very strongly in certain countries, the struggle for free economic and commercial exchanges. Its results have been so significant that the barriers are already beginning to fall . . .

At the same time, there is a broad and deep development of activity for the defence of our national cultures and for free cultural exchanges on a reciprocal basis . . .

The decisions of the Caracas Conference gave rise to a wide movement of condemnation throughout our continent and this was expressed with great force in all the countries of Latin America without exception when, later, a blow was struck at the sovereignty of the Republic of Guatemala, sacrificed to the interests of the forces that want war. The wave of popular protest roused an echo and found support among many organisations representing all sections of Latin American society, in a large part of the press of the continent and from members of parliament who, in Chile, Argentine and Uruguay, adopted resolutions of protest against the invasion of this little republic of Central America. At Santiago de Chile — and this is something new on our continent — there was held a conference of members of parliament and public figures of Latin America in which eminent persons from nine countries took part. Men of the most diverse political views demonstrated their rejection of the resolutions of the Caracas Conference which grant the United States, with the complicity of the illegal governments of Latin America, a so-called right of intervention in the political and economic life of our peoples . . .

It is by struggles such as these, linked up with other struggles inspired by the appeals of the World Council of Peace, that the peoples of Latin America have taken further strides in the defence of peace, world security and national sovereignty.

The National Peace Movements are always to be found in the van of these struggles; they are the heart and soul of the struggle for peace on our continent. The development and success of the struggle for peace in Latin America are to a great extent due to the defenders of peace and to the National Peace Movements . . .

At the present time the peoples of the whole world are victoriously struggling against the policy of blocs and for joint security. The peoples of Latin America understand that the greatest contribution they can make to this noble cause is to struggle against the state of absolute insecurity to which they have been reduced by the policy of war preparations and to fight for true security.

The struggle for the security of the peoples of Latin America is first of all the struggle against the policy of military blocs which is at present in force on the continent, the struggle against interference in the internal affairs of our countries, the struggle for national defence and national sovereignty, for the right to decide our own future, for international cooperation with all countries on a footing of equality and reciprocal advantage.

It is, therefore, the struggle for free economic, commercial and cultural exchanges with all countries and all peoples, for a general agreement on disarmament including the banning of weapons of mass destruction and ensuring that strategic materials are used for peaceful purposes, the struggle against militarisation and for peace budgets, the struggle against war propaganda and for the preservation and development of our national cultures. It is the struggle to strengthen the fraternal bonds between the countries and peoples of Latin America . . .

Dr. Alvaro Uribe — *Colombia*

War preparation has led to the whittling down of democratic liberties and to a situation of insecurity for the people and states of Latin America with the result that all national aspirations are ignored or rejected as impairing the security of the continent. So long as the policy of war preparation is pursued, no Latin American state has the slightest possibility of becoming master of its own wealth or of freely electing a government even slightly democratic . . .

Nations with no problem of boundaries or national minorities, and which do not represent conflicting commercial interests, which, in short, are naturally inclined to peace, maintain great useless armies permanently and acquire the most modern and costly weapons.

However, these unnecessary forces do not, unfortunately, remain inactive; they are used to repress the people's demands and to open wide the door to the ruthless exploitation of the country by foreign companies.

As an illustration of what I have just said, I may quote the case of Colombia, an almost wholly agricultural country, whose military commitments amount to 33 per cent of the entire national budget while the amount destined to develop crops and livestock is no more then 1·8 per cent of public expenditure . . .

The state of international tension also favours, and even provokes, the erection of barriers and obstacles to free trade between the nations. Moreover it makes it impossible to send any possible surplus products to those new markets whose purchasing power has recently expanded . . .

The twenty votes of the Latin American countries at U.N.O. — a third of the total vote of the Assembly — have often been used to frustrate the proposals of the Asian and African countries expressing their will to get out of their position of dependence . . .

It is, then, necessary and urgent to initiate a mass campaign to have the votes of the Latin American countries in the United Nations express the people's will to peace and cease to serve as a brake on the national aspirations of other peoples of the world . . .

The success of a campaign with these aims would be the most solid foundation for making Latin America a powerful area of peace that would correspond, in our hemisphere, to what the Asian nations are developing on the basis of the five principles proclaimed by Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-Lai.

General Heriberto Jara — *Mexico*

We must repeat over and over again what a quarter of a century of this era has amply demonstrated, that peaceful coexistence between peoples with differing political systems is possible, no matter how much they may be opposed to each other . . .

We must work to get a meeting of the Five Great Powers as soon as possible, including People's China; for not only would the exclusion of a nation containing a quarter of the world's population be unjust, but also peace could not be established on a solid foundation without having the opinion of such an important nation beforehand . . .

For the effective development of its economic prosperity, Latin America is concerned to avoid a war which, even if it broke out in Europe, would without doubt extend all over the world. But it is equally undeniable that peace in Europe would be strengthened by the firm resolve of the peoples of Latin Anerica to devote their energies exclusively to their own development, dissociating themselves from the forces which seek to involve them in a war economy.

Mr. Salvador Allende — *Chile*

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

The international commitments entered into by our governments have prevented and still prevent free trade; and the policy of blocs, along with that of military pacts, aggravates the crisis of markets for Latin-American raw materials.

Latin-American production has been arbitrarily classified — and not by the countries concerned — into two groups: strategic and non-strategic products. The first can only be freely sold on the world market according to the principles of supply and demand at the risk of incurring multiple economic and financial sanctions.

We have seen that past events in Indo-China and Korea have a strong repercussion in our countries.

We realise the dangers which the policy of blocs and the rearmament of Western Germany entails, not only for Europe but for the entire world.

The heroic sacrifice of the Guatemalan people — and let me here pay them a fraternal tribute — must awaken in America a spirit of rebellion against injustice and must strengthen the determination of the peoples to struggle for their independence, to win respect for their right to self-determination and sovereignty.

Just as the individual American demands the right to freedom, culture, work and health, the peoples of America want economic collaboration instead of exploitations, respect for their sovereignty instead of vassalisation, social justice instead of poverty.

That is why we struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence between all peoples.

Mr. Adalberto Ortiz — *Ecuador*

The countries of Latin America, including my own, have been forced to sign bilateral pacts of mutual aid which mean that in the event of war we should lose our national sovereignty and independence, of which we have little enough at the present time. These pacts violate the principle of non-intervention and the principles of the United Nations Charter . . .

In these circumstances, a new world war would force us to participate directly in the killing by sending big contingents of soldiers, and our small armies would go and fight on foreign territory, as in the tragic example of Colombia during the Korean war.

Mr. Vicente Lombardo Toledano — *Mexico*

PRESIDENT OF THE LATIN AMERICAN CONFEDERATION OF WORKERS

Because of their economic structure, which is reflected in their forms of government, and because of their geographical situation, the Latin American peoples, notwithstanding the differences in their historical development, are living in a difficult situation of which the principle characteristics are:

greater economic dependence on foreign countries than ever before,

greater outside political influence on their internal political life than formerly,

growing Anglo-American interference in their cultural development . . .

By historical experience and by instinct our peoples are convinced that they cannot play an important role in major world problems because in spite of the enormous extent of their territory, their big population and their great natural riches, they are clearly not masters of their own destiny. That is why they invariably link international problems of war and peace to the great problem of their national independence. For them the outlook is good if there are friendly relations between the nations, because that means that their historic development will not be held back by unreasonable demands and by the dangers which the economic expansion of the great powers has always represented for their vital interests . . .

In the foreground is Mr. Salvador Allende, Vice-President of the Chilean Senate

Mr. Alfredo Varela — *Argentine*

For example, at the moment a conference of Finance Ministers of all the Americas is taking place in Rio de Janeiro. It is purely and simply a repetition of the Caracas Conference in the economic sphere. From the point of view of the real interests of our countries, we can say now that it will fail, without fear of being contradicted by the facts. It is a stillborn conference, because of the scepticism of the peoples and of its promoters themselves. What the representatives of the war policy are seeking there, is clearly to legalise and intensify the submission of our countries, to complete their domination of our foreign trade to secure a wider monopoly of our oil and other strategic raw materials . . .

Our common action is not directed against the United States. We are not anti-American. We like the vigourous people of the North and we want to be friendly neighbours. We do not forget that their fight for independence preceded and inspired ours, that our statesmen learned from Lincoln and Washington and our poets from Walt Whitman. But we categorically oppose the tiny minority, the handful of influential aggressors, who trample on us, who want to "guatemalise" us, who impose their war-like plans on us and have converted countries which are so richly endowed by nature into wretched Cinderellas.

Mrs. Emilia Prieto Lugores — *Costa-Rica*

At the present time intrigues similar to those to which Guatemala was subjected are being carried on against Costa Rica. They take the form of blackmailing the present democratic government, prevailing upon it to destroy those liberties which we still enjoy. As a result of these intrigues our government found itself obliged to arm . . . in violation of the constitution which forbids the use of arms and the setting up of an army on our territory. American military missions undertake military instruction in the secondary schools, a fact which the whole press, even the most reactionary, has energetically condemned . . .

But this tendency to armaments is spreading everywhere on the much coveted isthmus of Central America, and we must continue to struggle tenaciously against it, considering it as the greatest menace to our small countries. At the same time we must strengthen the political consciousness of our peoples. In exposing them, we must emphasise that warlike intrigues are at the source of these manœuvres which I denounce here today . . .

Mrs. Prieto Lugores was unable to deliver her speech as she only arrived at the end of the session. She handed the text of her speech to the platform.

ACTION OF THE PEACE FORCES TO SECURE DISARMAMENT AND THE PROHIBITION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

Dr. E. H. S. Burhop — *Great Britain*

UNIVERSITY READER IN PHYSICS, LONDON

We cannot, we dare not rest until agreement has been reached on this issue. Every day's delay increases the difficulty of the problem technically, politically, and from a military point of view . . .

But from a political point of view the danger of delay in securing agreement on disarmament and the control of these weapons is gravest of all. We all envisage how profoundly the rearmament of Germany is likely to affect thinking on all questions related to disarmament. An entirely new factor will be injected into the discussions. How will we be able to go to the people of France, of Britain, of Belgium, of Holland, of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of the U.S.S.R. and advocate they should all reduce their arms, destroy nuclear weapons, at precisely the same time as the former Nazi generals are again getting back their arms and getting access to nuclear weapons? Our two great campaigns for the defeat of German rearmament and for general disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons are really two aspects of the same campaign. That is why it is so terribly urgent to see that agreement is reached . . .

It may perhaps be helpful at this stage to summarise the differences that have held up agreement on the question of the control of nuclear weapons during the past eight years.

In the first place there has been a difference about the aim of any control scheme. The Soviet view has been that the aims should be to secure the absolute banning of these weapons and that the production of these weapons should cease immediately and the dismantling of existing stocks should be completed within a few months of the coming into force of the control plan.

On the other hand, the American Baruch Plan (supported throughout by the governments of Britain and France) envisaged that when the control scheme was finally functioning there would be no nuclear weapons being produced by any national government, nor would there be any stocks of such weapons in the armament of any national army. But it still made it possible for nuclear weapons to be manufactured and held by an international authority, not necessarily responsible to the United Nations. Furthermore, the abolition of atomic weapons from national armies and the handing over of stocks and full productive facilities to the international authority would only occur as the final stage of a series of stages which would take an indefinite time to implement. During all this time national production of nuclear weapons would continue unabated.

Secondly, according to the Baruch Plan the international Atomic Development Authority (A.D.A.) would have the absolute right to send inspectors anywhere and everywhere without notice throughout the territory of every nation of the world, looking for violation of the control agreement. This would include the right to carry out unscheduled aeroplane reconnaissance flights over any country. It is now widely recognised that this proposal was quite unrealistic. One could not expect the Russians to agree to a system of inspection by an Authority under the virtual control of the U.S.A., which would have been the effect of the Baruch proposals. And it is quite unlikely that the U.S. authorities, who have refused to share atomic secrets even with their allies, would permit this type of inspection to take place on their territory if the authority were not under their virtual control.

In an ideal world where international tensions and misunderstandings have been removed such a scheme might be practicable. But how can one envisage either the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. allowing it to operate under present circumstances? The plain truth of the matter is that there is no way of obtaining an absolutely perfect system of security. In this respect the Russian proposals are perhaps more realistic. They provide for a high level of security and of safeguards against violations of agreements. But they do not go as far as the Baruch proposals. No doubt in further negotiations a compromise solution could be worked out. But such a compromise would have to ensure that any control plan did not provide a cover for an elaborate system of espionage.

As mentioned above, the Soviet plan provided for quite an elaborate system of inspection which could have been welded into an effective instrument of control. All atomic establishments in all countries would be subject to continuous inspection by the international authority. The teams of inspectors would be selected on an international principle. To guard against clandestine production in unscheduled establishments it proposed setting up a search warrant procedure. According to this, complaints about violation of the control scheme could be taken to the international authority. These complaints could be taken by individuals, by representatives of organisations, or by government representatives. The evidence produced could be circumstantial or could be based on suspicion only.

If the international authority decided that a prima facie case of violation had been made out, the government on whose territory the violations were said to have occurred would be required to throw open its territory for such inspection as would be needed to enable the authority to decide whether or not such violation had in fact taken place. All decisions of the international authority concerning its day-to-day working, according to the Soviet plan, and including the question whether a prima facie case of violation had been established, would be taken by a simple majority vote without any veto applying.

Thirdly, according to the Baruch Plan the Atomic Development Authority would actually own all atomic energy plants of any size, including power stations, in every country throughout the world. They would also have the right to decide where these plants would be located. The decision on their location would be decided not on the basis of where atomic power was most needed, but rather according to strategic considerations.

On the other hand the Soviet plan, while envisaging the authority as a body with considerable powers of control, was not prepared to agree to its owning all atomic facilities. It must be admitted that this question of ownership has proved probably the most substantial obstacle to agreement on international control of atomic energy. Clearly ownership is not a prerequisite for effective control. Indeed it is rather irrelevant to it. Why, then, the insistence on the part of the American Government that no scheme could be acceptable that did not include ownership? The repeated demand not only for control, but for actual ownership, has led to the suspicion that the true aim of the Baruch plan goes beyond that of the control of atomic energy and seeks to provide means of interference in the internal economy of states . . .

The remaining point of disagreement between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union concerned the question of the relation of the Security Council to the international control organ. According to the Baruch Plan, the Atomic Development Authority had either to be completely independent of the Security Council and endowed with sufficient power to enforce sanctions in the event of its deciding some breach of the control agreement had been committed by a state; or alternatively, if the question of sanctions for violation of atomic agreements continued to be the province of the Security Council, then the unanimity rule (the so-called veto) should not apply.

On the other hand, the Soviet plan definitely maintained that questions of sanctions for violations of international agreements in the field of atomic energy, no less than any other action threatening international Peace and security, should remain the responsibility of the Security Council. But that all the day-to-day activities of the International Control authority, including the question of deciding on special searches, should be decided on a simple majority vote with no veto applying . . .

In May 1954 a sub-committee of the Disarmament Committee consisting of representatives of the Great Powers met in London . . .

One of the most important developments of the London discussions was the tabling of a new plan on behalf of the British and French governments which did represent a substantial compromise compared with their previous position. Instead of postponing the cessation of atomic weapon production until an indefinite date in the distant future, it proposed that this should take place as soon as one half the agreed reduction in conventional arms had been achieved . . .

One provision of the Anglo-French proposals . . . provides that overall military manpower and overall military expenditure, atomic and non-atomic, should be limited to the levels in effect on 31st December 1953, and that the agreed reductions should take place from those levels. Acceptance of these provisions would effectively dispose of the question of German rearmament.

During the present session of the United Nations Assembly in New York, the change in the Anglo-French position was matched by a considerable change in the position of the Soviet Government as a result of which real progress has been made toward a solution of these problems . . .

According to the terms of the new Soviet proposals atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction would still be entirely prohibited eventually, while all other armaments, together with the size of the armed forces and budget expenditure for military purposes, would be reduced to agreed levels. It is clear that the Soviet Government has made a major concession.

Previously the U.S.S.R. has always insisted (and I believe in this they would have the support of the vast majority of the people), that the abolition of weapons of mass destruction with strict control of the enforcement of this abolition should begin right at the start of any disarmament plan. Since, however, the Western Powers have not agreed to this, the Soviet Government has now accepted a point of view similar in many respects to that set out in the Anglo-French proposals. Specifically, it now proposes that the disarmament should be carried out in stages, the abolition of nuclear weapons coming in the second stage. In the first stage half the agreed reduction in conventional weapons would take place. This stage would take between six and twelve months to complete. A provisional international control commission would check up on the carrying out of this stage.

At the beginning of the second stage the manufacture of all nuclear weapons would cease completely. During this stage, which would also last from six to twelve months, all existing nuclear weapons would be dismantled and the material in them made available solely for peaceful purposes. At the same time the remainder of the agreed reduction in conventional weapons, armed forces and military budgets would be made.

The carrying out of the second stage and the later reductions of armaments would be controlled by a permanent international body which would have the right of continuous inspection of all atomic energy establishments. This body would send its inspectors in right at the beginning of the second stage and would, of course, continue in existence for an indefinite period. It would have the right not only of inspecting but of giving appropriate orders concerning the operation of plants. The plants would operate according to a set of technical rules which would be drawn up in advance and would cover all types of process associated with the production and utilisation of atomic energy. Decisions connected with the day-to-day activities of the control body would be taken by a simple majority vote. If an atomic enterprise refused to operate according to the agreed rules, or if there were other breaches of undertakings, these would be reported by the control authority to the Security Council, together with recommendations for action. Action involving sanctions could only be taken by decision of the Security Council. Like the Anglo-French plan the Soviet proposals take the levels existing in December 1953 as those from which disarmament would commence . . .

Powerful interests are already arguing both in Britain and America that the new Russian proposals represent no change in the position. This is quite wrong. Two real steps have been taken to meet the views of the West. On the one hand it is no longer insisted as a preliminary to any control scheme that each state should make an unconditional renunciation of the use of atomic weapons. On the other hand, the principle of disarmament in stages has been accepted, the abolition of atomic weapons occurring in the second stage . . .

We must continue our campaign with renewed vigour for disarmament and the abolition of nuclear and other mass destruction weapons until these ends have been achieved. The race to accumulate nuclear weapons means that not only are we embarked on a path that could well end in the destruction of all that mankind has built and striven for through the centuries. It means, further, that we are largely depriving ourselves of many of the exciting peaceful possibilities that nuclear science could bring . . .

Before mankind arises the vision of a higher standard of life, of greater wealth than one could ever imagine, of the gradual elimination of much of the drudgery and many of the routine jobs by the fuller employment of mechanical means made possible owing to the development of ample sources of power . . .

The World Peace Movement can play a very important role in the struggle to secure the rapid and wide application of atomic energy to peaceful ends. It does not fight for Peace in narrow fields but is active along the whole broad front of the struggle for Peace. That is why I would appeal particularly to scientists throughout the world to support its efforts because its success in the struggle is the surest way to secure those conditions that would make for the widest application of science to the constructive peaceful uses we all have so much in mind. But in this fight we need the active support and participation of all people whatever their race, colour, creed or calling. The united action of large sections of the people for Peace has already stopped the war in Korea, ended the fighting in Indo-China and defeated the E.D.C. agreements. It can be successful too in the struggle for disarmament and the elimination of nuclear weapons . . .

Make nuclear energy the servant, not the scourge of mankind! Success in this great struggle can be and will be ours!

Mr. Gustave Cotelle — *France*

It was with the greatest enthusiasm and hope that we greeted the joint resolution on disarmament presented in the United Nations by the Canadian, French, British, American and Soviet delegations on October 22, 1954.

For, indeed, it was the first time since this important question began being debated in responsible international circles that the great powers had taken an important step nearer each other's positions . . .

There is no doubt that, if they are ratified, the London and Paris agreements will put off to an indefinite future the solution of the disarmament problem . . .

By bringing about a violent increase of tension, German rearmament will open a new and perhaps catastrophic phase in the vicious circle of rearmament, by destroying for a very long time, and perhaps utterly, all that has been accomplished with the aim of achieving general and controlled disarmament . . .

Because disarmament is one of the most substantial and promising of the results that we expect from a peaceful solution of the German problem, you will understand perfectly that this solution is of interest to all the peoples of the world and not only to the German people and their immediate neighbours.

Rev. Clifford H. Macquire — *Great Britain*

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Three years ago I was a guest of the World Council of Peace and on that occasion I was given the opportunity to speak and though even then I did not share all the things that you said I evidently did not offend you, because I have been invited again . . .

I am a Pacifist, that is, a conscientious objector to war . . .

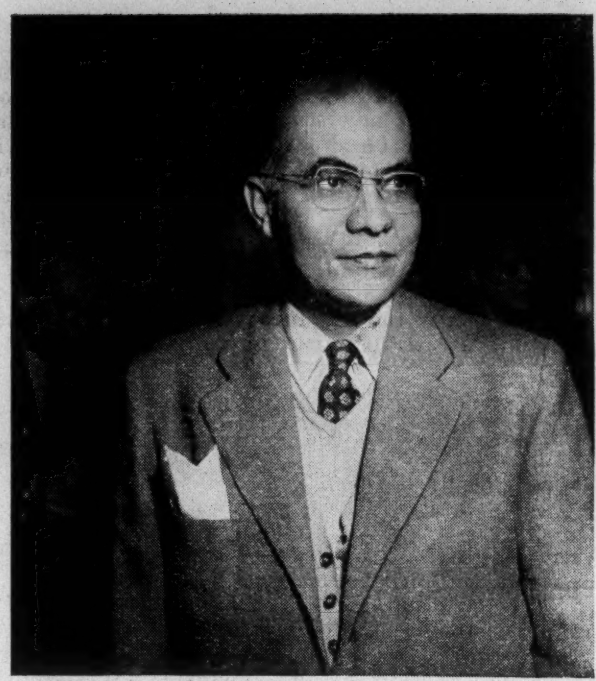
I have spent many months travelling in America, in Europe and in the Soviet Union, and everywhere I go men speak with enthusiasm of peace. If talking about peace were enough there would be no more wars . . .

I believe that we shall not break through the present state of fear and suspicion merely by talking about it, but when some nation is prepared to have the courage to renounce the way of war and abandon the H-bomb and all other armaments. I believe, therefore that we should all be working in our own countries to that end . . .

There are good humanitarian reasons for renouncing war; there are good socialist reasons for renouncing war, as Mr. Ehrenburg reminded us; there are even commonsense reasons for doing so — but there are imperative reasons for the Christians to renounce war . . .

Professor Georgi Nadjakov — *Bulgaria*

One of the most important questions bound up with the international situation at the present time is without doubt that of disarmament and the prohibition of atomic, thermo-nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. The peoples insist that an agreement on this question of prime importance must be concluded. They want the unlimited possibilities of atomic energy to be used not for the mass extermination of men, but for peaceful ends . . .



Mr. Josue de Castro, President of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation, presided over the sitting of the World Council of Peace in which the action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction was discussed.

Mr. Alexander Korneichuk — *U.S.S.R.*

Loyal to its peace policy, the Soviet Union cannot accept that agreement is impossible because it has not yet been reached. It is for this reason that our Government has made a new proposal to conclude an International Convention on the reduction of armaments and the banning of atomic, thermo-nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and agreed to base this Convention on the Franco-British proposals. Desiring to reach this agreement as quickly as possible, the Soviet Union does not, in this new proposal, make the implementation of the programme envisaged depend on an immediate decision to renounce the use of the atomic weapon as a first step towards complete banning. A comparison of the Soviet and Franco-British proposals suffices to show that they are identical in their main lines . . .

The Soviet Union accepts the principle of stages advocated by the Western Powers and considers that the supervision must be organised in such a way as to correspond with the tasks of each stage. She is of the opinion that the rights and powers of the Control bodies must be defined in the International Convention and that, in consequence, the first task is to conclude such a Convention . . .

The bitter experience of the 20th Century has shown that the greatest, gravest and most real threat to peace and the peaceful life of Europe is German militarism.

Twice has it marched over Europe. Twice it has been crushed at the cost of millions of lives, and yet here it is reviving and rising up again before us. We must not under-estimate this danger, the more so as this time it is intended to put weapons of mass destruction — atomic weapons — in its hands . . .

The peoples of the world must redouble their efforts today in the struggle for the banning of nuclear weapons and for a reduction in all types of armaments.

We cannot fail to note that in the U.S.A., particularly in the last few months, representatives of different social strata are putting forward more and more demands for an end to the armaments race and for the banning of nuclear weapons. We wholeheartedly wish the great American people success in this noble fight for peace and goodwill between the peoples.

The peoples of the world are demanding that this great scientific discovery — the splitting of the atomic nucleus — shall never be used as a destructive force but only for the benefit of man . . .

At the present time in the Soviet Union atomic energy is more and more being used in agriculture, industry, medicine, and in many other branches of our national life . . .

While upholding the principle of international cooperation for the peaceful utilisation of atomic energy, we must stress that the solution of this problem can not claim priority over the problem that concerns the peoples of the world; the problem of banning the use of this mighty energy for military purposes. Only an absolute ban on atomic weapons will guarantee the necessary conditions for the peaceful use of atomic energy, will place a vast natural force at the service of man, will open up the really extraordinary prospect of a rapid increase in wealth and a tremendous improvement in the standard of living of all peoples . . .

Mr. Josue de Castro — *Brazil*

PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED NATIONS FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANISATION

From the data collected by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organisation, the F.A.O., of which I have the honour to be President we know that two-thirds of mankind are still living in hunger, or rather dying of hunger because their food supply is neither adequate nor sufficient . . .

The world has resources enough to support a much greater population than at present. Nature is not unkind, she has sufficient resources, she is good, she is generous. Those who have not been generous are certain groups of men who have seized the natural resources and divided them in a very unjust, very unequal fashion.

The joint budgets of all the international bodies which give technical assistance represent but an insignificant fraction of the war budgets of the great powers . . .

There is the case of the U.S.A. where war expenditure reaches the impressive figure of 70,000 million dollars. The cost of technical assistance does not reach one per cent of this figure. This clearly explains why the technical assistance programme meets with great difficulties, and why it cannot manage to rid the poverty-stricken peoples and areas of their squalour . . .

There are two paths open to us: the path of bread and the path of the atom bomb. We must make our choice quickly. The path of bread symbolises the path of social justice, by which everyone in the world will have bread to eat. It means inviting to the world's banqueting table the two-thirds of humanity who are at present excluded and who only from time to time receive a few crumbs from the table of the rich. Our world must really belong to us.

I think the time has long passed when poor people could act in accordance with the passage in the Scriptures: "Blessed are the poor for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." Now we must believe that the earthly kingdom, too, should belong to the poor, because the earth belongs to all men and not to a privileged few. And if we do not work hard everywhere to ensure that we move away from the path of the bomb, we will once more be cast out, we will not only lose the Kingdom of Heaven, but also the kingdom of earth.

Rev. H. J. L. Armstrong — *Ireland*

Patient endurance is the only safe policy today, coupled, of course, as it must be, with patient working towards the removal of injustices . . .

Keep on the side of Peace; and truth and justice will eventually prevail . . .

I believe:

1. That Peace must be sought in the context of religion.
2. That peaceful coexistence demands the acceptance of differing political systems, and that all these will be gradually modified as we near our goal of Peace.
3. That the answer to military threats must lie in better conditions of living, and
4. That we must face the challenge of the conscription of youth for the military machine.

Mr. Takashi Tanemura — *Japan*

The Japanese people were the first to experience the damage and evils of the A and H bombs. The fatal explosion of A bombs over the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were so deadly that over 200,000 civilians were killed instantaneously, and even now, nine years later, there are still many who are suffering and dying from radioactivity . . .

In Japan the scale of anti A and H bomb activity is literally nation-wide and unprecedented. The people of Japan are against any militaristic policy backed up by the A and H bombs. No Japanese has ever been found who has not expressed his opposition to the A and H bombs. Both Houses of Parliament, almost all prefectural councils and nearly 200 city councils have adopted resolutions for the prohibition of A and H bombs . . .

The National Council for the Prohibition of A and H Bombs held a memorial meeting for the first H bomb victim, Mr. Aikichi Kuboyama. On this occasion it was decided to call for a World Convention for the prohibition of A and H bombs to be held in Japan on 6th August of next year, this date being the tenth anniversary of the explosion of the first Atom bomb to be dropped on people — the people of Hiroshima . . .

Point Five of the Agenda

PREPARATION OF AN ASSEMBLY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FORCES OF PEACE IN ALL COUNTRIES

The proposal that a world Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace should be prepared was mentioned with warm approval in a number of reports and in most of the speeches.

It was also dealt with in a number of speeches specially devoted to this question, from which we publish a number of extracts. The problems connected with the preparation of the World Assembly were examined in the Organisation Commission and the conclusions reached were presented to the Council by Mr. Jean Laffitte in a speech from which we also give some extracts.

Mr. K. A. Abbas — *India*

Welcoming the idea of a World Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace the speaker said:

The Geneva Conference, the Indo-Chinese armistice, the visit of the Chinese Prime Minister to India and the Indian Prime Minister's visit to China, the joint statements of the two Prime Ministers representing nearly one half of the world's population, and the subsequent adherence of Burma and Indonesia to the Five Principles of Peace — all these significant and happy events were envisaged in the proposals repeatedly made by us on the peace platform. We might even say that "what the Peace Movement says today, the world inevitably must say tomorrow".

As we begin to plan now for our next Congress, we cannot afford merely to look back with complacency and smug self-satisfaction, for our task is far from complete. It is true that the war which was imminent some years ago has been prevented, but the danger of war is not over...

I submit that as a movement we are now strong and mature enough to examine not only the immediate threats to peace but also the basic causes of world tension and war.

The prevention of war itself is but a negative though nevertheless important purpose. We should go forward to the positive purpose of consolidating the basis of peace itself. The doctrine of co-existence placed before the world by the wise statesmen of the U.S.S.R., and endorsed and further amplified by the Five Principles jointly propounded by the Prime Ministers of People's China and the Indian Republic provide an effective political basis for Peace...

But we also need to work out in our next Congress a concrete programme of building international unity through closer and more frequent cultural contacts and exchanges between the different peoples...

I submit that the next Congress keep this positive aspect of creating the climate of peace by cultural exchange in the forefront of its discussions and formulate a detailed and thorough plan of action in this respect.

Mr. Pierre Meunier — *France*

First of all, what is the reason for this Congress of world public opinion? Its justification is to be found in all the speeches that we have heard.

It has never been more clearly apparent that the world is at a turning-point in history and that it now depends on people's determination whether they ensure for themselves and their children a long period of peace rather than allowing themselves to be drawn towards a terrible tomorrow...

World public opinion must be given the chance to express itself with the boundless strength that unity gives. This is both the aim and the justification of the decision that you have taken to call the 1955 Congress.

I think that the best way to prepare for this Congress will be the struggle undertaken in each country to orientate government policy towards the relaxation of international tension, security and disarmament.

But to whom shall we address ourselves?

We shall address ourselves to the forces of peace without a single exception.

Because of our past activity, our experience and the confidence that many have in us, we claim to represent a great, peaceful force. But we do not claim to represent all the peaceful forces...

The speaker then gave a series of examples from which we take the following:

The German Social Democratic Party does not belong to our Movement, is has not even cooperated with us, but nevertheless it is helping the cause of peace when it goes on record against German rearmament and for a negotiated settlement of the German question...

In France, the people who want negotiation first — I mean those who consider it more urgent to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the German question and the questions of security and disarmament than to ratify German rearmament — are to be found in all circles and in all parties...

It must be said that a certain number of Frenchmen would resign themselves to accepting the rearmament of Germany in the end if they cannot see any alternative. But they hope that before this deplorable step is taken an effort at general negotiation will be made. I think they, too, have their place in the work and in the Assembly of the forces of peace because we offer them the possibility of remaining faithful to the interests of France, of contributing to the security of our country and all the countries of Europe, and also of avoiding having to reproach themselves one day for cowardly renunciation.

Our appeal must be addressed to all parties that make peace the keynote of their programme, to all spiritual forces which take their stand on the idea of peace. It must be addressed to all countries, since they are all threatened to more or less the same extent, and to all peoples, since they are all interested in consolidating or winning back their prosperity and in averting the fearful danger of an atomic war.

Mr. Jose Cueto — *Chile*

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

The peoples of Latin America are determined to win their independence and sovereignty so as to be able to discuss with all nations, in a dignified way and on a footing of equality, how to obtain peaceful coexistence.

In order that it shall be the peoples who discuss this problem of peace and decide on the form that the struggle to win it shall take, we support and welcome the suggestion to hold, in the first half of 1955, a great Assembly for peace at which all the peoples of the world will be represented.

Mr. Ivor Montagu — *Great Britain*

SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

This Congress must be our Congress — that is to say in the sense that we are responsible for calling it. It is needed now and we must take the initiative. But it must be not in the least our Congress in the sense of monopolising the conduct of it. Our appeal for it must go to *all*, not divided into "our movement and others", but to *all* supporters of peace, among whom ours of course strive always to be worthy of that glorious name. We have a unique and generous tradition. Right from Warsaw we said: every supporter of peace has a place in our world movement. At our meetings all are welcome, guests and members, all are free of the right of speech and vote if they choose to accept it. So it must be at this Congress, in discussion, in resolution, and in election of new vigorous representatives to the guidance of Council affairs...

Before us is the greatest campaign in the life of our movement against all these dangers, and, above all, to stop the rearmament of Germany and the splitting of Europe — to oppose ratification, implementation, arming and splitting with or without licence, before or after Treaties — in a word to *stop* it — to bring the nations together to agree to a peaceful solution *before it is too late.*

The campaign for our Congress can and must be an integral part, potentially one of the most powerful parts of this great policy campaign for Peace itself. From the British movement we want to bring here our experience. The significance of a Congress lies not in the meeting alone, perhaps not even primarily in the meeting. It lies in the work of preparation, in the work after it. A Congress is much more than half wasted if delegates are just nominated or listed, quietly, in a whisper, without anyone knowing anything about it. Delegates must be elected, supported, each backed by the sympathy and pennies of hundreds, even thousands of supporters. Nothing has so fired the imagination of ordinary men and women, in town or village, in factory, office, mine or farm, as the work for our past Congresses, the thought that they, the ordinary, for the first time in history can meet their like of other lands, discuss, exchange ideas, agree. They want to tell things, they want to learn. For the first time, through our movement, men can learn, and act, as one family. We want to be able, from now on, in the actual course of the great campaign for co-operation and security and against the splitting of the world that this Council will launch, to go to every group, every worker, every housewife and say: take part, you know what you want, choose your representatives and act; save the opportunity for world co-operation *now* by your action against the splitting of Europe; use at the Congress, in give and take discussion and agreement with others, the opportunity we win today.

Mrs. Mollie Fischer — *Union of South Africa*

Intimately bound up with this struggle for liberation is the struggle for a unified Peace movement... Racialism has always been a technique for dividing people and preparing for war. Thus in South Africa the fight against racialism is an integral part of the fight for peace...

We peace-loving South Africans warmly welcome the proposal to hold during the first part of next year an Assembly of the representatives of the peace forces of all countries. We are encouraged by the knowledge that in our struggle for a better South Africa we are not alone...

Mr. Jean Laffitte — *France*

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Report presented on behalf of the Organisation Commission

The work and decisions of this session of the World Council stress the gravity and seriousness of the situation confronting us. This is a crucial time for peace, a time when, no doubt, the possibilities open to us confirm our belief that we can win, but also a time when the dangers of the moment, if they are not dispersed, carry the threat of a dreadful future.

The forthcoming World Assembly of the forces of peace forms part of a perspective of growing, redoubled and multiplied efforts, which can and must lead to a new rallying of the forces which today cannot escape from the dilemma of peace or war, life or death...

It transpired clearly in the Commission that the launching and preparation of such an undertaking should be carried on side by side with the development of the Movement's activities, that is to say, in close relation to the activities of the World Council, but at the same time, and before all else, in close relation to the developing work of each National Peace Committee and each local Peace Committee...

It was agreed that the World Assembly should be open to all the forces of peace. That is to say, it should be open alike to the forces of the Movement and those which, without considering themselves a part of the Movement, nevertheless cooperate with it. To these must be added the forces which, though they have refused up to the present to cooperate with the Movement, nevertheless defend the ideas which emanated from it and for which it still stands.

For these reasons the Commission thought it best to retain the name used by the Bureau in the appeal convening the Assembly. In other words the assembly will be convened under the following name: "World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace."

Mr. Laffitte then presented the Organisation Commission's conclusions as regards the convening, preparation, date and place of the World Assembly. After giving a picture of the changes that had marked each stage in the development of the World Peace Movement, the speaker ended in the following terms:

Changes have taken place not only in the situation, but also in people's outlook. Simple ideas which emanated from our Movement have met with a response from public opinion which opens up limitless horizons for the development of our Movement's influence. Big organisations, even governments, have adopted positions along the lines of the peace aims which we have never ceased to defend. Who can deny that in such circumstances it is possible to go much further in the common interest of mankind?

Certainly, and this has come out strongly in our work, the danger persists, immediate and present threats can put everything back into the melting-pot again. But though the danger is grave and more urgent, we are also at a time when everything can be won.

We have on our side the assurance of calm and genuine strength. We have the assurance, as was stated at our first Congress in the Salle Pleyel, that Peace has now become the concern of the peoples. We have the assurance that public opinion can even more strongly influence the course of events, and the assurance which experience has confirmed, that our Movement can make a decisive contribution here.

For these reasons the World Assembly, too, will be a new stage in the development of our efforts.

This stage should mark great new victories for our Movement, and through them, should assist in rallying the forces working for peace on an even broader scale.

CLOSING SPEECH

Mr. Riccardo Lombardi — *Italy*

MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT; SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Events have produced a new trend in international politics. We have passed from the phase of propaganda to the phase of effective action. It is like the change from youth to the calm reflectiveness of maturity...

Our movement's powerful contribution to bringing about this change in the international situation is, however, so evident that it would be in bad taste to boast of it. It has been marked by three events of decisive importance, each one of which required a gruelling and prolonged effort by the popular forces guided by our Movement: the armistice in Korea, the end of the war in Indo-China, the rejection of E.D.C....

It is important to see the correct and proper perspective for the work that has now to be done.

This correct perspective will be gained if we look at it from the point of view that these victories have all been contested by certain circles. In Korea they are bent on disrupting the armistice. In Indo-China they are continuing to introduce American intrigues in the South in order to prevent the exercise of the rights guaranteed by the Geneva Treaty during the long period of preparing for the elections, and to put everything into the melting-pot once again. Finally, in Europe, they are trying to counter the collapse of E.D.C. by the new London and Paris agreements in order to achieve the rearmament of a part of Germany, and its incorporation in the military bloc led by America, in spite of everything.

This work, persevering and perfidious, insolent and sordid, is being carried out on a scale and with a bitterness without precedent, especially in Europe, for it is in Europe that the crux of the problem of war or peace now lies. To win peace in Europe would mean having the maximum chance of winning it on a world scale...

To lose peace in Europe would without doubt mean that it could never be regained, whatever successes might be achieved on other continents.

It is for this reason that in calling the present session of the Council, our Bureau proposed — and the Council adopted — an agenda which gave priority to the European question, not, of course, in order of importance, but of urgency.

For it would be dangerous folly to underestimate the enormous importance of what is happening in Asia with the setting up of S.E.A.T.O., American interference in Pakistan, the intrigues in Korea and Indo-China, in Iran and Formosa; of what is happening in Latin America where operation "Guatemala", followed by operation "Brazil", threatens to be extended and repeated, thus stifling the great desire of the peoples for the economic and political independence of this inexhaustible reservoir of raw materials and poverty-stricken peoples. It would be stupid to forget that there can be no real peace without guaranteeing all the peoples of Africa freedom from oppression and colonial exploitation.

Now, the road to the solution of all these problems lies in Europe...

The European problem, is, before everything else — and I do not say above everything else — the problem of Germany, and this is to a large extent the problem of German unification. We must at all costs preserve the necessary conditions for an equitable solution; the fight against the ratification and implementation of the London and Paris Agreements has no other meaning.

NEWLY ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

During the final sitting the Council elected the following new members:

Mr. Jose da Frota Moreira — *Brazil.* Member of Parliament, General Secretary of the Brazilian Labour Party

M. Alberto Cavalcanti — *Brazil.* Film director

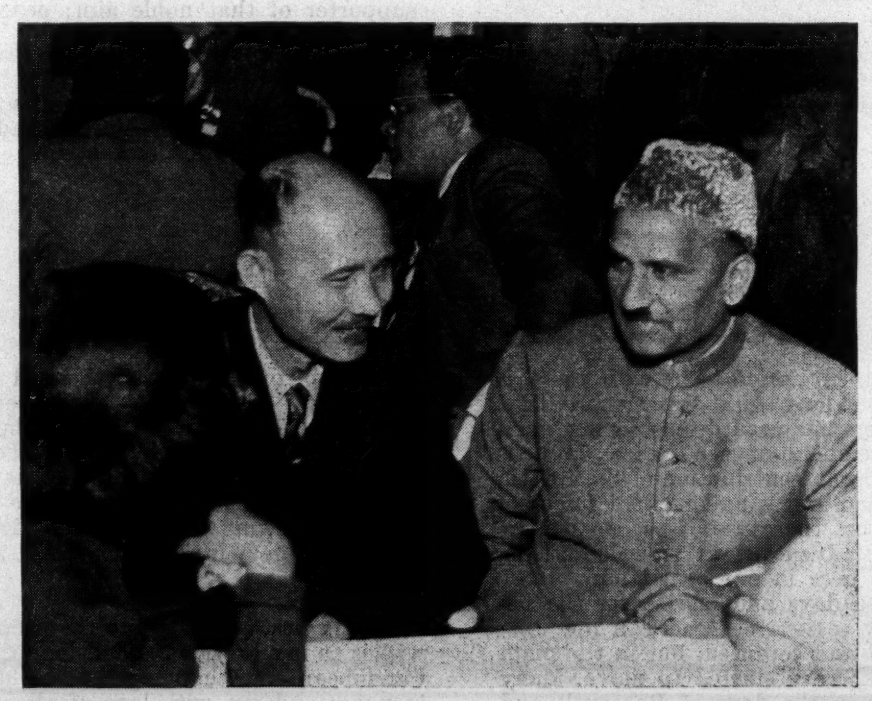
The Right Rev. Bishop Cesar Dacorso — *Brazil.* Head of the Brazilian Methodist Church

Mr. Joris Ivens — *Netherlands.* Film director

Professor Purbodiningrat — *Indonesia.* Economist. Professor at the Gadjah Mada University

Mr. Siradjuddin Abbas — *Indonesia.* Member of Parliament. President of the Moslem Group

Mr. Nino Fogliaresi — *Italy.* Teacher. Journalist.



During an interval the Reverend J. S. Williams, General Secretary of the All India Federation of National Churches and Vice-Chairman of the Bombay Peace Committee, (right) talks to Mr. Le Dinh Tham, Chairman of the Viet-Nam National Buddhist Committee.

Messages Addressed to the Session

During the Stockholm session the World Council of Peace received many declarations and greetings from well-known people, organisations, associations, universities, factories, schools and others. These included hundreds of warm greetings from Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries; from nearly all the countries of Europe, especially Germany; and from Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia.

Some extracts from these messages follow.

Mr. Jakobo Arbenz

former President of Guatemala

"This session of the World Council of Peace is of great importance for my people and for myself in particular, and I should very much have liked to take part in it in person... From where I am at present I send to all and each of those participating in the session my warm greetings and my most fervent wishes for the greatest possible success of the World Council's humanitarian efforts in the cause of peace."

Mr. Tetsu Katayama

former Prime Minister of Japan

"I have the honour to pay sincere homage to all my friends fighting for peace on the occasion of this session of the World Council of Peace which has extremely important tasks to perform in the present international situation...

"On behalf of the Japanese people, who are determined to defend their peaceful constitution at any cost and categorically reject the remilitarisation of the country, I should like to ask all my friends taking part in this session of the World Council of Peace to demand that all countries should solemnly declare that they will never resort to arms or threats in order to settle international conflicts...

"I express my profound admiration and gratitude for your untiring efforts to preserve peace and assure you that I am determined to struggle with you to banish war for ever from the earth."

Mr. Clotario Blest Riffo

President of the Amalgamated Federation of Chilean Workers

"I beg you to assure the eminent participants in this session of the World Council of Peace that I shall continue to fight untiringly for the noble aims of the Council and that I direct all my efforts to creating a peaceful attitude and a will to peace in all my dear fellow-countrymen."

Mr. Josef Weber

General Secretary of the Union of Germans for Unity, Peace and Freedom

"Be assured that I have every sympathy for your efforts and that I shall follow all your deliberations with close attention. I am particularly pleased that your agenda gives prominence to the question of the cooperation of all European states in the interests of their security... We are certain that the proposals of the World Council of Peace... will help to prevent the unfortunate history of Europe and Germany during these last fifty years from repeating itself. The dearest wish of the people of the Federal Republic is to forestall and ward off the dangers of a unilateral armaments race so as to make progress along the road of peaceful agreement and eliminate the possibility of Europeans taking up arms against Europeans — even more of Germans taking up arms against Germans — yet again."

Mr. Jacques Savary

on behalf of the World Council for the Peoples' World Convention

"If peace organisations established direct contact with the World Council of Peace, as we have done, they would lose their many prejudices towards the World Council...

"We consider the task being accomplished by the World Council of Peace as very useful, even indispensable, and we wish the forthcoming session every success."

Mr. Felipe Iniguez Medrano

Rector of Oruro Technical University, Bolivia

"Please accept this message of support for the discussions which will start on the 18th and believe that I am a convinced supporter of that noble aim: peace between the peoples of the world."

*

Messages were also sent to the Council session by Mrs. Ceza Nabarawi and Mr. Ibrahim Rashad of Egypt, by the Colombian Students' Federation and others.

Mr. Paul Robeson

U. S. A.

Again may I thank you for your invitation to be with you this evening. Somehow it seems that not long ago it was my privilege. Those most recent visits have been treasured deeply in my mind and heart. The splendid achievements of the Peace Councils throughout the world, the magnificent contribution of the British Peace Committee in stirring opinion and winning broad forces of all sections of British life to support the cause of peace, to force cultural exchange and mutually advantageous trade relations, have encouraged and inspired us here in our own land.

History moves speedily in these days and one senses the beginning of a real change in many regions of American life...

The American people, disturbed and confused, but in the main wanting peace like any other folk, have started to move. Many progressive-minded citizens active in the days of Roosevelt and through '48 are coming back into the public arena, so look for better news from this side...

The will of the people, the will of the world's people — and of them we are a part — shall prevail, for sanity, for peace and friendship. Know that I am in the middle of the struggle — I love that word struggle — and there I shall remain as long as duty and responsibility call. Let us hope that soon it will be my good fortune to join in some of the conferences to bring greetings from the growing thousands here fighting with you to help ensure peace and new freedom of many still pressing forward to new horizons.

All my best to you and to the people of your lands. My heartfelt wishes to my brothers and sisters of Africa and of the Isles of the Carribbean. We shall together build a world where we shall live in peace and yet with love of all for their fellows. In the words of the great Chilean poet, Neruda: "Though I am not there, I here pound the table with love."

Recommendations on the cultural activities of the World Peace Movement

The recommendations printed below and those on organisation printed on page 28, were adopted by the Cultural and Organisation Commissions respectively

CULTURAL RELATIONS constitute one of the most vital factors in the progress of human civilisation: they enable the nations to exchange of their best and mutually to enrich their national cultures.

The development of these relations needs a favourable atmosphere, an atmosphere of Peace. At the same time these exchanges influence the international situation and make easier better mutual understanding and the establishment of peaceful coexistence between all countries whatever their social system.

Intellectuals are particularly interested in the strengthening of cultural relations, for the exchange of the experience, knowledge and discoveries which they have in their respective fields is a fundamental necessity for their work. They have also a special responsibility to devote their talents to the service of the peoples in their struggle for Peace and security.

Many writers, artists, scientists and religious figures have already raised their voices strongly in recent years against war hysteria, racial hatred and incitement to war and have declared for peaceful cooperation. But the peoples, who see the intellectuals as among their best informed representatives, expect a still greater and more active contribution from them, wanting other circles to come in and strengthen the joint activities for a close cultural cooperation.

The World Peace Movement has the task of inspiring and supporting these efforts by the intellectuals and the ordinary people. It has already played an important part in the activities which have made the recent extension of cultural relations possible. Ever since it was founded the World Peace Movement has put forward clear and practical proposals to combat war propaganda, to defend and foster national cultures and to extend cultural relations.

In the struggle for the lessening of international tension and the end of the cold war, for real negotiations instead of the use of force, as the basis of mutual security, the peoples have considered it essential to destroy the barriers artificially erected between them. In recent years significant successes have been gained in this struggle.

The World Peace Movement welcomes the increased cultural cooperation between peoples living in different social and political systems, which has taken the form of, for example, tours abroad by large theatrical companies, by major orchestras and troupes of dancers; growing exchanges of teams of sportsmen, of films, of books in translation, of exhibitions of works of art and of children's art; the increased representation of the different countries at international scientific and professional conferences; the holding of specialists' meetings in the different fields of culture to study their special problems in connection with the question of Peace.

In many countries, the Peace Movement has helped and encouraged actions for the defence or the development of national culture against attempts to adulterate it by introducing alien brands of culture such as those films, strip cartoons and various publications, which seek to justify violence, war and racial hatred. Certain of these actions are developing into a real expression of national opinion and are having positive results. At the same time there has been increased interest in the development of different forms of culture such as popular and folk art.

In spite of all these positive developments, however, there are still great obstacles in the way of true cultural cooperation. Many efforts are being made to limit exchanges to one group of countries or to thwart them, for example by using them to support racial domination or to put across propaganda for hatred and war to the peoples, or to falsify history and permeate textbooks and schools with poisonous ideas.

At the same time in a number of countries the Peace Movement has not understood clearly enough that all these questions form an integral part of the struggle for Peace. There has been a tendency in some countries to regard them as being the concern of specialists and merely to leave such questions to persons and organisations outside the ambit of the Peace Movement.

The whole work of the Peace Movement is a struggle for good relations and mutual understanding between the nations, for the defence and development of civilisation. This struggle can only be successful if the Movement in every country concerns itself with these vital interests of the people.

In the interests of the rapid development of cultural relations the World Council of Peace recommends to the National Peace Movement:

— to promote action on the widest possible scale and among all sections of the people against every bar to increased exchanges, such as refusals to grant visas, to allow international conferences and meetings to be held, to permit the distribution of cultural publications, etc.

— to promote and develop further widespread action against propaganda for violence, war and racial hatred, open or concealed, direct or indirect, carried on by newspapers, books, broadcasts, films, comics and other means of expression.

— to develop the widest possible activity against inhuman and invidious uses of science and the use of scientific research to ends almost wholly destructive.

— to promote and to support every form of cultural exchange which serves the cause of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

— to support all moves for the defence and the development of national culture and for improved contact and exchange in the fields of popular art, folk-art and sport.

— to support in every way the holding of gatherings and meetings of writers, film workers, musicians, painters, teachers and scientists to discuss their particular problems in relation to the cause of Peace.

— to promote and support actions among all sections of the people, and specially among teachers, to defend the education of children against the effects of war policies, against the introduction into the schools of unhealthy ideas and feelings, ideas rooted in brutality, force and racial hatred and to foster a spirit of understanding and friendship for other peoples.

Experience has shown that an important contribution to the aims given above has been made by two special activities proposed by the World Council of Peace: the celebration of great cultural anniversaries and the International Peace Prizes.

During the past three years the celebration of the great anniversaries proposed by the Council has helped the peoples to strengthen their respect for the cultural achievements of other nations and to draw together in defence of their common heritage. These celebrations have taken place on a wide scale and in all circles.

The World Council of Peace stresses the great importance of these celebrations. They make possible very varied activities both among writers, artists, scientists and professional people and among the population in general. The Council recommends to the National Movements to promote the celebration of the great anniversaries in a spirit of international brotherhood on a greater scale and the most varied ways, in particular encouraging academic, scientific, professional and popular organisations to take part.

The International Peace Prizes founded by the World Council have enabled the peoples to honour writers, artists and men of science for works of great human value which serve the cause of Peace.

The World Council recommends the National Movements to make the International Peace Prizes known to the people, to organise ceremonies of tribute to the prizewinners and their works, and to explain the importance and the meaning of these Prizes, which constitute a living link between the peoples and those who are the trusted voices of their desire for Peace.

The peoples have expressed more and more clearly their wish to know one another, to exchange all that is most valued in their culture and to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding which will be favourable to peaceful cooperation. The World Council of Peace calls once more on all friends of Peace to exert their efforts to achieve this aim. The perspectives are immense. Let us then work unstintingly to make them reality.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Recommendations on Problems of Organisation of the World Peace Movement

THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE draws attention to the essential contribution which the Movement made to the people's recent victories for Peace.

The ideas and campaigns of the World Peace Movement have had far-reaching effects. They are the chief source of the immense current of opinion which has developed throughout the world to demand the peaceful solution of international disputes. The increasing support of new forces is bringing about a marked growth in the influence and authority of the Movement.

The importance of the results obtained and the number of tasks with which the international situation presents us, face the whole Movement with the duty of ceaselessly improving its activities and methods of work.

In many countries national movements have demonstrated their ability to initiate actions bringing in all sections of the population and building the widest possible unity of the Peace forces. In this way they have acquired an authority and influence which, because they correspond to a national desire for Peace, are reflected in the attitude and statements of important political and popular forces and personalities representing wide sections of public opinion in their country.

This general strengthening of the Movement must not distract attention from certain organisational problems which still exist.

— The Movement has not always developed its organisation in proportion to the influence which its ideas and activities have acquired.

— In some countries, the action undertaken on the international level has not been adapted to the particular situation of the country concerned, and this has led to the formulation of abstract objectives and to reduced activity.

— In other cases the Movement, with the idea of broadening the Peace front, is abandoning its own programme of action, or is thinking only in terms of seeking the support of well-known people or organisations, to the detriment of the necessary work among ordinary people.

— Certain National Committees, by their principles of organisation, their methods of work and the formulation of their arguments, tend to ally themselves with political organisations and put out slogans too narrow to gain the attention of all sections of the population, irrespective of social origin or political or philosophical convictions.

The solution of these organisational problems must be sought for in the application of the decisions adopted by the World Council in the course of its meetings and Congresses, and in respect for the principles which the Movement has formulated for itself in the course of five years experience.

The Peace Movement is one which is able to achieve or assist the widest unity of the forces of Peace. It constantly strives to bring together, without distinction or limitation, nationally and internationally, all those who accept the principle of peaceful coexistence and the settlement of international disputes by negotiation. Through free discussion it arrives at aims and forms of activity acceptable to all.

The Peace Movement does not pretend to have the monopoly of the struggle for Peace. It asks all individuals and organisations representing forces of Peace to cooperate with it for the success of the actions which it advocates. The breadth of its aims, and its ability to promote activities which find a response in every country, make it a pole of attraction for those who wish to help in the preservation of Peace. The existence and the growth of the Peace Movement are thus essential conditions for the development of the activity and unity of the forces of Peace. But the Peace Movement also declares its readiness to support all actions, from whatever source, which bring together efforts made in the direction of international relaxation.

The Peace Movement is characterised by action. In every country its existence and its strength depend on constantly renewed activities, associating all people of goodwill in the achievement of precise and practical objectives based both on the requirements of the international situation and on national interests.

For the development of its activities, the movement depends on the existence of Peace Committees organised both in places where people live and where they work. These Committees, with their constant appeal to all sections of public opinion, are the guarantee of the widest unity and the greatest effectiveness of the actions undertaken.

The World Council proposes that each National Committee should be guided by the following recommendations:

— On all occasions to make clear the Movement's attitude to national and international events which have a bearing on the relaxation of international tension, either in the name of the National Committee or by means of statements made by its most prominent individuals.

By this means it is possible to bring out the independent character of the Movement. In this connection, the systematic condemnation of every action raising an obstacle in the way of relaxation of international tension, such for example as a call to open hostilities against a particular country, refusal to negotiate or acts of discrimination detrimental to the development of economic and cultural relations with all countries, should be its constant concern.

— To use the rich experience of joint actions, which have been carried through in cooperation with various well-known people and organisations, in order to strengthen and extend this cooperation, not simply with particular individuals or representatives of organisations, but also with the sections of people they represent. This aim can be achieved by initiating or supporting moves which can be jointly developed on the national and international levels.

— To safeguard the wide and democratic nature of the Movement: creation and reconstruction of Committees representative of ever-widening sections of opinion; joint formulation of objectives and forms of action; responsibility of all Committee members for the working out and implementation of decisions; election of Committees to organise Assemblies or Congresses.

— To seek the best way of developing permanent activity by the regional and local Peace Committees, bearing in mind the links between the different activities: collection of signatures, petitions or referendums leading to a campaign of deputations to all elected persons; local meetings and factory meetings preparing for larger meetings; local and regional rallies leading to a National Conference, days, weeks, and months of action etc...

Experience has shown the constant need for each Committee to find the method of work which best corresponds to the opportunities of joint action existing in each country, to seek and set out the arguments and facts which give a more practical form to the objectives of the struggle for Peace laid down by the World Council, linking them directly with the interests of the population.

— To consider as a permanent task of each Committee to find methods based on political activities for raising the funds needed for their development, the nature of the Movement making it impossible to lay down a membership fee for those taking part in the struggle for Peace.

— To maintain closer contact with the Secretariat of the World Council and with the other National Movements in order to bring about greater cooperation and better coordination of activities on a world scale. These contacts can be made by means of the delegates to the Council, by means of the Secretariat's information material, by visits and exchanges of delegations, and by exchanges of publications, films and documents. The Secretariat of the Council, as a permanent body, can assist this necessary cooperation.

On this basis, the strengthening of the organisation of the Movement and the solution of organisational problems which may arise, are the conditions for a better development of activities and a useful contribution to the widest mustering of the forces of Peace.

STOCKHOLM 23 November 1954

Reproduction authorised

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

KUO MO-JO

SPEECH

DELIVERED AT THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

BERLIN, MAY 24 th — 28 th, 1954

At the last session of the World Council of Peace, held in Vienna in November 1953, millions of people throughout the world joyfully and enthusiastically welcomed the Korean armistice. The appeal which the World Council of Peace had been repeating for three years had finally been fulfilled. The Korean war, which had been a serious threat to world peace for three years, had at last come to an end, thereby bringing about some relaxation of international tension.

The Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France, held in Berlin in the early part of this year, was the occasion for a broad exchange of views on the following questions: European security, the German and Austrian questions and the question of the reduction of armaments. Although no agreement was reached on these questions, the Berlin Foreign Ministers' Conference did achieve one important agreement — this was to hold in Geneva, on April 26th, a Conference in which the Soviet Union, the Unites States, France, Great Britain, the People's

Republic of China and other interested states should take part, and which should discuss the questions of the restoration of peace in Indo-China and the peaceful solution of the Korean question.

Now that the Korean war, which lasted for three years, is ended, the only existing large-scale war is the war in Indo-China. This war has been going on for eight years and certain circles are trying to internationalise it. All people of goodwill in the world are now calling for the restoration of peace in Indo-China with the same eagerness as they called for the ending of the Korean war for more than three years.

Therefore it has become the earnest hope of the people of the world that the Geneva Conference may attain satisfactory results.

At the Geneva Conference the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China and other interested states have sat down together to examine and solve the urgent problems of Asia. This in itself is of great historical significance. The Geneva Conference is the first realisation of the Five-Power negotiation which the World Council of Peace has been demanding for five years. This means that there is a greater possibility of solving international disputes through peaceful negotiation. It also means that all important Asian and international questions must be solved with the participation of representatives of the People's Republic of China.

We Chinese people are profoundly aware of the fact that we have important responsibilities for the maintenance of peace in Asia and in the world. Our delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, has gone to the Geneva Conference representing the will of the five hundred million people of China. They have the

important task of making the Conference succeed by seeking to negotiate with boundless sincerity and patience. That is to say, they will make the Conference succeed so as to restore peace to Indo-China and transform the existing unstable armistice in Korea into a genuine peaceful solution of the whole Korean question.

The Geneva Conference has been going on for exactly one month, and its development has caused us increasing anxiety. Admittedly, the matters on the Conference agenda are important and complicated. If the representatives of all the countries taking part were sincere and eager in pursuing the discussions, then we should not need to worry. However, this is not so.

We should now like to recall to the members of the World Council of Peace and friends present at this meeting the development of the Geneva Conference. On April 27th, the second day of the Conference, as we all remember, Mr. Nam Il, Foreign Minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, put forward a concrete proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, whereas it was not until May 22nd, that is four weeks after the opening of the Conference, that Mr. Pyun Yung Tae, Foreign Minister of South Korea, made a counter-proposal containing nothing new.

The same thing happened with the question of the restoration of peace in Indo-China. Mr. Pham Van Dong, Acting Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, arrived in Geneva on May 4th, and, likewise, on the second day of the discussions on the Indo-Chinese question, that is on May 10th, he made an eight-point proposal for the restoration of peace in Indo-China. On May 14th, Mr. Molotov, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, made additional proposals for the conclusion of an armistice under the supervision of a neutral nation's

commission. But the other side has not been willing, up till now, to enter into discussion on matters of substance, thus making it impossible to reach agreement.

These facts make it clear that someone is trying to protact and obstruct the Geneva Conference, so as to prevent it from reaching an agreement. Who is responsible for this?

If we coolly examine the content of the proposals put forward by both sides, it is easy to determine who is responsible.

Foreign Minister Nam Il's proposal to prevent the resumption of war in Korea and for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question contains the following points:

—All foreign troops should be withdrawn from Korea in six months;

—There should be free elections, in which all the people of both South and North Korea should take part, in order to set up a united, democratic national Government. An all-Korea Committee should be formed by a joint meeting of representatives of both South and North Korea in order to discuss concrete measures for the preparation and carrying-out of democratic elections. This Committee would take steps to promote the economic and cultural rapprochement of North and South Korea.

These proposals were opposed and rejected by the US Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles. At the Conference Mr. Dulles put forward an argument which was logically ridiculous, saying that the US troops should not be withdrawn from Korea because the USA is far away from Korea, and once the US troops were withdrawn, it would not be easy for them to come back. Isn't this ridiculous? To put it simply, the intention

of the US Government, which Mr. Dulles represents, is to occupy South Korea for an indefinite period. And it has not relinquished its intention to take over the whole of Korea in the name of the United Nations. Mr. Dulles once more brought up the resolution adopted on October 7th, 1950, by the United Nations General Assembly through the manipulation of the United States. He thought it contained a "practical programme" for the unification of Korea. This programme aims at nothing other than the maintenance of the Syngman Rhee regime and the holding of so-called "supervised" undemocratic elections in North Korea only with the intervention of the US occupation forces. On May 22nd, Mr. Pyun Yung Tae made a proposal similar to that of Mr. Dulles and which is nothing more than a reproduction of American intentions in Korea.

I would now like to ask: which of the two sides' proposals are more fair and reasonable, which side's proposals are more practical, more genuinely expressive of the will of the Korean people and in conformity with the interests of the Korean people?

As to the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the proposals of the Acting Foreign Minister of Viet-Nam, Mr. Pham Van Dong, contain the following points:

—The recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the three nations in Indo-China;

—The withdrawal of foreign troops and the holding of free general elections without any interference from outside, in order to establish a unified Government for each of the three countries. When the three countries have their unified Governments some adjustments will be made in recognition of France's economic and cultural interests in Indo-China, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. The three Governments are prepared to

consider the question of making a statement on joining the French Union on the basis of free choice. But M. Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, still regards himself as the ruler of a colony and gives himself the airs of a conqueror. He put forward conditions similar to those laid down by the French Premier, Laniel, in the National Assembly on March 5th, demanding that the people's forces in Indo-China, which he calls rebels, either disarm or be concentrated in given areas under supervision. French public opinion has described these conditions as surrender terms for Indo-China.

Again I would like to ask: which of the two sides are more fair and reasonable, which side's proposals are more practical, more genuinely expressive of the will of the people of Indo-China, and in conformity with interests of the people of Indo-China?

It is obvious that someone is trying to protract, obstruct and even destroy the Geneva Conference.

This someone is the influential ruling circles of the United States.

The basic aim of the United States Government is to foment international tension. During Truman's term of office, the then US Secretary of State, the five-star General Marshall, once openly said that the United States should keep the international situation tense for at least ten years. Although the Democratic Administration has been replaced by a Republican one, US war policy has not changed under the leadership of a soldier President. The US President has not given up all thoughts of war, although world public opinion and serious military losses forced the ending of the Korean war. Why? Because the monopoly capitalists of the USA can make super profits from war. This is the hidden motive behind US world policy and all its actions.

The United States Government is fundamentally opposed to a relaxation of international tension. But, subjected to the pressure of world public opinion, it finds it difficult to offer open opposition and can therefore only sabotage negotiation by adopting a hypocritical attitude towards negotiation, and destroy peace by paying lip-service to peace. The so-called "prevention of the Communist menace" and the "defense of the free world" are nothing but a pretext for the fomenting of international tension. The US ruling clique thought themselves very clever in undertaking the following: brazen interference in the independence and sovereignty of other countries; the brazen establishment of military bases in other countries; the brazen imposition of blockades and embargoes; the monopoly of raw materials for their war machine; wholesale robbery in the name of "aid"; occupation and invasion in the name of the false "mutual defense against Communism". All this, however, amounts to nothing more than "stealing a bell by shutting one's ears" as the Chinese proverb has it.

We have not forgotten that the US Government was not very keen about the conclusion of the Korean armistice, nor about the convocation of the Berlin Conference. They were particularly displeased at the calling of the Geneva Conference. We are confronted by a certain number of facts which cannot be covered up. On the eve of the Geneva Conference the United States ruling circles and their propaganda organs incessantly spread an atmosphere of pessimism and despair, prophesying that the Conference could, of course, produce no results.

Mr. Dulles, particularly, has the habit of having two strings to his bow. If a conference is coming off, he will say, "Well, I'll come. But I'll only stay there for a

fortnight. If you want to discuss the restoration of peace in Indo-China, well, I'll come. But what I'm really interested in is the formation of a South-East Asia Military Alliance."

In order to patch up this military alliance, he flew to Great Britain and France on the eve of the Geneva Conference in an attempt to force Britain and France to adopt "united action". He flies to Europe one day, to Asia the next, and then post-haste back to America.

He flew to Geneva, and then only a week later he flew back to the US again. Now why did he fly back? One of the reasons he has told everybody—namely, the same old business of plotting the formation of the South-East Asia Military Alliance.

Dear friends, what is the purpose of the US ruling circles in striving with such feverish anxiety to set up the South-East Asia Military Alliance?

It is only the purpose of squeezing out its old rivals, Britain and France, from Asia, so as to realise its ambition of transforming the Pacific Ocean into an American lake.

Let us take a look at the members of this so-called alliance. They are - Australia, New Zealand plus Thailand, the Philippines and the three puppet regimes of Indo-China. The most ridiculous of all is the attempt to include the Chiang-Kai-shek bandits in this "alliance".

As we all know, Taiwan is Chinese territory. Under the pretext of aiding the Chiang-Kai-shek bandits, the US Government occupied Taiwan and is actively planning to transform it into a base for sabotage and further aggression against the People's Republic of China. This is absolutely intolerable to the Chinese people.

Dear friends, is the whole thing not sufficiently clear? On the one hand, the United States takes part in the discussions on the restoration of peace in Indo-China

at the Geneva Conference, while on the other, she shows much more interest in, and can hardly wait for, the organisation of the South-East Asia Military Alliance, in an attempt to extend the war in Indo-China. Who, therefore could say that there is any sincerity in America's attitude to the Geneva Conference? Who could deny that it is the influential ruling circles in the United States who are protracting, obstructing and attempting to sabotage the Geneva Conference?

The ruling circles of France are also pursuing a two-faced policy. These followers of the aggressive circles of the United States are, on the one hand, pretending, under the pressure of French and world public opinion, to carry on peaceful negotations, while, on the other, they are begging the United States Government for military aid. At Geneva, there is some underhand business going on between M. Bidault and Mr. Bedell Smith. Even though the French people have long condemned the war in Indo-China as a "dirty war", those elements in French political circles who want the war in Indo-China to continue, want it to continue even at the cost of mortgaging Indo-China to America.

News has come recently that the French authorities are spreading rumours in Paris to the effect that the Geneva Conference is being sabotaged, and that it is the delegates from the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the People's Republic of China, and the Soviet Union, who are the saboteurs, and who are trying to prevent the Geneva Conference from reaching agreement so as to continue and extend the war. It is really an interesting thing that there are people who, in broad daylight, will swear that black is white! In our opinion, in the case of these Geneva Conference rumours, it is not the French who are speaking, but American dollars.

Although I am not a Frenchman, I respect the glorious traditions of the French people. When I was a young man, I read the works of the great French masters in translation: Descartes, Voltaire, Rousseau, Molière and Victor Hugo. I hold many French scientists, writers, and public figures in high esteem. I love France. I have a firm conviction that the French people have the strength and determination to uphold their glorious tradition.

We Chinese people have always loved peace and opposed war. We Chinese people are working peacefully with all our might, and our aim is to make our country a Socialist country, to enable everyone in it to lead a happy and peaceful life. Our Government is a People's Government. It has faithfully carried out, and it will forever carry out, a peaceful policy. We are deeply conscious that we have a great responsibility for the maintenance of peace in Asia and the world. I would like to say once again, therefore, that our delegation to the Geneva Conference, headed by Foreign Minister Chou-En-lai, is completely representative of the will of the Chinese people. The delegation is resolved, with the greatest sincerity and confidence, and in the spirit of peaceful negotiation, to enable the Conference to reach agreement. We Chinese people are looking forward eagerly to the results of the Geneva Conference.

On May 13th, two days before we left for Berlin to take part in this session of the World Council of Peace, we held a public meeting in Peking in support of the Geneva Conference. Our watchword is: if only the American delegates and the French delegates are willing to sit down and talk with us, we are always ready to carry on negotiations with them with the greatest sincerity and patience, in order to find for Asian questions solutions beneficial to peace.

It is not only the Chinese people who look forward eagerly to the success of the Geneva Conference; the great majority of the peoples of Asia and of the governments of Asian countries are looking forward to it with equal eagerness. May I be allowed to mention here two obvious examples to refresh your memories.

On April 24th, on the eve of the Geneva Conference, when the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, made a statement in the House of the People in the Indian Parliament, during which he said: "The conflict in Indo-China is, in its origin, and essential character, a movement of resistance to colonialism." He opposed the extension of the war in Indo-China and took his stand on the restoration of peace in Indo-China on the basis of respect for the independence of the people of Viet-Nam, Khmer and Pathet Lao. I think these words were clear and wise.

Secondly, during the first days of the Geneva Conference, the Prime Ministers of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan met in Colombo from April 28th to 30th. They issued a communique which appeals for the restoration of Peace in Indo-China without foreign intervention and recognising the national rights of the peoples of Indo-China. It maintains that the People's Republic of China should take its rightful place in the United Nations. It also condemns the existence of colonialism as "a violation of fundamental human rights and a threat to the peace of the world".

Together, these are powerful voices from the Asian countries, and voices cannot be blockaded.

Fundamental changes have taken place in the history of Asia. The time is gone forever when the colonialists could manipulate as they liked the destinies of the peoples of Asia and deprive them of their right to a say

in the conduct of their own affairs. We welcome the fact that public opinion generally, as well as leading figures in Western Europe and other parts of the world, has recently taken up a more realistic and reasonable position on Asian questions. Nevertheless, there are certain astonishing and regrettable features in the situation: a few obstinate colonialists, particularly the ruling cliques of the United States, are deliberately shutting their eyes to reality.

In my opinion, the problem of Asia is the same as the problem of Europe. The collective security of Europe is the key to the peace of Europe and the development of the peoples of Europe. So it is with Asia. In the long-term interests of peace for the nations of Asia, we have to solve not only the urgent problems of Korea and Indo-China, but to seek collective security for Asia, which should include all the Asian countries. Only this can ensure peace and national independence for Asia, the prerequisite for which is freedom from interference on the part of colonialists. Given this prerequisite, "we Asian states should respect each other's independence and sovereignty instead of interfering in each other's internal affairs, should settle disputes among ourselves by the peaceful method of negotiation instead of resorting to force or threats, and should establish and develop normal economic and cultural relations among ourselves on the basis of equality and mutual benefit instead of permitting discrimination or restrictions".

These are the principles for the establishment of collective security in Asia set out by our Foreign Minister Chou En-lai in his statement at the Geneva Conference.

Though the Asian countries were economically backward in the era of the old colonialism, they each have a long cultural history, an industrious people, rich natural

resources and favourable geographical conditions, and they can develop. If, in the future development of the Asian countries, we firmly abide by the principles which I have outlined, and undertake mutual obligations, we can coexist peacefully and maintain peace and security in Asia. This will contribute to the collective security of the world.

We Chinese people cherish our own independence and sovereignty, and we therefore respect those of our neighbours. We cherish our own peaceful construction and we therefore respect that of our neighbours. We cherish our own cultural creations, and we therefore respect those of our neighbours.

Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, these principles have stood at the very heart of our foreign policy. Acting on these principles, we have established diplomatic relations with many countries, and have concluded trade agreements with business circles in Japan and with the Governments of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, Mongolia, Korea and other countries. Recently, moreover, we have signed a new agreement with India which clarifies the relations between China and India with regard to the Chinese territory, Tibet, and which is based on the principle of mutual respect for territorial sovereignty. For two thousand years there has been contact between China and India. We have always coexisted in peace, and have never waged war against each other. We believe that this should be a historic proof of the claim that peaceful co-existence between nations is possible. Further, we have exchanged with India, Burma, Mongolia, Korea and other countries, cultural delegations which have strengthened the friendship and understanding between the nations.

We are carrying out our first Five-Year Plan of

peaceful construction. We want to raise the material and cultural standards of our people through socialist industrialisation. All honest and objective persons who have visited our country during the four years since the foundation of our Republic are in a position to testify to the constructive labour of the Chinese people and their will to coexist in peace with the peoples of all nations. As long as three thousand years ago, our ancestors bequeathed to us a very wise maxim, "All men within the boundaries of the seas are brothers". We are willing to abide by this maxim. We will never commit aggression against others, but we will never tolerate aggression against ourselves. History is our witness that whenever we have been invaded by a foreign aggressor, we have fought for the restoration of our freedom, independence and peace, even if it has meant a struggle lasting as long as two or three hundred years.

Dear friends, the discussion of collective security for all the nations of the world is one of the most important points on the agenda of this meeting. I have therefore dealt at length with the situation in Asia. Collective security is indivisible, and collective security in Asia is undoubtedly an integral part of world security. We Chinese people are not only striving for collective security in Asia, we are striving also for collective security in Europe.

We fully support the demand for the prohibition of hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. The organisation and strengthening of collective security will help to ensure the carrying out of the prohibition of the use of hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction. And on the positive side, collective security will facilitate the control and peaceful development of atomic energy.

Dear friends, an earnest study in common of the important questions we are considering should, we believe, produce practical resolutions. We Chinese people will support and carry out with all our power the resolutions in favour of peace that result from our collective wisdom.

Finally, I would like to draw your attention once again to the Geneva Conference, which plays so important a role in the present international situation. The Geneva Conference must, and can, reach agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and the restoration of peace in Indo-China. But, in the same way as the actual calling of the Geneva Conference was due to the increased pressure of public opinion on those who are afraid of peace and promote wars, so, in order to make the Conference reach agreement, the peace-loving people of all countries must be vigilant to ensure that the sinister designs of US aggressive circles and their followers may be foiled. The peace-loving people of all countries should continue to encourage public opinion to support strongly every proposal made at the Geneva Conference that contributes to the preservation of peace and the maintenance of national independence: only thus will peace be victorious.

Peace must prevail, and the struggle of oppressed peoples for national independence and the defence of their territorial sovereignty must be victorious.

Colonialism is finished in China, its days are numbered in Asia, and it will inevitably come to an end throughout the world. We hope the day is not far off when all the peoples of the world will unite and co-operate in collective security, and will, like brothers, live in peaceful co-existence.

PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6, — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44

After the London and Paris Agreements . . .

A Warning

from

Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie

President

of the World Council of Peace

On 30 October 1954, Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, issued the following warning to public opinion about the London and Paris Agreements.

The coming weeks will be of vital importance for the future of peace.

The enormous dangers to the preservation of peace contained in the London and Paris agreements make vigorous action by world public opinion necessary. The peoples of the countries directly concerned must act without delay because the Governments which drew up and signed the agreements are striving to get them ratified as swiftly as possible. There is a reason for this haste: if public opinion had sufficient time, it could weigh up the dangers contained in these agreements and compare their worth with the possibilities offered by the Soviet proposals.

Was not the French rejection of the European Defence Community obtained by the joint action of all who see in the maintenance of national independence a guarantee of peace, and in the revival of German militarism a threat of war?

The dangers implicit in the London and Paris agreements can be perceived by all, regardless of personal preferences for one social system rather than another.

To anyone who has studied these agreements attentively and understood their real significance, their approval can only mean approval of the policy of armed peace and rigid, hostile blocs. This policy, which mistakes ultimatum for negotiation, can only aggravate international tension and increase the danger of incidents and war.

It would, therefore, seem as if the signatories of these agreements wanted to increase international tension in the most dangerous manner — and this at a time when this tension had greatly decreased. Today, there are no longer any armed conflicts; economic and cultural exchanges are being developed; the prospects for agreement on disarmament have never been so good; and the European Defence Community treaty has been rejected.

These circumstances warranted the hope for a peaceful settlement of the German question through negotiation between the great powers concerned. However, there would be a danger of jeopardising all this if the agreements signed in London and Paris were ratified, since they settle the rearmament of Germany and its incorporation in the Atlantic Pact.

If these agreements were *finally* ratified they would, in exactly the same way as E.D.C., maintain and aggravate the division of Germany and Europe. They would delay and endanger any real negotiation with the Soviet Union on the German question by creating an accomplished fact openly directed against that country.

The promise of disarmament contained in the recent debates in the United Nations cannot be reconciled with the rearmament of the Federal German Republic, which can only lead to a speed-up in the armaments race. In order to find some justification for the agreements, the Governments which

signed them try to prove that the rearmament of the Federal Republic is inevitable and necessary. Neither in law nor in fact can this statement be justified. What is intended — in the name of an inevitability which cannot be justified by shouting it loudly — is the organisation of an armed coalition with the leaders of West Germany who have never concealed their territorial demands and who are being given a renewed assurance that their authority is the only one that is recognised over the whole of Germany.

Another reason given is the need for reconciliation with Germany. If the London and Paris agreements were ratified they would give military means of action to those who formerly promoted and were responsible for the Hitler regime, who have never hidden their dream of a new European crusade and who would not long be restrained — as history has demonstrated — by the mere pledge not to use force contained in the agreements. Just as after the First World War, the efforts of the Western powers have been wholly directed towards restoring the least democratic and most warlike elements to power. Once again, just as in the past, while powerful currents of opposition to the revival of militarism are revealing themselves among the German people, every attempt is being made to isolate and weaken the peace-loving forces in Germany.

It is, on the contrary, by relying on these Germans, who are very numerous and are fighting with courage, that the way to reconciliation and peace could be opened.

I cannot do better than ask you to ponder the following warning that was given me in 1946 by a German scientist from the Federal Republic. He said: "If the Allies continue along the road of collaboration with former Nazis, there will be another Führer in ten years' time."

Certain of the countries which signed the agreements are bound to the Soviet Union by treaties which have not been denounced. The clauses of the London and Paris agreements flagrantly contradict the spirit and the letter of these treaties. By failing to honour their signature these countries would set a dangerous example and would nullify the pledge not to resort to force.

I would urgently ask all of you to study the texts which are going to be submitted for ratification by your Parliaments. Examine them carefully, weigh up their full consequences. Your representatives must not be made to vote before you have acquainted them with your personal opinion.

The decision they are going to have to take is fraught with dire consequences and you will not have done your duty to your family or your country unless you forcefully express your feelings to them.

There are other roads open to the Governments if they want to guarantee their peoples' future and contribute to a lasting improvement in international relations.

The responsibility that this choice places on them must be brought home to the Governments concerned. For at the present time everything is possible:

— the settlement of the problem of the democratic and peaceful reunification of Germany;

— the organisation of collective security for all the countries of Europe regardless of their economic and social system;

— the promotion of general disarmament;

— the deliverance of mankind from the terrible threat of weapons of mass destruction and a great improvement in the standard of living through the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

But, while it is true that rarely have such possibilities been brought together, there is nonetheless a very pressing danger that they may all be destroyed together by adverse actions.

Do not allow the implementation of the policy that will only negotiate from positions of strength.

Negotiation is not made easier by piling up arms, by increasing the size of armies and by stockpiling atom and hydrogen bombs — on the contrary, that means heading for atomic war. We must *immediately* prevent the starting of a mechanism which would take us away from the genuine paths to peace and risk crushing us all.

Paris, October 30th, 1954

Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

t
e

e

e
,
-
o

ie

ons-
ant-
II,

SESSION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Vienna, September 13—15, 1954

DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Great events have brought a new hope to the world and rewarded the efforts of all who are working for peace.

An armistice has been signed in Korea and in Indo-China; the French Parliament has rejected the treaties on the European army which would have brought about the rebirth of German militarism.

The proposals and campaigns of the World Council of Peace have made it possible to bring the peoples into action and organise their efforts. To-day millions of people in every country feel justly proud of the share they have had in winning this great victory.

Nevertheless, other dangers remain in the world which still call for the vigilance of the forces of peace. One immediate threat hangs over Europe and may well destroy the results already obtained. The reconstitution of a German army as part of a military coalition, which still remains the objective of certain governments, would perpetuate the division of Germany, sharpen the opposition between the two parts into which Europe has been arbitrarily separated, and stimulate the armaments race.

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace calls on the peoples to oppose the rearming of Germany in any form or under any pretext. It calls on them to press the governments of the U.S.A., the Soviet Union, Great Britain and France to resume negotiations without delay. None of the participants must hamper the negotiations by adverse actions or by imposing preliminary conditions.

The peaceful settlement of the German problem must be acceptable to each of the powers concerned and also to the German people. It must put an end to the division of Germany, prevent that country from being used to threaten any of its neighbours and permit, at the same time, the organisation of European security.

Security cannot be assured in a world divided into opposing blocs, nor by military coalitions. It demands peaceful co-existence of all states, whatever their political system or social structure, co-operation between them, and agreement on general disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

To concentrate all the forces of peace in order to achieve these great objectives, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace has decided to call a session of the World Council on November 18th, 1954. It will propose the following points for the agenda:

1) Co-operation of all the states of Europe in the organisation of their common security.

2) The situation created in different parts of Asia by foreign intervention and by the system of military blocs and coalitions.

3) The situation created in Latin America by interference in the internal affairs of nations.

4) Action of peace forces to secure disarmament and the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction.

5) Preparation of an Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace in all countries during the first half of 1955.

Vienna, September 15th, 1954

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

Professor

FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE

calls

for the

prohibition

of the

H-bomb

Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, member of the Institute and of the National Academy of Medicine, President of the World Council of Peace, issued a warning to all the peoples of the world at the meeting of the National Council of the French Peace Movement, held in Paris on October 4th, 1953.

"It is after having thought at length and in weighing my words, that I speak of a terrible danger. All of us here have still fresh in our minds the havoc wrought by the last war, the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, towns and their inhabitants burned by napalm in Korea and Indochina, the experiments of biological warfare in Korea, China and in Malaya.

"Believe me, I can assure you that the atomic and hydrogen bombs which have been perfected and produced for some years, represent a considerably higher power of destruction. I would like to be able to break down the attitude of unbelief or resignation; unbelief which is no doubt due to a lack of real information, resignation which may be due to having become somehow used to horror.

"If a new world war were to break out, France would be strategically the best target for these new devices. The result would be purely and simply death for the great majority of us — and by great majority is meant at least half of our population — and dire poverty for the horribly mutilated survivors, in a country without cities, without factories and without resources.

"With hydrogen bombs, the power of which can be increased to a diabolical degree, it can even be foreseen that their explosion would risk making all life on our globe impossible.

"This is what is meant when we talk of world war today. How can one remain indifferent to such dangers? The normal instinct of self-preservation alone should unite all human beings in an even more urgent demand for the prohibition of these monstrous weapons.

"It is the grave duty of scientists to inform the public about these immense dangers. It is their duty to be in the front ranks of those who are determined to rid the world of them for ever. Scientists know all that science has already done for the good of mankind; they also know what it could do for mankind in the future in a world restored to Peace. They no longer want it to be said: 'Science is leading us to destruction by the atomic and H-bombs'.

"They know that science cannot be blamed... The guilt lies with certain men who make evil use of its results. If scientists stand aloof they will be their accomplices. But this they refuse to do.

"I ask you, on their behalf, to give us back the joy of being able to bring to the world the inestimable blessings which science can bestow, the joy of ultimately being able to work without fear, and with a clear conscience."

THE DREAD THREAT OF THE H-BOMB, HANGING OVER HUMANITY, MAKES IMMEDIATE AND ESSENTIAL THE BANNING OF ALL WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace

WHAT IS THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE?

1949 · 1954

At the present time there is a body which is the subject of discussion everywhere: the World Council of Peace.

What is the World Council of Peace?

It is an international body representing all the peoples of the world. The confidence and support which it receives from hundreds of millions of men and women in every country make it an effective force.

The World Council has an important job: the defence of Peace. This at one and the same time rouses the dislike of those who favour war and the increasing affection of those who love Peace.

Some—the majority—are wholeheartedly devoted to the Council. Some yield it a respect coloured by reservations. Others doubt the correctness of its purpose and the usefulness of its work. Others again remain hostile towards it. But no one is indifferent to the struggle which is the reason for its existence: the struggle for Peace.

ORIGINS OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The World Council is the outcome of a World Peace Movement that began five years ago. For from the 20th to the 25th of April, 1949, simultaneously in Paris and Prague, there took place for the first time in history a World Peace Congress attended by delegates from every continent.

The arrangements for this gathering were completed in eight weeks. Such a success, achieved in so brief a space, is explained by the extraordinary enthusiasm evoked in every country by the appeal for the convening of the Congress.

A great hope was kindled in millions of hearts. As soon as the Congress was made known, men and women everywhere wanted to contribute to the great enterprise. Every day, more and more organisations gave their support: eventually they totalled 11,000.

The 2,200 delegates from 72 countries who came to this first Congress together represented one quarter of the population of the Earth.

The Congress called on those who work for Peace in every country to organise themselves into Committees for the Defence of Peace. It elected a World Committee to co-ordinate their efforts. Nineteen months later, from the 16th to 22nd of November, 1950, a second Congress was held in Warsaw.

The work carried out following the preceding Congress met with a universal response in a first campaign, which called for the banning of atomic weapons. This activity was developed further in the course of great popular discussions associated with the preparation of the second World Peace Congress. Thanks to such work, National Peace Movements came into being or grew stronger in many countries; numerous organisations and many well-known individuals declared their support for reaceful aims. Thus new opportunities appeared for still greater collaboration among all the forces working for Peace and the Congress decided to establish a body which could assure them a permanent possibility of meeting and acting for Peace. With this end in view, it founded the World Council of Peace.

COMPOSITION AND STRUCTURE OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

When it was founded, the World Council of Peace consisted of 221 members. Having been authorised by the Warsaw Congress to co-opt representatives of all forces engaged in practical action for Peace, it numbers today 417 members.

The members of the World Council of Peace are not isolated individuals, but representative figures. They are of all countries and races, all political opinions and religious faiths. They belong to the most various organis-

ations. They represent the most diverse currents of thought and opinion.

The members of the World Council belong to different social groups. They include political figures like Signor Pietro Nenni and M. Pierre Cot, Senor José Giral and Madame Sun Yat-sen, General Cardenas and Dr. Kitchlew, veteran of the Indian National Congress, Mr. Ikuo Oyama, Japanese Senator and Senor Baltazar Castro, President of the Chilean National Assembly.

There are outstanding trade union figures such as Louis Saillant and Liu Ning-i, J. B. Figgins and Lombardo Toledano.

There are the leaders of international organisations, like Mme Eugénie Cotton and Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q. C.

There are religious dignitaries like the Metropolitan Nikolai of Moscow and the Dean of Canterbury, like the Buddhist priest Udakendawala Saranankara of Ceylon and Pastor Forbeck, First Chaplain of Oslo Cathedral, Dom Gaggero and Dr. Hromadka, Bishop Janos Peter, His Eminence Borghei of Iran and the Apostolic Protonotary of Brazil, Mgr. Costabile Hippolyto.

There are also great scientists and scholars like Irène and Frédéric Joliot-Curie, Professor Bernal, F.R.S., and Professor Infeld, Professor Nesmeyanov, President of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Major General Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey of India and Dr. W. E. B. du Bois.

Famous writers like Louis Aragon and Jean-Paul Sartre, Jorge Amado and Pablo Neruda, Mulk Raj

Anand and Ilya Ehrenburg, Nazim Hikmet and Vercors, Howard Fast and Anna Seghers.

Great artists in a number of spheres, like Paul Robeson and Pablo Picasso.

This list, which might be considerably extended, makes plain that, in every country, persons recognised as eminent in the political, social and religious fields, and in literature, science and the arts take part in the work of the World Council.

There are likewise to be found in it men and women of all professions and every walk of life: lawyers and businessmen, doctors and industrialists, workers and peasants, each qualified to represent their social groupings, and the organisations to which they belong.

The World Council of Peace, whose President is Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, meets once or twice a year in plenary session—and, as often as occasion demands, in extraordinary session. At all its sessions, numerous guests and observers take part in the proceedings with the same rights as members.

The World Council of Peace has a Bureau, at present numbering 48 members, which meets about once every three months. It has, finally, a permanent organ the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, whose office is now situated in Vienna.

The Council has held gatherings of one kind or another in most of the great European capitals in turn: Paris, Rome, Stockholm, London, Prague, Warsaw, Geneva, Berlin, Helsinki, Vienna, Copenhagen, Oslo and Budapest. It may well have occasion, in the future, to hold its sessions in other capitals and other continents.

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The World Council of Peace has one single, clear and definite aim: to achieve a stable Peace corresponding to the vital interest of every nation.

It makes no claim to be able to attain this aim by its own efforts, but in conjunction with all those who, like itself, long for the establishment of real Peace.

To this end it has set itself an aim that can be summed up in a very few words: to help to bring together on an ever wider scale the forces working for Peace.

For its part, the World Council of Peace has tried and tested principles which can make possible united action for Peace.

These have been defined by its President as follows:

(1) The different social systems in the world can coexist peacefully.

(2) Differences between the nations must be settled by negotiation and agreements acceptable to all.

(3) Internal differences within a nation are the concern of its citizens, in conformity with the right of all peoples to self-determination.

Why these principles?

Because whoever does not believe coexistence possible believes in war and not in Peace.

Because whoever opposes negotiated settlement of international differences thereby becomes an advocate of resort to force and not of Peace.

Because foreign intervention in the internal affairs of a nation is an interference injurious to the sovereignty of that nation, and hence gives rise to the danger of strife.

The acceptance of these principles constitutes a solid bond between all the members of the World Council of Peace.

The work of the World Council is also founded on these principles.

This method, proved by experience, has as its characteristic features the free exchange of all viewpoints and the constant search, by way of reasonable compromise, for solutions on which there can be unanimous agreement.

These, essentially, are the profound reasons which give the decisions of the World Council so resounding an effect.

The World Council puts forward simple ideas and reasonable proposals that, sooner or later, become revealed as the true expression of an extremely wide range of opinion because they have been gone into deeply and are the result of agreement between contrasting views.

The World Council initiates activity which finds a response and meets with support in all the countries of the world, because it expresses clearly defined aims corresponding to the interests of all peoples.

THE WORK OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The World Council has solid support in every country in the world. It is based, firstly, on wide national movements for Peace in 71 countries. Further, it is in constant contact with organisations and leading figures in 17 other countries.

In the international field, the World Council maintains contact with many organisations and individuals.

But the World Council is not only an organ of liaison and co-ordination between Movements and Organisations which, like itself, are devoted to the defence of Peace. It is also a promoter of activities and enterprises that reach the most varied sections of public opinion. Here is a summary of the most important:

TWO GREAT SIGNATURE CAMPAIGNS

These were launched successively from Stockholm on March 19th, 1950, and from Berlin on February 26th, 1951, in the form of Appeals addressed to all the peoples of the world which every man and woman was called upon to sign individually.

The first Appeal called for absolute prohibition of atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction,

with the establishment of strict international control to ensure implementation of the ban. It obtained 500 million signatures.

The second Appeal called on the Five Great Powers—the USA, the USSR, Great Britain, the People's Republic of China and France—to meet to conclude a Pact of Peace. It obtained over 600 million signatures.

These appeals were not launched in vain. Though no complete solution has yet been secured to either of these problems, important results have followed that everyone, signatory or not, can appreciate.

Thanks to the pressure and vigilance of public opinion, the atom bomb could not be used during the Korean war, although the threat to use it was made. Preliminary discussions between the USA and the USSR on the atomic question are taking place now. After a five years' interval the Foreign Ministers of the Four Great Powers have met at the Berlin Conference. They are about to meet again in Geneva, this time with the participation of the People's Republic of China.

A GREAT WORLD-WIDE GATHERING: THE CONGRESS OF PEOPLES FOR PEACE

The World Council convened a Congress of Peoples for Peace which took place in Vienna, December 12th to 19th, 1952.

Delegates from 85 countries came to this Congress. They included not only members of the Peace Movement, but also individuals and representatives of organisations whose activity for Peace had been pursued along different paths though with the same objective. After thorough discussion, the Congress of Peoples declared its support for a meeting and agreement between the Five Great Powers.

First and foremost, the Congress of Peoples demanded a cease-fire in Korea. Having heard the evidence given by an International Scientific Commission which had returned from Korea and China, it condemned the use of bacteriological weapons in the Korean war, already denounced by the World Council.

The wave of feeling aroused by the decisions of the Congress of Peoples contributed powerfully to that new victory of the forces of Peace which raised such hopes: the conclusion eight months later of an armistice in Korea.

REGULAR WORK FOR PEACE

In every field and in a great variety of ways, the World Council of Peace has worked tirelessly for the cause of Peace and friendship among the peoples.

It has submitted proposals to the United Nations and has organised delegations to Parliaments and public approaches to Governments. It has participated in discussions and exchanges of views with various pacifist

and religious bodies. It has always declared itself ready to meet the representatives of any and every force desirous of working toward achievement of a real relaxation of tension. It has given its support to great conferences, both international and regional. It has done much to promote better understanding between the peoples and the development of economic and cultural relations.

SIMPLE IDEAS HAVE BECOME A GREAT FORCE

Ever since its formation, the World Council has opposed the rearmament of Germany as an attempt to create a new centre of war in Europe. It has therefore called for the peaceful solution of the German problem. Today a powerful European movement stands in the way of ratification and implementation of the Bonn and Paris agreements which prepare the ground for the revival of German militarism under cover of the so-called 'European Defence Community.'

The World Council has likewise insisted that a solution be found for the problems of the Far East. Today a movement is developing in all countries, most notably in Asia, for a final solution of the Korean problem and an immediate end to the war in Indo-China.

The World Council has always opposed foreign interference which endangers the national sovereignty of peoples. Today a movement of opinion embracing all sections of the population is developing in the countries

of Latin America, the Middle East, and South East Asia, against the establishment of foreign bases on their territory and the implementation of pacts threatening their independence.

The World Council has called for restoration of normal economic and cultural relations between all countries of the world. Today, despite continuing obstacles, an irresistible current is developing in favour of exchanges in all fields. Important trade agreements are being concluded; cultural relations are being renewed in the sciences, the arts and sport.

The World Council has called for the simultaneous and controlled reduction of all arms; it has put forward quite precise proposals on this question, in particular at its session of November 1951, in Vienna.

Whole populations now perceive the connection between the unbearable burdens of military expenditure and their increasingly arduous living conditions. Men and women of all social classes now see in the arms race the deep-lying cause of their poverty and hardships.

The Governments of States whose national economies are dominated by crushing war budgets have to take into account this realisation on the part of the peoples and the demands they are putting forward. They are now having to agree to discussion at the United Nations and at official conferences directed toward a general agreement on reduction of armaments.

Finally, the World Council has never ceased to insist that the People's Republic of China must take its right-

ful place in the United Nations. Today, this demand, like all the other points of policy, is no longer urged by the Peace Movement alone. It is now being publicly supported by great organisations and parties, official spokesmen and Governments.

Such are the problems which brought the World Council of Peace into existence. They were the subject of the "Address to the United Nations," a real Charter of Peace, drawn up by the Second World Peace Congress.

Faithful to its charge, the World Council of Peace has constantly striven to interest the peoples in the peaceful solution of the great issues which divide the world.

The great attention being devoted to these problems today by public opinion in all countries proves how correct and how successful these efforts have been.

THE GREAT CAMPAIGN TODAY FOR THE RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL TENSION

This campaign, started in July 1953, to make the spirit of negotiation prevail over any resort to force, continues today with the object of making the negotiations embarked upon result in agreement, and of removing the obstacles that stand in the way of a real lessening of tension.

The need for this is recognised today by a wide variety of groupings which, each after its own fashion work for the relaxation of tension. The Council is seek-

ing every opportunity to assist closer contact and understanding between these different forces.

PEACE IS ALSO YOUR CONCERN

Strong in the growing trust that the peoples place in it, the World Council of Peace is going boldly forward.

On this, the Fifth Anniversary of the foundation of the World Peace Movement, it can look back with pride on the road it has traversed.

But though, so far, the forces of Peace, of which it is the highest expression, have succeeded in preventing the unleashing of a new world war, they have not been able to dispel the threat of war that hangs over mankind.

However, progress has been made, results achieved, which constitute the first signs of a possible lessening of tension. This possibility may become tomorrow's reality if all, whoever they may be, from wherever they may come, who desire such a relief of tension, combine their efforts to bring down the balance on the side of Peace.

This is the task to which the World Council of Peace calls you, that children may sleep in peace, that the happiness of mankind may be assured.

Published by the Secretariat
of the World Council of Peace
for the Fifth Anniversary of
the World Peace Movement.

MEETING OF THE BUREAU
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

APPEAL
RESOLUTION
&
STATEMENT

VIENNA, MARCH 28th-30th, 1954

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE

The Berlin Conference proved that the determination to force through the "European Defence Community" is the principal obstacle to a peaceful solution of European problems.

EDC means a Europe doomed to stay divided into two hostile camps, and an intensification of the arms race.

EDC means the revival once again of German militarism in the heart of Europe.

EDC means the threat of death for every inhabitant of Europe, the threat of destruction for every home.

The people of Europe, who experienced in their own persons the awful sufferings of the two world wars which began in Europe, must realise their common responsibility for the preservation of Peace in that part of the world in which they live.

It is not true that the only road open to the peoples of Europe is that of division and war. Another road is open to them—the organisation of collective security among all the States of Europe without any one country predominating, and with full respect for national independence and the national characteristics of each country, thus facilitating a general reduction of armaments.

In spite of their different political and social systems all the States of Europe have common interests—the preservation of Peace for each one of them and the expansion of their economic and cultural co-operation.

Today. the duty of every man and woman in Europe is clear—to stop EDC, prevent war and build a peaceful Europe.

Vienna, March 30th, 1954

RESOLUTION

After a long period of cold war, public opinion has brought about the resumption of negotiations between the Governments. The peoples want these negotiations to succeed; public opinion can make them succeed!

The Four Power Conference in Berlin was a success for the peoples' will for Peace. It showed that negotiation is possible. The problem of the reduction of armaments has been raised once more. It was possible to reach agreement on the holding of a Conference in Geneva on Far Eastern questions, with participation of the Five Great Powers and other interested States.

Conditions have thus been created for finding acceptable solutions to the differences that divide the world.

From now on, public opinion can clearly see that insistence on the rearmament of Western Germany as first priority is an obstacle and a serious threat to Peace. The alternative is plain: either EDC will be realised, Europe remain cut in two, the two halves of Europe stay ranged against each other and war threaten to break out, or all the European States will come together, none seeking to dominate another, to guarantee their mutual security and safeguard Peace in the whole of Europe.

In this situation, the explosion of the H-bomb at Bikini, the threats of atomic war bandied about by certain statesmen, the intensification of the war in Viet-Nam, the pressure exercised on the countries of Latin America and the Middle East, are designed to intimidate the people. The remilitarisation of Japan, the recent establishment of US bases in Spain, the plans for military pacts with Pakistan injurious to the national sovereignty of the latter and the security of India, are designed to face the peoples with accomplished facts.

Public opinion will not allow the results of the negotiations they have demanded to be compromised by actions of this nature.

It can cause EDC to be rejected in France and Italy, and thus secure resumption of the Berlin conversations until the German problem is settled peacefully. It can insist upon and secure the banning of atomic weapons. It can insist upon and secure respect for national independence and the resumption among all countries of the economic and cultural exchanges necessary to their prosperity. It can influence decisively the course of the Geneva Conference.

For the first time, there is an opportunity for the Big Five, meeting in discussion with other interested States, to reach an agreement on general security in the Far East. Such security can come about as a result of the normalisation of relations among all the countries of Asia, their independence recognised, their security guaranteed. Korea must be reunited peacefully and must freely decide its own destiny after the withdrawal of foreign troops. An immediate cease-fire in Indo-China would make possible Peace negotiations between France and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Geneva Conference can and must constitute an important stage on the road to relaxation of international tension and disarmament.

In these circumstances, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace considers it necessary to summon an Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace at the end of May. This Session will take place in Berlin.

Vienna, March 30th, 1954

STATEMENT

The explosion of the H-bomb at Bikini, its fearful effects on human beings, the evidence that the extent of these effects cannot be controlled and the threats to use it have aroused the indignation of the conscience of mankind.

The demand for the prohibition of atomic weapons called for by the Stockholm Appeal, which was supported by hundreds of millions of men and women, has today become the demand of all the peoples.

It was not to wipe man from the face of the earth, nor to shatter in an instant the fruits of his thousands of years of creative labour that these tremendous forces were discovered by science, but rather to find means to relieve his present miseries and help him to achieve a fuller life.

The abolition of atomic warfare is not only necessary but possible. It can be achieved by an international agreement for the prohibition of all forms of radioactive weapons and poisons. A system of international inspection and control can and must be set up.

The peoples must, without delay, demand of the Governments the conclusion of an agreement banning all weapons of mass destruction.

Vienna, March 30th, 1954

SESSION
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

RECOMMENDATIONS

Stockholm, 18th–23rd November 1954

RECOMMENDATIONS ON PROBLEMS OF ORGANISATION OF THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

The World Council of Peace draws attention to the essential contribution which the Movement made to the people's recent victories for Peace.

The ideas and campaigns of the World Peace Movement have had far-reaching effects. They are the chief source of the immense current of opinion which has developed throughout the world to demand the peaceful solution of international disputes. The increasing support of new forces is bringing about a marked growth in the influence and authority of the Movement.

The importance of the results obtained and the number of tasks with which the international situation presents us face the whole Movement with the duty of ceaselessly improving its activities and methods of work.

In many countries national movements have demonstrated their ability to initiate actions bringing in all sections of the population and building the widest possible unity of the Peace forces. In this way they have acquired an authority and influence which, because they correspond to a national desire for Peace, are reflected in the attitude and statements of important political and popular forces and personalities representing wide sections of public opinion in their country.

This general strengthening of the Movement must not distract attention from certain organisational problems which still exist.

— The Movement has not always developed its organisation in proportion to the influence which its ideas and activities have acquired.

— In some countries, the action undertaken on the international level has not been adapted to the particular situation of the country concerned, and this has led to the formulation of abstract objectives and to reduced activity.

— In other cases the Movement, with the idea of broadening the Peace front, is abandoning its own programme of action, or is thinking only in terms of seeking the support of well-known people or organisations, to the detriment of the necessary work among ordinary people.

— Certain National Committees, by their principles of organisation, their methods of work and the formulation of their arguments, tend to ally themselves with political organisations and put out slogans too narrow to gain the attention of all sections of the population, irrespective of social origin or political or philosophical convictions.

The solution of these organisational problems must be sought for in the application of the decisions adopted by the World Council in the

course of its meetings and Congresses, and in respect for the principles which the Movement has formulated for itself in the course of five years' experience.

The Peace Movement is one which is able to achieve or assist the widest unity of the forces of Peace. It constantly strives to bring together, without distinction or limitation, nationally and internationally, all those who accept the principle of peaceful coexistence and the settlement of international disputes by negotiation. Through free discussion it arrives at aims and forms of activity acceptable to all.

The Peace Movement does not pretend to have the monopoly of the struggle for Peace. It asks all individuals and organisations representing forces of Peace to cooperate with it for the success of the actions which it advocates. The breadth of its aims and its ability to promote activities which find a response in every country make it a pole of attraction for those who wish to help in the preservation of Peace. The existence and the growth of the Peace Movement are thus essential conditions for the development of the activity and unity of the forces of Peace. But the Peace Movement also declares its readiness to support all actions, from whatever source, which bring together efforts made in the direction of a lessening of international tension.

The Peace Movement is characterised by action. In every country its existence and its strength depend on constantly renewed activities, associating all people of goodwill in the achievement of precise and practical objectives based both on the requirements of the international situation and on national interests.

For the development of its activities, the movement depends on the existence of Peace Committees organised both in places where people live and where they work. These Committees, with their constant appeal to all sections of public opinion, are the guarantee of the widest unity and the greatest effectiveness of the actions undertaken.

The World Council proposes that each National Committee should be guided by the following recommendations:

— On all occasions to make clear the Movement's attitude to national and international events which have a bearing on the relaxation of international tension, either in the name of the National Committee or by means of statements made by its most prominent individuals. By this means it is possible to bring out the independent character of the Movement. In this connection, the systematic condemnation of every action raising an obstacle in the way of relaxation of international tension, such, for example, as a call to open hostilities against a particular country, refusal to negotiate or acts of discrimination detrimental to the development of economic and cultural relations with all countries, should be its constant concern.

— To use the rich experience of joint actions, which have been carried through in cooperation with various well-known people and organisations, in order to strengthen and extend this cooperation, not simply with particular individuals or representatives of organisations, but also with the sections of people they represent. This aim can be achieved by initiating or supporting moves which can be jointly developed on the national and international levels.

— To safeguard the wide and democratic nature of the Movement: creation and reconstruction of Committees representative of ever-widening sections of opinion; joint formulation of objectives and forms of action; responsibility of all Committee members for the working out and implementation of decisions; election of Committees to organise Assemblies or Congresses.

— To seek the best way of developing permanent activity by the regional and local Peace Committees, bearing in mind the links between the different activities: collection of signatures, petitions or referendums leading to a campaign of deputations to all elected persons; local meetings and factory meetings preparing for larger meetings; local and regional rallies leading to a National Conference, days, weeks, and months of action etc... Experience has shown the constant need for each Committee to find the method of work which best corresponds to the opportunities of joint action existing in each country, to seek and set out arguments and facts which give a more practical form to the objectives of the struggle for Peace laid down by the World Council by linking them directly with the interests of the population.

— To consider as a permanent task of each Committee to find methods based on political activities for raising the funds needed for their development, the nature of the Movement making it impossible to lay down a membership fee for those taking part in the struggle for Peace.

— To maintain closer contact with the Secretariat of the World Council and with the other National Movements in order to bring about greater cooperation and better coordination of activities on a world scale. These contacts can be made by means of the delegates to the Council, by means of the Secretariat's information material, by visits and exchanges of delegations, and by exchanges of publications, films and documents. The Secretariat of the Council, as a permanent body, can assist this necessary cooperation.

On this basis, the strengthening of the organisation of the Movement and the solution of organisational problems which may arise, are the conditions for a better development of activities and a useful contribution to the widest mustering of the forces of Peace.

Stockholm, November 23, 1954

RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

Cultural relations constitute one of the most vital factors in the progress of human civilisation: they enable the nations to exchange of their best and mutually to enrich their national cultures.

The development of these relations needs a favourable atmosphere, an atmosphere of Peace. At the same time these exchanges influence the international situation and make easier better mutual understanding and the establishment of peaceful co-existence between all countries whatever their social system.

Intellectuals are particularly interested in the strengthening of cultural relations, for the exchange of the experience, knowledge and discoveries which they have in their respective fields is a fundamental necessity for their work. They have also a special responsibility to devote their talents to the service of the peoples in their struggle for Peace and security.

Many writers, artists, scientists and religious figures have already raised their voices strongly in recent years against war hysteria, racial hatred and incitement to war and have declared for peaceful co-operation. But the peoples, who see the intellectuals as among their best informed representatives, expect a still greater and more active contribution from them, wanting other circles to come in and strengthen the joint activities for a close cultural co-operation.

The World Peace Movement has the task of inspiring and supporting these efforts by the intellectuals and the ordinary people. It has already played an important part in the activities which have made the recent extension of cultural relations possible. Ever since it was founded the World Peace Movement has put forward clear and practical proposals to combat war propaganda, to defend and foster national cultures and to extend cultural relations.

In the struggle for the lessening of international tension and the end of the cold war, for real negotiations instead of the use of force, as the basis of mutual security, the peoples have considered it essential to destroy the barriers artificially erected between them. In recent years significant successes have been gained in this struggle.

The World Peace Movement welcomes the increased cultural co-operation between peoples living in different social and political systems, which has taken the form of, for example, tours abroad by large theatrical companies, by major orchestras and troupes of dancers; growing

exchanges of teams of sportsmen, of films, of books in translation, of exhibitions of works of art and of children's art; the increased representation of the different countries at international scientific and professional conferences; the holding of specialists' meetings in the different fields of culture to study their special problems in connection with the question of Peace.

In many countries, the Peace Movement has helped and encouraged actions for the defence or the development of national culture against attempts to adulterate it by introducing alien brands of culture such as those films, strip cartoons and various publications which seek to justify violence, war and racial hatred. Certain of these actions are developing into a real expression of national opinion and are having positive results. At the same time there has been increased interest in the development of different forms of culture such as popular and folk art.

In spite of all these positive developments, however, there are still great obstacles in the way of true cultural co-operation. Many efforts are being made to limit exchanges to one group of countries or to thwart them, for example by using them to support racial domination or to put across propaganda for hatred and war to the peoples, or to falsify history and permeate textbooks and schools with poisonous ideas.

At the same time in a number of countries the Peace Movement has not understood clearly enough that all these questions form an integral part of the struggle for Peace. There has been a tendency in some countries to regard them as being the concern of specialists and merely to leave such questions to persons and organisations outside the ambit of the Peace Movement.

The whole work of the Peace Movement is a struggle for good relations and mutual understanding between the nations, for the defence and development of civilisation. This struggle can only be successful if the Movement in every country concerns itself with these vital interests of the people.

In the interests of the rapid development of cultural relations the World Council of Peace recommends to the National Peace Movements:

— to promote action on the widest possible scale and among all sections of the people against every bar to increased exchanges, such as refusals to grant visas, to allow international conferences and meetings to be held, to permit the distribution of cultural publications, etc.

— to promote and develop further widespread action against propaganda for violence, war and racial hatred, open or concealed, direct or indirect, carried on by newspapers, books, broadcasts, films, comics and other means of expression.

— to develop the widest possible activity against inhuman and invidious uses of science and the use of scientific research for ends almost wholly destructive.

— to promote and to support every form of cultural exchange which serves the cause of peaceful co-existence and co-operation.

— to support all moves for the defence and the development of national culture and for improved contact and exchange in the fields of popular art, folk-art and sport.

— to support in every way the holding of gatherings and meetings of writers, film workers, musicians, painters, teachers and scientists to discuss their particular problems in relation to the cause of Peace.

— to promote and support actions among all sections of the people, and especially among teachers, to defend the education of children against the effects of war policies, against the introduction into the schools of unhealthy ideas and feelings, ideas rooted in brutality, force and racial hatred and to foster a spirit of understanding and friendship for other peoples.

Experience has shown that an important contribution to the aims given above has been made by two special activities proposed by the World Council of Peace: the celebration of great cultural anniversaries and the International Peace Prizes.

During the past three years the celebration of the great anniversaries proposed by the Council has helped to deepen the peoples' respect for the cultural achievements of other nations and to draw together in defence of their common heritage. These celebrations have taken place on a wide scale and in all circles.

The World Council of Peace stresses the great importance of these celebrations. They make possible very varied activities both among writers, artists, scientists and professional people and among the population in general. The Council recommends to the National Movements to promote the celebration of the great anniversaries in a spirit of international brotherhood, on a greater scale and in the most varied ways, in particular encouraging academic, scientific, professional and popular organisations to take part.

The International Peace Prizes founded by the World Council have enabled the peoples to honour writers, artists and men of science for works of great human value which serve the cause of Peace.

The World Council recommends the National Movements to make the International Peace Prizes known to the people, to organise ceremonies of tribute of the prizewinners and their works, and to explain the importance and the meaning of these Prizes, which constitute a living link between the peoples and those who are the trusted voices of their desire for Peace.

The peoples have expressed more and more clearly their wish to know one another, to exchange all that is most valued in their culture and to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding which will be favourable to peaceful co-operation. The World Council of Peace calls once more on all friends of Peace to exert their efforts to achieve this aim. The possibilities are immense. Let us then work unstintingly to make them reality.

Stockholm, November 23, 1954.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

A Great Danger Threatens the Peoples

The NATO Council has decided to use atomic weapons

'The Council considered a report by the Military Committee on the most effective pattern of N.A.T.O. military defensive strength over the next few years, taking into account modern developments in weapons and techniques. It approved this report as a basis for defense planning and preparations by the N.A.T.O. military authorities.'

(*Paragraph VI of the official communique published at the end of the thirteenth session of the N.A.T.O. Council, December 18, 1954*).

PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Civil and Military Leaders Confirm their Intention to Use Atomic Weapons

Field-Marshal Lord Montgomery

'I want to make it absolutely clear that we at S.H.A.P.E. are basing all our operational planning on using atomic and thermonuclear weapons in our defence. It is no longer a question of "They may possibly be used." It is very definitely "they will be used — if we are attacked."'

(From a speech to the Royal United Services Institution, quoted in the Manchester Guardian, October 22, 1954)

General J. D. Stevenson,
Commander of the 49th U.S. Air Division in Great Britain.

'Each aircraft to be seen here *(Bentwaters aerodrome near Woodbridge, Ed.)* today can carry a greater destructive punch to any one target than all the aircraft which were in these islands in the Second World War loaded with high explosives.

'Two and half years ago the 49th Air Division was deployed to the United Kingdom for the purpose of giving an atomic punch in support of N.A.T.O. forces.'

(The Times, December 11, 1954)

The N.A.T.O. Military Committee

'The annual review presented by N.A.T.O.'s military experts said they would swing into plans next year for the defense of the West with nuclear weapons.'

(New York Times, December 18, 1954)

U.S. Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles,
at a press conference, December 21, 1954.

'Tactical weapons such as atomic cannon are fast becoming conventional, Mr. Dulles said, and presumably would be used in the event of war. He said the North Atlantic Council had authorized the military commanders to draw up their plans and preparations on the assumption that nuclear weapons would be used.' *(The New York Times, December 22, 1954)*

Mr. Henri Spaak, Belgian Foreign Minister

'This decision *(to use atomic weapons, Ed.)* answers the wishes of the military authorities completely, authorising them to get ready for an atomic war.'

(At a press conference after the session of the N.A.T.O. Council)

U.S. News and World Report
(December 24, 1954) commenting on the N.A.T.O. Council decision:

'Atomic and thermonuclear weapons will be used in a future war. The American armed forces will surrender no freedom of action in the use of these weapons from bases in this country or from aircraft carriers.

'The Allies will be consulted before atomic weapons are used, provided time permits. The Allies, however, will not be given a veto over new weapon use. There is to be no temporising, no shadowland of uncertainty about who can do what in time of emergency.'

According to the London and Paris agreements, the new Wehrmacht would have atomic and nuclear weapons.

'As nuclear weapons become more readily available the day approaches when they will be necessary and normal for all N.A.T.O. forces... The decision to plan on this basis seems, therefore, to bring nearer a decision to distribute such weapons to N.A.T.O. countries which do not at present possess them — for instance to Germany once she has become a N.A.T.O. member...' *(The Times, December 18, 1954)*

The Consequences of an Atomic War

The explosion of the first atomic bomb over Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, killed more than 200,000 people and its terrifying effects on human life continue.

In Nagasaki, over which another bomb was dropped, recent statistics show that of the 30,150 babies born in the city during the last nine years, 4,282 are abnormal—a proportion of one in seven.

Even simple experiments, such as those carried out by the United States at Bikini on March 1, 1954, caused the death of a Japanese fisherman, Kuboyama, while 23 other fishermen were taken seriously ill. Further results were the radioactive poisoning of fish intended for food and a great deal of other material damage which constituted a real catastrophe for Japan.

The U.S. News and World Report *of December 24, 1954, gave the following details:*

'Today, nearly 10 months after the H bomb explosion, responsible Japanese doctors report these things:

- All of the fishermen who survived now are sterile.
- The one who died after seven months succumbed to damages by radioactivity, primarily to the liver. Of the badly injured, all have liver ailments now.
- Future delayed-action ailments are excepted to appear, caused by radioactive substances now lodged in the bodies of the survivors.
- Present condition of survivors seems to vary for unaccountable reasons. None has regained his normal health.
- Damage by radioactivity apparently has centered in the generative organs, as well as the liver. Sterility, it now develops, became more and more complete.'

'Palpably Suicidal'

From an article by the Alsop brothers

'One five-megaton Super-SUPER will not only kill the unsheltered human and animal population in a area of 6,000 square miles; it will also immobilize the sheltered survivors for more than two days. Two such bombs will put an area of 12,000 square miles out of action; and 100 Super-SUPERS could destroy most of our major cities and temporarily paralyze a large part of the productive area of the United States. Such are the toys the nations are now playing with, in the game of the cold war.'

(New York Herald Tribune, September 28, 1954)

Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart, military commentator and military editor of the Encyclopedia Britannica

'In the case of this country, *(Great Britain, Ed.)*, where the vital targets are closely grouped, it has been estimated that as few as five thermonuclear bombs might suffice, and that 10 would almost certainly suffice to blot out all its main centres of industry — comprising half the population. Still fewer would suffice to paralyse the vital centres of France, Belgium and Holland. Moreover, paralysis and collapse can be produced by moral effect even where destruction does not take place...

'The supreme fact of the hydrogen bomb era is that war has become palpably suicidal.'

(Excerpts from a letter printed in The Times, January 3, 1955)

Eminent Scientists Warn Public Opinion

Albert Einstein

'We cannot stop warning continuously and repeatedly; we cannot relax our efforts to make the nations of the world and above all their governments realise the unspeakable disaster they are certain to provoke if they do not change their attitude to each other and their way of looking at the future.'

(L'Express, Paris, November 27, 1954)

Frederic Joliot-Curie

'As for hydrogen bombs, whose power can be increased to a diabolical extent, it can even be foreseen that their use would risk making all life on our world impossible.

'When one talks about world war today, that is what is implied. How then is it possible to remain indifferent in the face of such dangers? The simple instinct of self-preservation must make all mankind unite now to demand more than ever the prohibition of these fearful weapons.'

(Speech in Paris, October 4, 1954)

J. Robert Oppenheimer

'You can certainly destroy enough of humanity so that only the greatest act of faith can persuade you that what is left will be human.'

(New York Herald Tribune, January 6, 1955)

Charles Noel Martin

(in a report presented to the French Academy of Sciences)

'Since nuclear bombs were first exploded ten years ago, the earth has been used as a laboratory and everything living, man included, as guinea pigs. The consequences will be spread out over years, even generations.'

(L'Express, Paris, November 27, 1954)

E. H. S. Burhop

'Thermonuclear weapons, used "tactically" on the Elbe, may produce death and injury due to radioactive "fall-out" on Oslo, Amsterdam, Paris and London. Over vast areas of Europe the ground will become so contaminated that life will be insupportable and over a very much wider area the grain and vegetable crops and the fish of the sea will be in danger of radioactive contamination. The "tactical" use of nuclear weapons as planned by the Western powers in the event of war will mean death, immediate or delayed, to countless millions of European civilians.'

(In a specially written article on the effects of the N.A.T.O. Council's decision)

Public Outcry against Preparations for Atomic War

The Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett Johnson

'Has the Christian idea of God sunk so far behind the pre-Christian idea, that Christians are not prepared to utter protest at the command of the Atlantic Pact Ministers last Friday to the Western Powers' Generals: "Go ahead with your plans for the hydrogen bomb war with all available atomic and nuclear weapons."'

(*Sermon in Canterbury Cathedral, December 19, 1954*)

22 Million Signatures against the Atomic Bomb in Japan

The Japanese National Council against A and H bombs announced in December 1954 that, to date, 22 million Japanese had signed the petition demanding the banning of atomic weapons. This petition has been presented to the government.

(*From the press*)

The Coventry-Stalingrad Joint Appeal, sent to U.N.O. in November 1954:

'We consider that it is our moral duty and right to call on the United Nations Organisation to take necessary measures to secure the banning of atom and hydrogen weapons, to prohibit their production and secure their complete removal from the armaments of states...

'We are firmly convinced that the outlawing of atom and hydrogen weapons would contribute greatly to the peace of the world and result in the immediate release of the tension between the countries.'

Walter Reuther, President of the C.I.O., *in an interview:*

'I believe that world problems cannot be solved by military means. On the contrary, an atomic war could not lead to victory but only to general destruction.'

(*Arbeiter-Zeitung, Vienna, December 19, 1954*)

Message sent to the United Nations in 1954 by the doctors of Rosario in Argentina

'Can we who, when we adopted the medical profession, took the oath to preserve life and relieve the sufferings of men, go about our business with a clear mind and tranquilly draw up plans for the future when weapons capable of killing many millions of men and women in a few hours are being prepared and stockpiled?'

Neuer Vorwärts, newspaper of the German Social Democratic Party, *in its editorial of December 31, 1954*

'The new scientific knowledge resulting from the splitting of the atom opens two prospects before the human race: either it succeeds in placing atomic energy at the service of peaceful construction, thus creating the possibility of overcoming in a comparatively short space of time, through new and revolutionary methods of production, the poverty and famine from which many peoples of the earth are still suffering; or else atomic energy will remain in the service of the policy of military strength, in which case a future war will end in the destruction of civilisation...'

Pravda, December 16, 1954

'The whole Soviet people have indignantly condemned the sabre-rattling of the American militarists with their atomic weapons, and demand a ban on them.'

The Peoples' Action Must Stop Atomic War

'Today, when a great number of atomic weapons have been produced and when even more powerful weapons have been perfected and tested — with what tragic results — an attempt is being made to override the censure of public opinion and to lead it, by stages, to accept the possible use of tactical atomic weapons, then strategic atom bombs, and finally thermonuclear bombs. It would appear that henceforth discussion should only bear on how nuclear weapons should be used, whereas the first and only problem is the very principle of the use of these weapons.

'In short, these recent decisions of the Atlantic Council are the final touch to the preparations for unleashing atomic war.

'Once nuclear war began, it would be waged with the full range of existing weapons. Think of the deserts that are Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Think of the unfortunate victims in the Pacific *who were hundreds of miles away* from the explosion on March 1, 1954. Tell yourself that nowhere will you be safe and that effective civil defence is an illusion. Understand that the nuclear bombing of any target in the world will sow immediate or delayed death even in places very far away.

'The problem that is raised is not that of the level — General Staff, Minister, or meeting of Ministers, with or without veto, — at which atomic war will be decided on. The problem is: will mankind accept the ruins and destruction, the death of hundreds of millions of living beings, wretchedness for the survivors and the probable birth of freaks, and even the possible annihilation of all life on our planet?'

From a statement by the President of the World Council of Peace, **Frédéric Joliot-Curie**, *January 13, 1955*

Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War

Today, certain governments are preparing to let loose atomic war.

They are trying to make the peoples accept it as inevitable.

The use of atomic weapons would result in a war of extermination.

We declare that any government that lets loose atomic war will forfeit the trust of its people and find itself condemned by every people of the world.

Now and in the future, we shall oppose those who organise atomic war.

We demand the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the immediate stopping of their manufacture.

Vienna, January 19, 1955

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume. Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6 — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44

APPEAL

FOR THE CALLING OF A WORLD ASSEMBLY OF REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL FORCES AND TENDENCIES THAT MAKE FOR PEACE

Helsinki, May 22—29

In a world in which there are still great chances of Peace, new dangers appear which may destroy them all.

Only a powerful movement of the peoples can prevent the division of the world into opposing blocs, prevent the rebirth of the armies that have been the source of so much misery and mourning, and free mankind from the crushing cost of arms budgets. Only such a powerful movement can ensure the cooperation of all nations for their welfare, their independence and the security of all.

The World Council of Peace calls to all those whose activities make for Peace, to every man and woman who longs to live free from fear, mistrust, and hate for other peoples. It calls on them to get together before it is too late.

It resolves that a great World Assembly shall be held, including representatives of all the forces and tendencies that make for Peace, to meet in the second half of May 1955.

Stockholm, November 23, 1954

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume. Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44

DEMOCRATIC

GERMAN REPORT

VOL. III NO. 7 APRIL 2nd 1954 Price: 15 Pf., 5 c., 3 d

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC BECOMES SOVEREIGN STATE

All Soviet supervision of the internal and external affairs of the German Democratic Republic has ceased, it was officially announced in Moscow on March 25th.

Soviet occupation troops will remain temporarily in East Germany to guarantee security as laid down by four power agreement; the functions of the Soviet High Commissioner in Germany will be limited to security questions and liaison with the western allied authorities on all-German questions arising from four power agreements.

The Soviet Government declaration specifically laid down that in future the German Democratic Republic would be at liberty to make its own decisions on both internal and external affairs, including relations with West Germany.

(Full text of Soviet announcement on page 50)

"We Want Friendship with All Nations" — East German Government

Greeting the Soviet declaration, the Government of the German Democratic Republic stated:

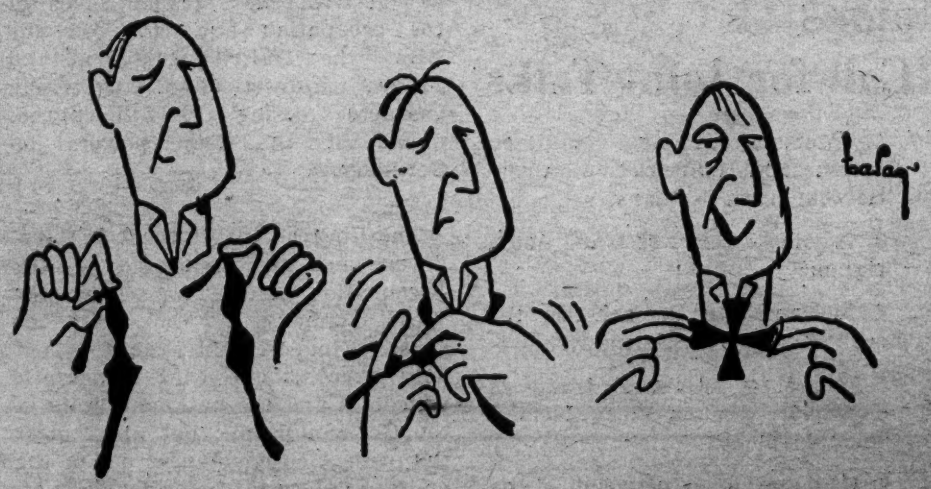
"The German Democratic Republic is now a sovereign state, carrying out a policy of democracy, peace and European security in accordance with the Four Power agreements.

"West Germany, on the other hand, has been reduced to a dependent and degrading status as a result of the policy of the three western powers and the Adenauer government. West Germany is bound by the Occupation Statute of the three western powers, and runs the danger of being enslaved for 50 years by the Bonn and Paris war treaties.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic is convinced that such an unworthy state of affairs in West Germany cannot be of long duration, since it stands in contradiction to the national interests of the German people and the needs of European security...

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic is, as previously, ready at all times to conduct negotiations with the representatives of West Germany aimed at reaching an understanding on all questions in dispute in such a way that peace is secured and an independent, united, democratic and peace-loving Germany is established.

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic declares its readiness to develop and maintain good friendly relations with all nations on the basis of mutual respect and equality of rights."



West German Spring Fashions

(From "Quick", Munich)

EAST GERMAN ELECTIONS IN AUTUMN

The East German Government will propose the holding of general elections in East Germany this autumn, Deputy Prime Minister Walter Ulbricht told the 4th Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party, meeting in Berlin on March 30th.

The next number of GERMAN REPORT, dated April 16th, will bring full reports of the discussions and decisions of this congress.

G.D.R. BECOMES SOVEREIGN STATE

Full Text of Soviet Declaration

On March 25th 1954 the Government of the USSR published the following declaration on relations between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic:

The Government of the Soviet Union pursues undeviatingly the course of settling the German problem in accordance with the interests of consolidating peace and of securing the national reunification of Germany on a democratic basis.

These aims shall be served by practical measures to bring East and West Germany together, to hold free all-German elections, and to conclude a peace treaty with Germany.

Despite the efforts of the Soviet Union, no steps were taken, at the recent Berlin Conference of the foreign ministers of the four powers, to restore the national unity of Germany and to conclude a peace treaty.

In view of this state of affairs, and as a result of negotiations between the Soviet Government and the Government of the German Democratic Republic, the Government of the USSR believes it is necessary to take now, before the unification of Germany and the conclusion of a peace treaty, further steps in the interest of the German people. These steps are:

1. The Soviet Union assumes the same relations with the German Democratic Republic as with other sovereign states.

2. The German Democratic Republic will be at liberty to make its own decisions on internal and external affairs, including the question of relations with West Germany.

2. The Soviet Union will retain in the German Democratic Republic the functions connected with the guaranteeing of security arising from obligations resting upon the USSR under four power agreement.

The Soviet Government has taken note of the declaration made by the Government of the German Democratic Republic that it will fulfil the obligations arising for the German Democratic Republic from the Potsdam Agreement regarding the development of Germany as a democratic and peace-loving state, as well as the obligations connected with the temporary presence of Soviet troops in the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

3. The supervision of the activity of the state organs of the German Democratic Republic, hitherto exercised by the High Commissioner of the USSR in Germany, will cease.

In accordance with this decision, the functions of the High Commissioner of the USSR in Germany will be limited to those questions connected with the guaranteeing of security, as stated above, and with the continuance of the necessary liaison with the representatives of the occupation authorities of the USA, the United Kingdom, and France on questions of all-German character arising from the agreements of the four powers on Germany.

*

The Government of the USSR believes that the existence of the "Occupation Statute" laid down for West Germany by the USA, the United Kingdom and France, is not only irreconcilable with democratic principles and the national rights of the German people, but also, under the present circumstances one of the main obstacles to the national reunification of Germany, since it makes more difficult a rapprochement between East and West Germany.

McCARTHY IN BAVARIA

The American military authorities in West Germany have begun to insist on the sacking of Communists, left-wing Social Democrats and active trade unionists from factories doing contract work for the US Army.

First big wave of sackings has taken place in the BMW Motor Works in Munich, used as a repair shop for US Army vehicles. In February questionnaires were distributed to the 4600 workers of the factory, demanding detailed information on their families, relations, and political and social affiliations.

Sample questions included:

"Give the full names, addresses and places of employment of your parents, foster-parents, wife, parents-in-law, former wives, brothers, sisters and children."

"Give the names of all political groups, parties, associations, clubs, organisations, trade unions etc., in which you are at present organised, or of which you have ever been a member."

"Give the names of three guarantors; if possible these should be businessmen, but a doctor, lawyer or shopkeeper will also suffice."

First result of this McCarthyite inquisition was that on March 4th, 33 workers, all of them active trade union members, were dismissed without notice, receiving curt notifications stating: "Your presence on factory territory after 5 p. m. today will not be tolerated".

Further dismissals since then have brought the total of McCarthy victims from this factory alone to 42. Only left-wing workers have been sacked: a number of former active nazis working in the plant have all kept their jobs.

East German Trade Unions Call for Joint Talks

The trade union movements of both halves of Germany should hold joint discussions on ways and means of preventing the revival of militarism in West Germany, the Free German Trade Union Federation of the German Democratic Republic proposed on March 19th.

The East German Trade Union Federation proposed to the West German Trade Unions that representatives of both groups should meet to discuss:

1. Joint action to achieve a united Germany and a peace treaty.

2. Joint action against remilitarisation and militarist organisations in West Germany.

3. A joint defence of trade union rights.

4. Measures to democratise the economy in West Germany.

5. Increased interzonal trade as a measure against West German unemployment.

6. Cooperation between the eastern and western unions, exchange of delegations, and allied subjects.

West Germans Fight War Plans

Town Councils Resist

Dortmund: The City Council of Dortmund, British Zone, unanimously protested against the construction of demolition chambers in the bridges of the city. Lord Mayor Keuning, Social Democrat, declared: "Such preparations remind us of the work of Corporal Hitler, who plunged the German people into catastrophe".

Castrop-Rauxel: The Social Democratic and Communist town councillors united to pass a resolution against all war preparations in the locality. The resolution called on all inhabitants to report immediately to the council all military preparations for demolitions, so that counter action could be taken.

Lemgo: "The preparation of demolition chambers in bridges and viaducts is a criminal act, and must cease immediately" a resolution passed unanimously by the rural council of Lemgo stated.

Gevelsberg: The town authorities of Gevelsberg have forbidden engineers from the Essen constructional firm of Strabach to enter the town. The constructional firm had been given a contract by the provincial government of North Rhine Westphalia to prepare demolition chambers at various points in Gevelsberg.

Oerlingshausen: Mayor Kramer of Oerlingshausen announced that if engineers began to construct demolition chambers at any place in the town confines he would sound the fire siren three times. Fire brigade and population would then run the engineers out of town.

Kettwig: The city authorities of Kettwig refused to obey orders from the provincial government to install demolition chambers in the great Ruhr bridge, totally destroyed by the nazis in 1945, which has just been rebuilt. When building workers from another town appeared at the beginning of March and began work on the demolition chambers, municipal police prevented them from going to work.

COLOGNE SOCIALISTS REJECT WEHRMACHT

By a huge majority the Social Democrats of the Cologne District in West Germany have rejected remilitarisation and the formation of a new Wehrmacht.

At the district congress of the Social Democratic Party, held on March 17th, 162 delegates from a total of 187 voted in favour of a manifesto turning down a new West German Wehrmacht. The manifesto stated in part:

"We reject not only participation in the European Defence Community, but rearmament altogether, since under the present political conditions this would only strengthen the political and state power of the possessing classes, and lay the costs of the rearmament on the shoulders of the working masses.

"The struggle for the reunification of Germany must be marked by the unification and strengthening of the whole German working class movement."

Young Socialists Say "No"

Hamburg young Socialists have rejected conscription to a new West German Wehrmacht. On March 14th the district conference of the "Young Falcons", the Social Democratic youth organisation, unanimously rejected the planned conscription law which "was contrary to the desires of a large part of the German people."

Similar resolutions have been passed by the Young Socialists of Wuerttemberg and Baden, in south west Germany.

"MY PLANS TO ARM GERMANY"

By Theodor Blank, Adenauer's 'Shadow' Defence Minister

"...Of course, former German officers are employed in my office. There is no secret about this. In selecting them I have made sure, in particular, that no one is employed who was a nazi or who has been guilty of any crime whatsoever...

"All the officers intended for senior appointments will be chosen by a personnel committee.

This committee will be composed of respected personalities, both civilians and former soldiers..."

"Star", London, March 16th 1954.

It all sounds extremely innocent, until you know that one of the members of the "personnel committee" is Mayor General Freiherr Smilo von Luettwitz. General von Luettwitz commanded a nazi tank division in the invasion of France, and then in 1944 played a leading part in the destruction of Warsaw. After the war, the Polish Government requested his extradition as a war criminal, but the request was turned down by the U. S. military authorities.

PROFILE

FRIEDA HARTMANN — VILLAGE MAYOR

Old Hans Schwendler, the oldest inhabitant of the little village of Muckern, thirty miles south of Leipzig in East Germany, did not approve of it at all when he heard two years ago that a woman had come from the town to act as mayor of the village.

"Just one of these silly new-fangled ideas" he said.

Today he has changed his mind. "We can thank God for our mayor; I can't remember ever having a better one" he says. And almost everyone else in the village has a similar comment.

Mother of Two

The person who has managed to change the minds of such a large proportion of the 368 inhabitants of the little village of Muckern is a pretty dark haired woman of 38, mother of two children, named Frieda Hartmann.

The changes which she has seen in her life are typical of the changes there have been in the life of millions of her compatriots who today are puting all their energies into building a better Germany.

Frau Hartmann is a village girl by birth, daughter of a tailor with a little shop in a village near Altenburg. When she was a girl, she wanted to be a nurse; her father wanted her to learn tailoring. But there was no money for her to learn either occupation, and she took the only job she could get, as maid in a village inn, working all day and most of the night for a few marks.

War Starts

Marriage meant for her an escape from this slavery, but soon the nazis launched their aggressive war, and her husband was sent away to the front. In 1940 he was on occupation duty in Kamiena near Warsaw, Poland, and she went to visit him.

Things that she saw and heard there, and particularly the way in which the German troops treated the Polish population, made her think. Her husband refused to answer her questions, and told her to keep her mouth shut.

In the train which brought her home, she heard a soldier boasting about a lot of things of which she had previously only heard whispers — concentration camps, tortures, mass shootings, and so on.

She had never bothered her head about politics, but now she began to think, and when the war came to an end she was ready to greet the new way of life which peace promised.

She had to work hard to support her two young children — a boy and a girl. First she worked with the peasants in the fields, and later got a job in the paper mill at Lucka. Here she joined the trade union, attended trade union school, and began really to take part in building the new society.

Her husband had not returned to East Germany after the war, but had gone to West Germany, where he believed he could live better; he wrote to her during this period and suggested that she should join him there with the children. She made a quick visit to see what things were like: then she hurried back to East Germany, shocked by the neo-nazism and revival of militarism in the West, and confident that the German Democratic Republic was the place where she wanted her children to grow up.

Better Worker

She moved on from the paper factory to a job in the electrical department of a big nationally owned factory, always learning to be both a better worker and a better member of society. It was quite natural for her one day to apply to become a member of the Socialist Unity Party, for she had long been convinced that Socialism would provide Germany and the world with a happy and peaceful future.

She learned harder than ever, and soon Frieda Hartmann, who only a few short years ago had been maid in a village inn, found herself in charge of the factory library. In addition she had to organise the concerts and film shows in the factory.

The new responsibilities daunted her slightly, until she looked round and saw that the great majority of people in responsible positions in the German Democratic Republic had been ordinary workers or farmers only a few years previously.

Her work in the library, and as cultural secretary of the factory made her well known in the vicinity, and when there was sudden need for a new mayor for the little village of Muckern, Frieda Hartmann was one of the people to whom the local administration turned.

The old mayor had been a failure; the multiple tasks which rest upon the mayor of even the smallest village under a planned economy had been beyond him; would Frau Hartmann try?

She would.

She brought a breath of fresh air into the village. She did not "rule" like some village mayors try to do, but tried to get everybody to cooperate.

The village school was hopelessly inadequate, but it would be years before sufficient funds were available to build a new one. Frieda Hartmann called a village meeting, and got dozens of volunteers who were ready to help convert into a school the mansion of the Junker who formerly ran the village.

New School

In December 1953, the new school was opened, the finest school for many miles around. And the villagers of Muckern feel it is really their school, for they helped to build it, in 25,000 voluntary hours of work.

And what about her children? Her daughter is one of the proud pupils of the new village school, and she will be going on to high school soon. Her son is out at work already, apprentice in the Borna open-cast mines, and in his last letter he said that he had completed a technical course ahead of schedule, and got a commendation for good work.

Frieda Hartmann is away from her village this month, attending another training course, for she is still learning, learning to do even better work in making a democratic Germany.

(Based on an article by Margarete Ebelt)

3500 West Germans Go East

More than 3500 West Germans moved to East Germany in the first two weeks of March, it was officially announced in Berlin. Jobs are immediately found in East Germany for all persons coming from the west, since there is no unemployment here.

Peter Pfeiffer's Pickled Peppers

The "Sieg Heil" Diplomat

Nazi diplomat Peter Pfeiffer has been appointed West German "observer" to the United Nations in New York. GERMAN REPORT dated March 19th 1954 gave some details of his career, including the text of a telegram he sent to Berlin in November 1942, when he was serving as nazi consul in Algiers. The telegram concluded with the words: "Sieg Heil Führer und Deutschland."

Some further details on the career of this eminently democratic diplomat have since come to light. Here they are:

Herr Pfeiffer joined the German diplomatic service in 1926, and had an undistinguished career in various posts until Ribbentrop promoted him to the rank of Consul General in 1941. Pfeiffer promptly joined the nazi party, receiving membership number 8,128,186.

After sending his "Sieg Heil" telegram in November 1941, Pfeiffer was captured by the American troops, and interned until March 1944, when he was returned to Germany in the course of an exchange of diplomatic internees. He promptly went back to work for the nazi foreign office in Berlin, and continued to work there until the end of the war, when he was arrested and interned by the US military authorities as an active nazi.

After his release he was appointed director of the West German Diplomatic Academy at Speyer.

In September 1951 Herr Pfeiffer was attacked in several West German newspapers as one of the many active nazis in the West German Foreign Office. A special parliamentary commission established to investigate the charges recommended on June 18th 1952:

"Pfeiffer should, for the next few years, not be used in diplomatic service abroad".

The report of the parliamentary commission also contained the rather odd statement:

"The Commission notes with pleasure that Pfeiffer made no attempt to claim that he was in contact with the resistance movement (against Hitler) . . ."

"The charges which can be levelled against Pfeiffer are not in any way so severe as the charges which can be levelled against other West German diplomats."

"Spiegel" Newsmagazine, Hamburg, March 24th 1954

"Bonn, Germany, March 21 — Thirty-four per cent of the 874 members of the West German diplomatic corps once belonged to the Nazi party."

"New York Times", March 25th 1954.

"De-pacification" of Street Names

Bonn, the capital of the West German Federal Republic, has a square named "Berta von Suttner Platz" after the well-known German fighter against war.

The square is now being renamed "Berliner Freiheit" (Berlin Freedom) in commemoration of the fascist rowdies who on June 17th 1953 tried to attack the state order in East Germany and launch a new world war.

Slovak Fascists Meet in West Germany

Slovak fascists living in West Germany held a rally in the Regina Palast Hotel in Munich on March 14th to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the formation of the Hitlerite marionnette government in Slovakia in March 1939. The rally was addressed by Professor Ferdinand Durcansky, former foreign minister in the puppet government.

The Munich weekly "Deutsche Woche", reporting this provocative rally, asked: "What would the French or the Norwegian Government do if Laval or Quisling were to hold a rally in Munich to commemorate Hitler's attack on their country?"

"Fuehrer's Decrees still in Force"

— West German Supreme Court

A decree issued by Hitler on May 19th 1943, granting German citizenship to foreigners who joined the SS is still in force, the West German Supreme Court at Karlsruhe has decided. The decision was taken at the end of December 1953, but only published on March 22nd this year.

The supreme court made the ruling in rejecting a Dutch application for the extraditon of a number of Dutch nazi war criminals who broke out of a Dutch prison and sought refuge in Germany.

"West Berlin Police Legal Heir of Gestapo"

— West Berlin Court Decision

The West Berlin police force is the legal continuation of Hitler's Gestapo, the West Berlin Labour Court decided on March 21st 1954.

The decision was handed down in the case of a former Gestapo detective, who returned to Berlin in 1950 from a prisoner of war camp in the Soviet Union. He applied for a post in the West Berlin police, citing the "war prisoners' law" which entitled prisoners to their former employment. The police turned him down on the grounds that they had nothing to do with the Gestapo.

He went to law, and the court decided that he was right, and that the West Berlin police "is the legal successor organisation because it has the same tasks and the same functions".

. . . But Jail for "Slandering" War Criminals

Communist town councillor Rudolf Macht has been sent to prison for four months in Hof, American Zone of West Germany, because he stated in a recent meeting of the town council that the nazi war criminals held in Soviet prisons were in fact war criminals. The court found him guilty on a charge of slander.

You Ask — We Answer:

ALL ABOUT BABIES & HOLIDAYS

"I have just had my second baby. We had no savings to fall back on, so we simply had to borrow the money to pay hospital bills. It will take us months to pay it back... How do women in East Germany manage?"

S. M. Seattle, U.S.A.

Nobody gets into debt in East Germany through having a baby. On the contrary, everything possible is done to help expectant and nursing mothers, so that they need not give up their work or suffer in health. At no stage is any distinction made between married and unmarried mothers.

Free medical attention is given all expectant mothers, either in factory clinics or in the local clinics.

From the fourth to the sixth month of pregnancy additional rations of butter and sugar and over 3/4 pint of cheap milk daily are supplied. From the sixth month until the mother stops feeding her baby herself, the additional rations are 19 ounces each of butter and sugar monthly and 1 3/4 pints milk daily.

In cases of normal pregnancy a working mother gets five weeks' holiday at full pay before and six weeks' holiday at full pay after the birth of her child. In cases of difficult birth or of twins, she gets two weeks longer with full pay.

Overtime or Sunday work is forbidden after the third month of pregnancy and for nursing mothers. To prevent employers from wriggling out of their obligations expectant mothers cannot be given notice during the time from the third month of pregnancy until six weeks after the birth of the baby.

Extra coal and a money allowance for the purchase of baby clothes are provided, and the local health authorities run free courses for expectant mothers in baby care and feeding.

The Department for Mother and Child in the Ministry of Health runs 13 holiday homes, in the mountains and on the sea coast, and in 1953 6,500 expectant mothers went for four-week holiday cures. All expenses were born by the Ministry of Health.

Between 60% and 70% of our mothers have their babies in hospital and the proportion is higher in country districts than in the towns.

All hospital expenses, including doctors' fees, medicines and any expenses caused by complications, are covered by the social insurance. If a mother prefers to have her baby at home, the doctor's and midwife's fees and other medical costs are all covered by the social insurance.

Special care is taken of premature babies and the very considerable expense involved in taking care of them (one fully qualified nurse is in charge of two premature babies) is born by the social insurance.

The social insurance system covers almost everybody in East Germany. The only exception is private business people employing more than five workers, and these can also join voluntarily and then enjoy the same benefits. Thus women who are not working get exactly the same treatment in hospital and are eligible for the same privileges, including holiday cures when the doctor considers it necessary, extra rations and free medical attendance.

Women who wish to have their babies in hospital but have no relatives with whom to leave their older children can send them to children's homes for a month or so.

There were at the end of 1953 33,000 permanent places in infants' and small children's homes (up to three years) where mothers who are for the time being not in a position to set up their own homes can leave their children in good hands. Some of these homes are weekly ones; the mothers take their babies home from Saturday afternoon to Sunday evening or Monday morning. Unmarried mothers get first preference to place their babies in these homes.

"What are the regulations concerning holidays in the German Democratic Republic, and what sort of holiday can an average worker afford to take with his family?"

The basic holiday for all workers and office employees in East Germany is twelve working days a year with full pay. This means, with Sundays, two full weeks. Cripples, the partially disabled and victims of fascism get three days extra.

Workers engaged in heavy work or at unhealthy temperatures or on any unhealthy work get from 18 to 24 working days with full pay.

Managers and technical personnel holding responsible positions also get from 18 to 24 working days with full pay.

Young people from 14 to 16 years get 21 working days and from 16 to 18 years, 18 working days with full pay.

Factory collective agreements concluded between factory management and trade union committee stipulate extra days of leave after long service or for outstanding work or in cases of specially hard or responsible work.

Time taken off for convalescent or preventive cures does not affect the basic holiday.

The Trade Union Holiday Service offers all sorts of possibilities.

There are hundreds of trade union holiday homes in the mountains, on the lakes and on the Baltic coast, where the basic 13-day holiday costs only 30 marks per person inclusive of everything; this is less than half the actual cost; the balance is made up by the trade unions. (30 marks is well below the minimum weekly wage of the lowest-paid unskilled worker.) Specially good workers are often sent away to such holiday homes absolutely free of cost, and every worker gets a reduction of 33 1/3% on his railway fare for his annual holiday. Exchange holidays in the People's Democracies are also available for outstanding workers.

Holiday homes are mostly former private hotels, country residences and castles situated in the most beautiful mountain and seaside resorts.

A great difficulty has been that with holidays with pay for all, the existing holiday accomodation is not sufficient to deal with the masses of people who want to use it. The number of beds available at holiday resorts is being steadily expanded, however, and people are being encouraged to take their holidays at "off-seasons" so as to spread the load more evenly throughout the year.

Protestant Church Congress in East Germany

The All-German Evangelical Church Congress will be held at Leipzig in East Germany from July 7th to 11th, it was officially announced in Berlin on March 20th.

The church authorities expressed full agreement with the stipulation of the Government of the German Democratic Republic that the congress should not offend against the peace policy of the German Democratic Republic.

In particular the church authorities pledged themselves to prevent the congress being used in any way to make propaganda for the policy of the reestablishment of the Wehrmacht at present being pursued by the West German Government.

Did Hitler Exist?

The German Wehrmacht in the Second World War was completely free from nazi ideas, the West German "Frankfurter Allgemeine" stated in a leading article on March 3rd.

"The Wehrmacht knew how to protect the old Prussian-German ideas of honourable conduct of war from the National Socialist state leadership" the leading article said.

The Berlin progressive weekly "Weltbuehne", commenting on this leading article on March 17th, stated that the only logical conclusion of such a line of argument was to declare "Hitler was just a propaganda trick".

Tombstones

During the first week in March fascist rowdies repeatedly overturned gravestones in the old Jewish cemetery in Frankfurt/Main. Police made no efforts to stop the desecration.

Democratic
GERMAN REPORT

Subscription rates: 4 marks, 8/- sterling, $ 1.25 per annum or pro rata, postage paid.

Subscriptions may be paid at the following addresses:

Democratic Germany: At all post offices.

Britain: Collet's Subscription Dept, 40 Great Russel St., London W. C. 1

All other communications should be addressed to:

Democratic German Report,
Friedrichstrasse 167 III,
Berlin W 8,
Germany.

RETRACTION PLEASE!

(Installment Two)

By the Editor

What happened so far: On January 7th 1954 the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews passed a resolution deprecating the growth of neo-fascism in West Germany. In the same resolution it was stated "in East Germany a similar position obtains, in that several well-known nazis are Ministers in the East German Government". On February 15th I wrote to the Foreign Affairs Committee calling for a withdrawal of the statement, since not a single East German Minister had been a nazi.

On February 23rd, A. G. Brotman, Secretary of the Board of Deputies replied, stating in part: "Our information ... was given on the basis of information from sources which we know to be reliable ... we have to recognise that there are possibilities of error in some of the details ... in the circumstances we feel it would be inadvisable to publish names and other details ..."

I replied on March 13th, pointing out that the reluctance to publish names of the alleged "well-known nazis" could only be regarded as an admission that the Board of Deputies had no confidence in the truth of its own allegation. The relevant portions of Mr. Brotman's letter of February 23rd and my letter of March 13th were published in GERMAN REPORT dated March 19th. Now read the next installment below:

From: A.G. Brotman, Secretary, The Board of Deputies of British Jews, London

To: John Peet, Editor, Democratic German Report, Berlin

March 24th, 1954

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of March 13th, and I have also seen the copy of the "Democratic German Report" of March 19th in which you, without the usual courtesy of asking my permission, purport to publish my letter ot you of February 23rd.

I use the word purport, because you have not published the whole of my letter, and I should be glad if you would publish also the part you omitted and for which you have substituted a few dots.

Yours faithfully, A. G. Brotman

From: John Peet, Editor, Democratic German Report, Berlin

To: A. G. Brotman, Secretary, The Board of Deputies of British Jews, London

March 29th 1954

Dear Sir,

If you write letters to the editor of a newspaper, you must expect to see them published. The paragraphs which were omitted from your letter of February 23rd read:

"In this connection may I draw your attention to the publication in the New York Herald Tribune of February 2nd of draft proposals for a Peace Treaty with Germany submitted by Mr Molotov to the 'Big Four' Foreign Ministers Conference at Berlin, on February 1st, and which included the following:

Political Clauses:

Paragraph 6 — All former members of the German Army, including officers and generals, and all ex-nazis with the exception of those who are serving sentences of court for the commission of crimes, shall be granted civil and political rights on an equal footing with all other German citizens, enabling them to participate in the building of a peaceable and democratic Germany."

I did not publish this part of your letter for reasons of space, and because this clause of the Soviet proposal for a peace treaty with Germany was already well known to my readers: it had been printed in GERMAN REPORT on March 14th 1952, when originally proposed, and again on January 22nd 1954 at the commencement of the Berlin Conference.

However, I fail to see how this clause from a draft peace treaty which is not even under discussion at present, let alone signed, affects your monstrous allegation that "several well-known nazis are Ministers in the East German Government".

When the Board of Deputies has made a public retraction of this libellous statement I shall be glad to give you space in GERMAN REPORT for any criticism you may have of individual clauses in the Soviet draft for a peace treaty with Germany.

Yours sincerely, John Peet

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

Last week I had to go to Leipzig on business. Some readers may be interested in details of the journey, since I have discovered, from letters and visitors from abroad, that the weirdest notions exist about even something so simple as taking a railway journey in East Germany.

First of all, I went to the railway station and bought a ticket. A second class ticket for the 130 mile journey costs 25 marks — the same as two good tickets to the theatre.

Punch With Care

Then I went through the barrier, where the ticket collector punched my ticket, as in all the other countries I have ever visited, and got into the train: a well-heated well-kept corridor train such as you may find anywhere from Calais to Cairo.

The loudspeaker on the platform boomed something moderately unintelligible, like station loudspeakers everywhere, and the train puffed off.

During the journey white jacketted attendants passed down the corridor every few minutes selling hot coffee, beer and soda water, cigarettes and so on. The "and so on" naturally includes Bockwurst, the fat pink hot sausages which Germans, particularly Berliners, both East and West, consume in great quantities, but which I personally find inexpressibly dreary.

With Bath?

The train reached Leipzig on time. I got out of the train, gave up my ticket at the barrier, got into one of the waiting taxis, and drove to a hotel. There I asked for a room. "With or without bath?" asked the man at the desk.

In fact the journey was very similar to a trip from London to Birmingham in Britain. Only important difference in fact was that during a short halt on the city boundary of Berlin, police came through the train, politely asked to see our identity cards, and passed on after wishing us a pleasant journey. Only reason for the inspection was to see that everybody was resident either in the German Democratic Republic or in East Berlin. Residents of West Berlin are free to visit East Berlin as much as they like, but must have a special permit to visit the German Democratic Republic.

It must be realised that the German Democratic Republic is a sovereign state, and like other countries reserves the right to inspect the papers of citizens of other states entering its borders. In addition, the existence of a large number of American-financed and nazi-run espionage and sabotage organisations in West Berlin makes it necessary for the People's Police to keep their eyes open.

Making Friends and Influencing People

"Hans Erich Haack, the (West) German Charge d'Affaires in Stockholm, lives in the same apartment house as the Soviet Minister to Sweden. He has received specific instructions from Bonn that he is not to raise his hat or to bow if he should meet his neighbour on the stairs."

"Spiegel" Newsmagazine, Hamburg March 17th 1954

Train journeys in East Germany are still not an untrammelled pleasure, of course. The war took a heavy toll of rolling stock and locomotives, so that the train service is still not as frequent as could be wished, and some trains, particularly at weekends, are very crowded. (I seem to remember this happening in other countries too).

Another minor but annoying point is that most of the steam coal mined in Germany is mined in the Ruhr, and the Ruhr lies in West Germany. Since American interference has throttled East-West German trade, locomotives in East Germany have to be fired with soft coal, or lignite, which we have in abundance. This is less efficient than hard anthracite, and in addition it produces a cloud of fine smuts, which seem to be able to find their way into the compartments even through tightly closed windows. These smuts are a minor but very convincing argument for German unity to anyone who has to make many trips by train.

And for the sake of truth I should add that my experience in going from Leipzig station to a hotel and being offered a choice of rooms is by no means typical of all towns and cities in East Germany. Leipzig suffered relatively little damage in bombing, and has always been very well equipped with hotels, so it is generally easy to get a room there.

In most other towns the situation is much more difficult, since railway stations were a favourite bomb target, and hotels generally cluster round stations. In fact the difficulty encountered by travellers in finding accomodation is one of the subjects very often raised in the very numerous critical letters published in the press here.

Bockwurst Again

To protect myself from any critical attacks by German readers who are enthusiastic bockwurst eaters, I hereby declare that I have not been inspired by vegetarians; I have no desire to ban bockwurst eating; I just do not like them.

Mothers-in-Law

When you next read stories in the big business press about "harried refugees streaming out of East Germany", consider this little news dispatch from the London "Daily Express" of March 16th 1954:

"A million people in the U. S. disappear every year. Chief reasons, according to the Tracers Company, one of the outfits which helps to find many of them: financial troubles, mother-in-law troubles, teen-agers' desires to be free of parents, and the Greta Garbo-like desire to be alone."

The establishment of a democratic Germany has not abolished mothers-in-law, of course, and people in East Germany afflicted with this trouble, or others, have an easy way out: they rush to West Berlin, spin a yarn about "persecution" and become "political refugees".

Incidentally, a growing proportion of the misled people who have fled to the West are now returning to the German Democratic Republic when they find that all that the allegedly golden West has to offer is unemployment and a crowded refugee camp.

Edited and published fortnightly by John Peet, Democratic German Report, Friedrichstrasse 167/III Berlin W 8, Telephone: 22 62 59. Printed in Germany by (36). Veröffentlicht unter Lizenz-Nr. 694 beim Presseamt des Ministerpräsidenten der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik

[1954]

Georges PAPAGEORGIU

"PEACE" BY ARISTOPHANES

"Peace", which was written and presented in the year 42I B.C., is the fifth of the comedies by Aristophanes which have come down to us. Like the others, it has its own history, it reflects the struggles and the ideas of its author as well as the social and political situation at the time when it was written.

§

The Peloponnesian war (43I-404), the bloodiest and most destructive war that ancient Greece had yet seen, had been raging for more than ten years. Athens, the most important centre of political and intellectual life in the fifth century, suffered the ravages of war more than any other city.

Fleeing from the country districts of Attica, which had been devasted by the Lacedaemonian armies, great crowds of peasants had sought refuge behind the walls of Athens. After starvation and suffering of all kinds, a terrible scourge -the Pest- swept through the town during the second and third years of the war, claiming countless victims among the population.

Everyone felt that the root cause of this misfortune was the war. The great historian, Thucydides, who lived at the time of the Peloponnesian war, emphasises that the greater part of his fellow-citizens, whatever their social and political convictions, considered that the war was the greatest of all their afflictions. (Thucydides, B. 65).

A trend for peace was therefore developing in Athens, as in all the other cities. Daily increasing masses of the population desired and demanded an end to hostilities and the conclusion of peace.

This trend made itself felt even more clearly when, in 42' the two leaders of the war party, the Athenian Cleon and the Spartan Brasidas, fell during the same battle. Negotiations then began and led rapidly to the signing of an armistice and to the conclusion of the "Peace of Nicias" which, unfortunately was destined to last for only a few years.

It was this same desire for peace which inspired Aristophanes. He devoted his whole life to the struggle for peace, and sang of it in a way that moves the ordinary people of all countries and of all times.

§

"Peace" is an exceptional work, the creation of an admirable poet who was at the same time a great patriot and a tireless fighter.

./.

This close blending of the most consummate poetic form with the social and political struggle is characteristic of the "old" Attic comedy, which drew on the events of the period for its subjects. During the fifth, and at the beginning of the fourth century B.C., a good number of comic authors achieved this blend. Aristophanes was not only the greatest of them, he was also one of the most authentic and noble geniuses of ancient Greece. And this genius put his art in the service of man, in the service of the noblest human cause.

The leading character in "Peace" is a peasant, Trygaios (The grape-gatherer). This choice was only natural. Of all the citizens of Athens, the peasants suffered most from the war and had most reason to fight for peace. Trygaios is angered by the mania for war of his fellow-citizens. However he does not despair. He wants to find Peace and bring her back to Athens and to the whole of Greece. But the goddess of Peace is up in the sky where Polemos, the god of war, has her shut up in a deep cave.

The ingenious peasant finds a way of reaching the sky by riding on the back of a winged snail. On his arrival he discovers that the gods, disgusted at the sight of men killing one other, have gone away. Only Hermes and Polemos have stayed. The latter is holding a gigantic mortar in which to crush one by one all the cities of Greece. He appears on the scene crying :

"Ah, you mortals, you mortals who have endured so much, how your poor jaws are going to suffer."

In spite of this horrible apparition, Trygaios does not give up his plan. He calls on the people to join in the struggle to free "Peace" from the cave. He approaches all sections of the population, the representatives of all the professions, the inhabitants of all the cities of Greece.

"Peoples of all Greece, it is now or never that you must help each other."

With the aid of Hermes, Peace is at last freed and she appears with her two companions : Festivity and Abundance.

At this moment voices are raised in an exquisite hymn : "Greetings, greetings, what joy your coming brings us, O, beloved ! The desire for you has carried me away; a supernatural instinct urged me to return to the fields. For you brought the greatest benefit to us, O beloved, to us who led a rural life."

There is a general burst of joy at the appearance of Peace. Hermes himself shares in the mortals'joy.

./.

"See how the cities babble among themselves, reconciled and laughing joyously."

Trygaios sets out on the way home with Peace's two companions. During this time, the Choir recites the "parabasis" in which the poet addresses the spectators directly. Aristophanes explains at length to what a height he has raised comedy, and what great services he has rendered the city.

"Putting aside these ineptitudes, this vulgarity and low buffoonery, our poet has created a great art and, having built it up, he has flanked it with towers by means of beautiful words, great thoughts and jests such as one does not hear in the streets. It was not obscure individuals that he put into his plays, nor was it women, but with an ardour worthy of Heracles, he tackled the very greatest in the land.

Trygaios arrives on earth with Abundance and Festivity. The former will become his wife, the latter he will offer to the Council, representing the whole city which, during the years of war, was deprived of festivities and joy.

After several scenes in which Aristophanes sings the joys of love, in his own particular manner, Trygaios begins a sacrifice to Peace. In his prayer, he asks the goddess to put an end to war and grant riches and happiness to the city.

"Stop battles and tumults, that we may call you Lysimaché(1). Put an end to the excessively ingenious suspicions which make us shout at one another. Unite us Hellenes once again and for ever by a juice of friendship, and water down our spirits with a little sweetening indulgence. Make our markets full of good things : garlic from Megara, early cucumbers, quinces, pomegranates, little mantles for slaves..."

At that moment a soothsayer arrives, a partisan of war; Trygaios ridicules him and chases him away.

Then dealers in weapons arrive. Here the poet lets himself go. With the utmost fury, with all the freedom of language of the Greek theatre, and particularly of comedy, he attacks and mocks the marchants and their wares : helmets, cuirasses, shields, etc.

The comedy ends with Trygaios' marriage to Abundance. Amid the general gladness, Trygaios offers up a last prayer and asks the gods "to give riches to the Hellenes, to grant us all an equal and bountiful supply of barley, abundance of wine, figs to munch, make our wives prolific, let us recover all the goods we have lost, and abolish the shining iron."

---

(1) Lysimaché : who puts an end to wars.

Twenty-four centuries have passed since the days when this comedy, which exalts the noblest and most generous ideal: men's struggle to win a life of peace, happiness and creative labour- was presented on the Athens stage.

Centuries have passed, but Aristophanes' call has lost none of its value, for, nowadays, war continues to be the greatest threat hanging over mankind and civilisation.

All progressive mankind owed it to themselves, therefore, to honour the memory of this great ancient poet. Following the example of Aristophanes, whose works express a great spirit of optimism, ordinary people throughout the world are more confident than ever in the successful outcome of their struggle. They know that, in the end, war will be conquered by Peace.

-=-=-=-=-=-=-=-

The Importance of Antonin Dvorak's work in the Fight for World Peace.

By Professor Antonin Sychra.

The way in which the work of Antonin Dvorak became part of the World's treasury of music must undoubtedly be considered one of the most extraordinary happenings in the history of music. For the composer belonged to a small nation which in addition, at that time, was swallowed up and stifled by the powerful Austro-Hungarian monarchy. We can even go so far as to say that, in the last decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, the musical centres of the greatest States often drew their life and inspiration from the music of Dvorak. Of all the Slav composers only Chopin and Tchaikovsky attained such a world-wide reputation.

Dvorak went nine times to Britain alone on the pressing invitation of the most important musical circles there and his music was one of the main elements of the international musical festivals which took place in that country. The best facilities in existence at that time were provided for the performances of Dvorak's works. For example, on his first visit to Britain, on March 13th 1884, his "Stabat Mater" was performed before a vast audience in the Royal Albert Hall in London by a huge orchestra and a choir of 840 singers.

On June 16th 1891, the University of Cambridge conferred on Dvorak the degree of Doctor of Music (honoris causa). (The eminent Russian zoologist, Metchnikov, was one of the others who received this title at the same time.) The composer made a highly successful tour of Russia in 1890; he was held in high esteem by Balakirev and Rachmaninov and strengthened his friendship with Tchaikovsky. In 1892, he was invited to New York and was appointed Director of the National College of Music, the only College of Music in the United States which had the right to this title, the others being private. He worked there till April 1895. We may add Dvorak's many visits to Vienna, Berlin and elsewhere and the many performances of his music in these cities. The greatest publishing houses in the world issued, and continue to issue, his compositions; the publisher, Simrock, sent the composer one order after another and for many years strove to obtain sole rights to Dvorak's works.

Johannes Brahms was one of his personal friends and a great propagator of his music. During Dvorak's stay in the United States he corrected the proofs of the Slavonic Dances himself, whereas Dvorak transcribed Brahms' Hungarian Dances for several instruments.

The finest performers in the world have played the works of Dvorak - Hans von Bülow, Napravnik, Hans Ritcher, Nikisch, Joachim, Ondricek and Laub - and not only occasionally but as regular items in their repertoire. This success has been maintained right up till today - Oistrakh, Menuhin and Kuhlenkampf perform his Violin Concerto, Pablo Casals his Concerto for Violoncello, and his "New World" Symphony is probably played

.....

by all the principal orchestras of the world. His "Biblical Songs" and the "Songs My Mother Taught Me" from "Gipsy Melodies", are part of the repertoire of the greatest soloists, while the piano piece, "Humoresque", has been transcribed for practically all instruments and ensembles; many people know and sing this air without even knowing who composed it.

Even in Korea and China and among negro musicians the works of Dvorak are frequently performed - Paul Robeson , for example, often sings "Songs My Mother Taught Me". And of course Dvorak is appreciated in the Soviet Union above all; his works are constantly being performed as great classics. The Soviet musicologist, Belze, devotes 90 pages to him in his great work on Czech music.

What is it that gives this universal importance to the work of Dvorak, what is its source? The answers to this question differ widely. Some musicians and critics, particularly those of the West, maintain that the work of Dvorak attained this universality because it is essentially cosmopolitan and merely the result of the various influences of the great masters of world music, and, further, that it is abstract music which does not seek to give expression to national ideas or to the spirit of national emancipation. Others declare that the success of Dvorak's compositions is due only to a combination of lucky accidents, that his music became popular in a period which derived particular pleasure from the primitive exoticism of little known national cultures.

These two extreme opinions are absolutely false. This is not difficult to prove, as even a very cursory examination of Dvorak's evolution will show.

The very origin of Antonin Dvorak (September 8th, 1841 - May 1st 1904) is indicative of his strong bonds with the Czech people. He was born into the family of a village innkeeper and butcher. Among his ancestry there were many musicians, as often happens in Bohemian peasant families. Yet Dvorak did not find it easy to devote himself to music; his social circumstances did not permit it. In fact, it was only after he had learned the trade of butcher and had himself saved up money that he was able to go and study in Prague. Even then, he was still far from having won the day; the certificate of the Prague school of organists did not pave the way to the profession of composer. For ten years he oked out a living by playing the viola in a popular orchestra (that of Komzak) which was eventually incorporated in the orchestra of the National Theatre. He also gave private lessons on the side. And for more than ten years Dvorak composed works which were not performed, except for a few small, unimportant dances played by the Komzak orchestra. He finally made his name in 1873 with the performance of the hymn, "The Heirs of the White Mountain". From this moment, he went rapidly from success to success. When, in 1877, Johannes Brahms took him under his wing, his works became part of the world's music too.

The whole artistic work of Dvorak is stamped by those difficult beginnings, but in a positive sense. They strengthened his consciousness of his popular origins and compelled him to develop a strong will. When, for example, his opera, "King and Charcoal-burner", was unfavourably received, Dvorak had it in him to scrap the original work and remake it entirely.

Apart from this, Dvorak thoroughly steeped himself in the traditional popular music when playing in the Komzak orchestra; he also became acquainted with all the great works of world music. Most important of all, as a viola player in the National Theatre - and elsewhere, when giving occasional performances - he came to know the work of Bedrich Smetana, the founder of Czech national music, and learned from him to devote his powers to the service of national emancipation and to erect a monumental art on the traditions of Czech popular music.

Thereafter Dvorak remained faithful to Smetana's democratic ideas and moral attitude to the artist's task; until the end of his days, nothing could force him to depart from them even in the smallest detail. It suffices to recall what Dvorak wrote to the publisher Simrock, when the latter attempted, for commercial reasons, to transliterate his name in German:

"I am sorry that you are so ill-informed. Excuse me, but I only wanted to tell you that the artist, too, has a mother-country in which he must have firm faith and for which his heart must beat strongly."

And when Dvorak, after great successes in Britain, received from a Czech country village a letter written in too humble a tone, he replied:

"I am only a simple Czech musician who does not like exaggerated humility. And although I have much frequented the great musical world, I shall nevertheless remain what I am - a simple Czech musician."

It is natural that the national and democratic outlook which is the mark of Dvorak the man, should also be an inviolable principle of Dvorak the artist. How did Dvorak react when his opera "Dmitri" failed on the German stage and the formalist critic, Hanslick, and the publisher, Simrock, gave him to understand that he should compose his music to German librettos and on cosmopolitan themes? He replied by creating the "Slavonic Rhapsodies", and by seeking even more energetically than before a libretto for a Czech national oratorio (he succeeded later with "Saint Ludmilla" which had its famous premiere in England) and by composing the "Hussite Overture" in which he came even closer to the tradition of Smetana, to the theme of the most revolutionary people's movement in Czech history. Appropos this revolutionary overture we may cite a characteristic anecdote. When the impresario reproached Bülow for performing Dvorak's "Hussite Overture" too often, the latter replied:

"For me, Dvorak is the most important musician along with Brahms. I stand by everything I do."

It was during Dvorak's stay in America that it first became clear that his universal importance resides precisely in his profoundly national and democratic outlook; that when, in his music, Dvorak fights for the idea and aspirations of his own oppressed people, he is fighting for the ideas and aspirations of the people of every country. After living in the heavy choking atmosphere of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in decline, Dvorak found much that was sympathetic in American democracy. But there was also much that he could not stomach and he made no secret of it. Above all, the shameful and humiliating racial discrimination was repugnant to him. I am

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

not exaggerating in the slightest when I say that it was his sympathy for the Negroes and Indians and his opposition to racial discrimination which gave the guiding line to all Dvorak's work in America, so that it took on a truly political character. It was on Dvorak's initiative that the American newspapers printed the following announcement in May 1893:

> "The American National College of music intends to enlarge the scope of its mission by giving musical instruction to gifted coloured pupils as well, hoping that later it will be possible for them to be taught by coloured teachers. Dr. Antonin Dvorak, Director of the College, expresses his pleasure at this decision and promises to give the undertaking his sympathy and advice."

The upheaval was no less great when the National College of Music, under Dvorak's direction, held a concert in the Madison Square Hall on January 23rd, 1894, in which all the instrumentalists, except one, were coloured and Dvorak himself conducted. The concert was organised to help the collection of clothes for the poor of New York.

But that is far from being all. When Dvorak was invited to America certain men expressed the hope that Dvorak would show the way to the creation of an American national music. For several years the American press printed innumerable discussions, some of which were based on the statements of Dvorak as taken down by journalists. The discussions centred on the question whether Dvorak was right in thinking that Indian and Negro songs could become the basis of an American national music. This stirred up quite a deal of indignation, especially in Government circles, because the forms of expression of the coloured races were considered primitive and unworthy of American civilisation. Dvorak, on the other hand, found in these songs the profound expression of oppressed and humiliated nations, also their strength and determination; that is why he studied them with ever-growing interest.

There is no doubt that these discussions on the American national music played a large part in the creation of the beautiful symphony "From the New World", the second and third movements of which, as Dvorak himself admitted were inspired among other things by Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha". This is certainly not American music, not the first American symphony, as was claimed by some. Dvorak himself strongly opposed these statements and stressed the fact that nowhere did he use the exact melody of any of these songs and that he simply wanted to express "the spirit of Indian and Negro melodies" in certain places. "They keep on writing", said Dvorak, "that I picked up the themes of my last symphony in America and that it contains some Indian songs. It is not true. It was composed there but the themes are mine and I already had something of it in mind when I left. It is, and always will be, Czech music". Of that there is no doubt - the symphony, "From the New World", is Czech music. But, on the other hand, it is clear that in his symphony, as in his "String Quartet in F Major", his "Violoncello Concerto" and other works, Dvorak expressed his sincere sympathy for the Negro and Indian peoples and his faith in their future.

We may sum up in this way - Dvorak's work is universal because it is entirely Czech. Dvorak's "New World" symphony is a fine gift to his nation and culture because it shows the way to a true and pure patriotism. It is at

the same time a fine gift to all nations because it is steeped in democratic ideas and an ardent sympathy for the people wherever they are conducting their fight for liberation.

In these days it is impossible to overestimate the importance of Dvorak's music in the nations' fight for Peace. Because it strengthens our faith in the power of the liberation struggle it inspires confidence even in small nations; it shows them how great they can become if they fight for great ideas. Dvorak's art can have a real mobilising influence in action for Peace.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PRINTED MATTER 1955 12/18

INFORMATION BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Supplement to N° 2 (2nd. Year) January 15, 1955

Table of Contents

— 1954 —

In order to facilitate research by readers of the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace we give below a table of the main reports and documents published during 1954. Only items of permanent interest are noted and they are presented under three headings:

— International meetings, conferences and congresses of the Peace Movement or in which it was associated.

— Conferences and congresses of the National Peace Movements.

— Sessions of the World Council of Peace and the texts adopted by its various bodies.

International Meetings, Conferences and Congresses

Conference in Defence of the Rights of the Peoples of the Middle East ..... No 5 — January

Conference of Members of Parliament and Public Figures of the Six Countries affected by E.D.C. ..... Nos 7 and 8 — March

Peking Meeting of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific Regions .. No 11 — May

Meeting for the Relaxation of International Tension (Stockholm, June 19—23, 1954)... Nos 13 and 14 — July

Conference of Members of Parliament and Public Figures of Latin America ..... No 15 — August

European Conference for Negotiation on the German Question ..... No 1 (2nd. Year) — January 1, 1955

National Conferences and Congresses

Congress of the Japanese Peace Movement ..... No 5 — January

National Conference of the Swedish Peace Committee... No 5 — January

Appeal of the Preparatory Committee for the Indonesian National Peace Congress .... No 5 — January

Dutch Congress for Vigilance against German Militarism .. No 6 — February

Canadian National Congress for the Defence of Peace through Negotiation ..... No 6 — February

First Indonesian Peace Congress Nos 6 — February and 7 — March

Japanese National Congress for the Defence of the Peaceful Constitution..... No 7 — March

Austrian National Peace Conference ..... No 8 — March

Congress of Brazilian Intellectuals ..... No 8 — March

Emergency Peace Conference in London ..... No 9 — April

Argentine Cultural Congress ... No 10 — May

Indian National Conference against the United States-Pakistan Pact and for the Relaxation of International Tension ..... Nos 11 — May and 13 — July

National Demonstration for Independence and Peace in France ..... Nos 12 — June and 13 — July

Danish Peace Conference ..... No 13 — July

Congress for Peace and the German People's Right to Self-determination ..... No 14 — July

Second Congress of the Syrian Peace Movement ..... No 14 — July

First National Peace Conference in Iraq ..... No 16 — August

New Zealand Convention on International Relations ..... Nos 20 — October 15 and 21 — November 1

All India Peasants' Congress supports the Peace Movement No 21 — November 1

British Congress for World Security ..... No 22 — November 15

World Council of Peace

Message from the World Council of Peace to Organisations and Personalities desiring a Relaxation of International Tension ..... No 5 — January

Texts adopted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace (Vienna, March 28—30, 1954 No 9 — April

Celebration in Vienna of the Fifth Anniversary of the Peace Movement ..... No 10 — May

Extraordinary Session in Berlin (May 24—28, 1954) ..... No 12 — June

Message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace to the Vietnamese Committee for the Defence of World Peace on the occasion of the armistice in Viet Nam ..... No 15 — August

Message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace to the National Council of the French Peace Movement .... No 15 — August

Message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace to the Japanese Peace Committee on the Ninth Anniversary of the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima ..... No 16 — August

Statement by Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, on the occasion of the rejection of E.D.C. No 18 — September 15

Message from the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace to the French Peace Movement No 19 — October 1

Statement by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace (Vienna, September 13—15, 1954) .... No 19 — October 1

Warning from the President of the World Council of Peace on the London and Paris Agreements ..... No 22 — November 15

Stockholm Session (November 18—23, 1954) ..... Nos 23-24 — Dec. 15

Recommendation of the Cultural Commission of the World Council of Peace for the celebration of the anniversary of the Ajanta frescoes ..... No 1 (2nd. Year) January 1, 1955

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 2 (2nd. Year) JANUARY 15 1955

A Dangerous Situation has been Created

When the French Parliament ratified the Paris Agreements by a slender majority, with the support of only 45 per cent of the Members, the decision was directly contrary to the will of the nation. This has been recognised throughout the world, as much by supporters as by opponents of the Agreements. Far from ending the peoples' struggle to prevent the rearming of Germany this vote will inspire new efforts.

Already the struggle is being continued, extended, intensified. It needs to be. For the ratification by the French Lower House is another big step in the direction of atomic war.

The new situation places on the Peace Movement the responsibility of making clear to the peoples the real danger, for breaking down all barriers which hold back any groups or individuals from action.

In the early autumn the supporters of German rearmament found certain arguments which served to confuse the issue for a time. Some said the London Agreements were 'better than E.D.C.', others that they were worse but the 'best that could be got'. In any case 'West German rearmament was inevitable'. The question to decide was 'not whether to rearm Germany but how'. In the meantime 'parallel negotiations' could be carried on.

In answer the Peace Movement showed, and the majority of common people understood, the essence of the Agreements to be a reborn Wehrmacht, which could not be controlled, which could itself grow into the arbiter of Europe. And in the course of the struggle very wide circles have come to see how fateful is the choice which faces Europe.

So during November and December, above all in France, real national movements against the Agreements developed on an entirely new scale. Never before, even in the defeat of E.D.C., have the people so directly, continuously and effectively intervened against a perilous international policy. The two thirds majority in favour of October became the minority of Christmas.

Those who have committed themselves to the 'policy of strength' have been making quite exceptional efforts to bring off their plan to incorporate the German Federal Republic in the military alliance of N.A.T.O. They have clearly regarded it as one essential element in their policy.

The grave new danger is now underlined by the N.A.T.O. Council decision to base its planning on the use of nuclear weapons — the second essential element in the 'policy of strength'. Thus the commanders of a new Wehrmacht are to be equipped with weapons of mass destruction, including the hydrogen bomb — those very commanders who devastated Europe and brought disaster to the German people. It is not surprising that among the German people, threatened with the danger that for a third time they may be made the instruments of a ruthless militarism, and seeing their hopes of reunifying their country being destroyed, deep and passionate opposition is being shown.

Tension in Europe and throughout the world is being increased. Negotiations are being made much more difficult. The policies of the Paris agreements and the N.A.T.O. decisions are as far-reaching as those which led to the second world war and even more dangerous for humanity. But today there is one big difference; and it can be a decisive difference. In recent years a great movement of the peoples to bring about genuine negotiations and preserve peace has been built up.

It has become clear that the peoples have the power to reverse these policies even though certain parliaments have already ratified. As the Address to the Peoples adopted by the World Council of Peace at Stockholm on 23 November 1954 stressed, 'it is not within the power of any government, of any parliament, to settle the fate of a people against its will'.

Undoubtedly the events of the last weeks of 1954 will inspire the peoples in these opening weeks of 1955 to even greater efforts and greater unity in order to stop the rearming of Germany from being put through, to frustrate the efforts of those who base their whole policy on the use of nuclear weapons and to open the way to European security and world peace.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- The N.A.T.O. Council decision to use atomic weapons has far-reaching consequences: Article by Dr. E. H. S. Burhop 2
- The forces of peace prepare for the World Assembly. — The German Social Democratic Party's position on the peaceful settlement of the German question 3
- The peoples speak out against German rearmament: news from Argentina, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary and Italy 4, 5, 6
- The Peace Movement in the Soviet Union. — Finnish workers of all opinions unite for peace. — Professor Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize Winner for Chemistry, condemns the H-bomb 7
- The All India Peace Congress. — Japan: Appeal for the Conference of Asian Countries. — Syria and Lebanon: 'No strategic highways! We want to keep our lands!' 8
- Mexico: National Assembly of Peace Forces. — Cuban people discuss a programme for a peaceful foreign policy. — Rosario doctors publish booklet on banning of weapons of mass destruction. — The present tasks of the Chilean Peace Movement 9
- Active preparations for commemoration of cultural anniversaries in 1955 10
- Arab writers take a stand in defence of national cultures and of peace. — First continental exhibition of etchings and drawings for peace about to open in America 11
- N.A.T.O. Council decisions described in the British and American press. — Arguments designed to confuse the people. 12

Far-Reaching Effects of the N.A.T.O. Council's Decision to use Atomic Weapons

Grave New Dangers Face the Peoples of the World

At the very time when all-out efforts are being made to put through the rearmament of West Germany and to incorporate the German Federal Republic in the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the North Atlantic Council has decided to base all its future military planning on the use of nuclear weapons and to recast its whole military organisation with this aim.

It is necessary to draw the most urgent attention to the far-reaching implications of this decision and to the grave new dangers which arise from it.

In this new development we see the logical conclusion of the whole misconceived 'policy of strength', which seeks to find security through exclusive military blocs and the pursuit of an illusory military preponderance.

The effort to foist this policy on the peoples is being supported by a new outbreak of hate propaganda, of misrepresentations and inventions, designed to divide the peoples and sow mistrust and suspicion.

Every effort is being made to put over the idea that the use of nuclear weapons is inevitable, that it must be accepted.

Every effort is being made to legalise atomic war under the cover of such terms as 'civilian control' and 'tactical use' which are designed to lull public opinion.

These serious consequences are clearly set out in the authoritative extracts from the British and American press printed on page 12 and, in order to help the Peace Movement to sound the alarm to the peoples in this grave new situation, we print on this page an article specially written for the Bulletin by Dr. E.H.S. Burhop. In addition we quote on page 12 a number of short comments on some of the arguments used in favour of the N.A.T.O. decisions.

At their December meeting in Paris the Ministers of the North Atlantic Council took decisions on the use of nuclear weapons that bode ill for the peoples of Europe and, indeed, of the entire world. They agreed that henceforth the military planning of N.A.T.O. should be based on the use of nuclear weapons.

A 'softening-up' process preparatory to this decision has been going on for some time. Carefully prepared 'indiscretions' both by Gruenther and Montgomery have accustomed the people of Western Europe to the idea of such a policy and as a result public reaction to this monstrous conception of military planning was less sharp than it should have been . . .

Of course attempts are being made to disguise the true implications of this decision, to make it seem less distasteful to popular opinion. It is said that although all the military planning of N.A.T.O. is to be based on the use of nuclear weapons, the actual decision to use these weapons remains in civilian hands. But the hollowness of this pretence is not difficult to expose. The only type of war which the N.A.T.O. forces will be trained to wage will be based on the use of atomic and thermonuclear weapons. The decision whether or not to use these weapons may have been in the hands of the political authorities at one time. But since the December meeting in Paris the political authorities have given de facto assent to their use. As things now stand, if war comes they will be in no position to change this decision.

Nor can the peoples of Europe be reassured by the plea that these plans will only be implemented in the event of aggression. With a rearmed Germany in the Western camp there are too many people associated with the Western allies who see their only future in war. The danger is all too real that the activities of these people will lead us into war and the recent N.A.T.O. Council decision ensures that such a war will be a full scale war employing all the most terrible weapons of mass destruction.

Some, including Mr. Dulles himself, have sought to calm the misgivings of the peoples of Western Europe by claiming that the new N.A.T.O. plans involved the tactical, but not the strategical use of nuclear weapons. But such distinctions are artificial and lose their meaning when dealing with weapons of such vast destructive potentialities. Thermonuclear weapons, used 'tactically' on the Elbe, may produce death and injury due to radioactive 'fall-out' on Oslo, Amsterdam, Paris and London. Over vast areas of Europe the ground will become so contaminated that life will be insupportable and over a very much wider area the grain and vegetable crops and the fish of the sea will be in danger of radioactive contamination. The 'tactical' use of nuclear weapons as planned by the Western powers in the event of war will mean death, immediate or delayed, to countless millions of European civilians.

And the aeroplanes setting out with nuclear weapons on strictly 'tactical' missions will start from airfields distributed widely over Western Europe and Great Britain. These airfields will immediately become legitimate targets for attack and, since the N.A.T.O. powers are not squeamish about the weapons they use, how can they expect that these airfields will not be attacked by the same kinds of weapons? The entire population of Western Europe will be placed in great jeopardy once N.A.T.O. initiates the use of these weapons. There is no real way of restricting them to tactical uses against armies in the field.

The decisions of the December meeting of the N.A.T.O. Council will make agreement on disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons much harder to achieve. When operational planning, army structure, and even troop deployment are based round the use of nuclear weapons the resistance to their abolition on the part of the military planners in N.A.T.O. is certain to be enormously more powerful. It is tragic that this decision should come just at the time when the possibility of agreement on these issues seemed closer than at any time since the end of the war, following the unanimous vote in the United Nations Assembly calling on the great powers to discuss further the problems of disarmament and the control of atomic weapons on an agreed basis.

And let it not be forgotten that these decisions, taken together with the steps being taken to rearm Western Germany and to bring her into N.A.T.O., will ensure that nuclear weapons will be placed at the disposal of the former Nazi generals, many of whom still thirst for a war of revenge.

But all this need not be. The peoples of Western Europe can even now defeat the genocidal strategy of the N.A.T.O. powers and can force agreement on disarmament and the abolition of nuclear weapons. It is the great task of the Peace Movement to-day to make the people aware of the implications of the Paris decisions and to organise a decisive struggle against their implementation.

Dr. E.H.S. Burhop,
University Reader in Physics, London

Atomic Weapons already available in Europe for N.A.T.O. Forces

In an article in *The New York Times* of 19 November, 1954 headed 'N.A.T.O. has cast the die for Atomic Defence', Hanson W. Baldwin describes atomic weapons already available in addition to 'thermo-nuclear bombs of million-ton T.N.T. explosive power'. He says:

'Atomic weapons of lesser power ranging down to 12 or 14 Kilotons (thousand tons of T.N.T.) have been ready in and around Europe for quite a long time. U.S. Navy aircraft carriers in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic have small "special weapons" (atomic) magazines and the aircraft . . . to carry them.'

'On land the Forty Ninth U.S. Air Division, based in England and flying F. 84 Republic Thunderjets and B. 45 light bombers, has long been charged with the atomic support of N.A.T.O.'s ground forces.'

He then lists the following as available in Europe:

Five six-gun battalions of 280 mm 'atomic cannon' — range 30 km.

Several battalions of 762 mm free flight artillery rockets — range 30 km.

The 'Corporal' guided missile with supersonic speed — range 160 km.

Two squadrons Air Force guided missiles or pilotless planes — range 800 km.

The Peace Forces are Preparing for the World Assembly

• To Represent Millions

In an appeal to local organisations to start preparing at once for the World Assembly for Peace, published in the British Peace Committee *Newsletter*, Mr. William Wainwright, Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace and Secretary of the British Peace Committee, writes:

'A large and representative contingent from this country, bringing the views and experiences of every section of British life, will be indispensable for the success of this Assembly.

'That is because in the affairs of states this country occupies a key position, from which it has the power to influence the course of events in the direction of stable and lasting peace.

'What can be done to help the world along this path? How should the Governments behave towards each other? Are the principles agreed between Prime Ministers Nehru and Chou En-lai a standard which others can adopt with benefit? What are the chief stumbling blocks to peace, and how can they be overcome?

'These are only some of the points on which nationwide discussion should take place in preparation for the World Assembly. In this way those who are elected to go can take with them the views not of thousands but of millions.'

• Meetings and Conferences at every Level

A German Congress for security and peace will be held in Leipzig next April in preparation for the World Assembly in May.

The Congress will elect the German Peace Council, its President and General Secretary, and also the delegates to the World Assembly.

The election of delegates to this Congress will take place at district peace conferences which will be held throughout Germany during February and March and the delegates to these conferences, in turn, will be elected at public meetings and evening gatherings for an exchange of views.

This form of preparation should result not only in the democratic election of delegates but also in effective mass explanations in preparation for the World Assembly in both parts of Germany.

As part of the same campaign there will be conferences and congresses for various professional groups and various interests. Thus, for example, a conference of Protestant and Catholic churchmen from both parts of Germany has already taken place in Leipzig. The following are planned: conferences for engineers, technicians and other technical staff; a doctors' conference; and conferences for educationalists, public discussion evenings for young people and conferences for trade unionists.

• Statements by Public Figures

I consider that the London-Paris Agreements embody the suicidal policy of armed Peace, of rigid and dangerously poised hostile blocs; it is a policy of crude, swashbuckling braggadoccio, the megalomania of small people in whose hands are weapons of such frightful, devastating powers that the whole of civilization is threatened. In brief, such policies can only mean death and destruction . . .

Why do not we, all lovers of Peace, resolve now that 1955 must be made the Year of Peace? Wherever we live, whatever our vocations, yes, and whatever be our political affiliations, let us raise our voices, let us agitate and organise persistently so that when the World Assembly of Peace meets next May a force of Peace will have been so developed that the inciters to wars will have been silenced, and reason, goodwill and friendship prevail among the peoples of the world.

Mr. S. O. Davies
M. P. for Merthyr Tydfil

We defenders of peace in the Lebanon and in the whole Arab world look forward with great pleasure and hope to the World Assembly of Peace which is going to take place in the near future. We are ready to send a good number of delegates to it.

This World Assembly will certainly have a great effect on world peace and will help the Movement in our part of the world, which only peace can deliver from the plans of the imperialists.

Dr. George Hanna, Writer
(Lebanon)

Each of the previous world peace congresses marked a stage in the extension of the world movement for the defence of peace.

The World Assembly of Representatives of All the Forces of Peace in the first half of 1955 will be a great step forward for the movement. It will sum up the victories that have been won for peace and the activities of the movement during the past two years. It will bring together new forces for peace and will rally the peoples of the world in this new stage of the struggle against the intrigues of those who want to see frightful bloodbaths, above all United States imperialism.

The defenders of peace in Viet Nam welcome and warmly support the World Assembly of Representatives of All the Forces of Peace in 1955.

Mr. Le Dinh Tham, Chairman of the Peace Committee of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

German Social Democratic Party's Position

on Peaceful Settlement of German Question

After a joint conference the leading bodies of the German Social Democratic Party — the Presiding Committee, the Executive Committee and the Party's Control Commission — issued the following appeal addressed to all Socialists throughout the world:

'The German Social Democratic Party unreservedly supports a policy of lessening international contradictions and the peaceful settlement of all questions in dispute. It warns against the deadly temptation to ratify the Paris agreements, thus creating a military situation which would shut the door for a long time to agreement between the four occupying powers on the peaceful restoration of German unity. This military situation would create the danger of a further aggravation of the international contradictions.

'The German Social Democratic Party asks the German Federal Parliament and the Government of the German Democratic Republic to make every effort to prevent the division of Germany from becoming irrevocable. Every possibility of bringing influence to bear for the opening of four power negotiations for the peaceful reunification of Germany must be exploited.

'The German Social Democratic Party addresses all democratic forces in the world and particularly the Parties in the Socialist International. It urgently calls on them to use all their influence to get the Western occupation powers to decide on the resumption of four power negotiations for the reunification of Germany and to start preparing for them immediately through diplomatic channels.'

The Presiding Committee of the German Social Democratic Party

FRANCE: *'Prevent Ratification in the Council of the Republic!'*

The editorial of this issue analyses the situation created by the vote in favour of the London and Paris Agreements in the French National Assembly.

The following article — specially written for the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace by the Press Service of the French Peace Movement — shows the genuinely national movement of opposition which arose and how the French people followed the parliamentary debates with extreme vigilance, giving even more forceful expression to their unyielding opposition to any form of German rearmament than at the time of the struggle against E.D.C. This opposition is already being expressed in other forms now that the vote has been taken.

As soon as the debate opened in the National Assembly the French people's action against German rearmament reached a scale and power that were greater than ever before. If, in the end, the London and Paris Agreements were ratified by a majority of 27, 287 for and 260 against, whereas there are 627 Deputies in the National Assembly, the French people's hostility was expressed in the first vote taken on Friday, December 24, when the first article of the ratification bill was rejected on the first reading by 280 votes to 259.

From Monday, December 20 onwards, thousands of men and women of all political views, who had come from every Department in France, flocked round the doors of the National Assembly. There were more than 1000 deputations on that day alone. In spite of the refusal of the Parliamentary groups to see them—with the exception of the Progressive and Communist Deputies — the deputations literally besieged the public waiting-room whence they sent hundreds and hundreds of requests for interviews to the Deputies in the Chamber. Letters and telegrams by the thousand piled up on the Deputies' desks.

PROTEST GERMAN ARMS: Hostile to German rearmament, these Parisians display ... outside the French National Assembly during yesterday's debate. Sign ...

Protest German Arms

With this caption the December 28, 1954 issue of the New York Times published on its front page the above photo of a popular demonstration in Paris against the London and Paris Agreements.

The New York Times does not usually support the peaceful settlement of the German problem, which makes it all the more interesting to see the scope of the protest movement in France against German rearmament recognised in this way.

The sheer strength of this protest forced a number of Deputies to meet their constituents in the days that followed.

On December 24, 21 Socialist Deputies voted in accordance with the will of their constituents. After having declared their intention to vote for the agreements, a number of Radicals and Moderates abstained or voted against, explaining that their eyes had been opened by the pressure and vigilance of their constituents.

From Tuesday 21 to Friday 24 there wasn't a break in the unending queue of deputations. The signatures collected on the Appeal to Elected Representatives issued by the National Council of the French Peace Movement piled up on the Speaker's table in their hundreds of thousands.

The deputations from the factories and building sites, which in most cases had been unanimously elected at meetings of the personnel, were frequently supported in their mission by stoppages of work.

As soon as the debate resumed on Monday 27 the Deputies found themselves once more faced with the unshakable national will. The deputations were even bigger than on the previous days and many of them came from the provinces. Although it finally gave way to foreign pressure, the National Assembly could not ignore the reprobation of the whole country. Only one speaker dared to put up a real defence of the agreements; all the supporters of German rearmament found themselves obliged to speak of a 'vote of submission' or a 'vote to satisfy Atlantic opinion'.

On December 28 Parisians in their tens of thousands crowded into the Vélodrome d'Hiver at the call of the Peace Movement and showed their determination to make a huge effort to bar the road to the Wehrmacht in the few hours that remained before the last vote. Speakers of all points of view expressed their fears and their determination to prevent the implementation of the agreements if they should be ratified.

The meeting was chaired by Pastor Bosc, Mr. Gustave Monod and Mr. Jacques Baugé, President of the Society of Disabled and Blinded Resistance Fighters, a former member of the Free French Forces who lost his sight and his two hands in the war. The speakers were Mr. Bernard Laffaille, professor at the Paris Central School; Mr. Roland Etienne, Vice-President of the Vosges Federation of the M.R.P.; Mrs. Huisman, of the Women's Committee against German Militarism; Mr. Deville, Vice-President of the Meurthe-et-Moselle Federation of the Radical-Socialist Party; Mr. Alain le Léap, General Secretary of the C.G.T.; Mr. Martial Bellugue, member of the Socialist General Council of the Department of Dordogne; Mr. Jacques Chatagner, director of *La Quinzaine;* Mr. Claude Bourdet, director of *France-Observateur;* Mr. Raymond Guyot, Deputy for Paris, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party; Mr. Etienne Nouveau, an active worker in ex-servicemen's associations; Mr. Gilbert de Chambrun, Progressive Deputy, Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

Many messages were received including those sent by President Paul-Boncour, Mr. Pierre Lebon, Gaullist Deputy for the Department of Deux-Sevres; Mr. Léo Hamon, Catholic Senator for the Seine Department; Mr. Maurice Lacroix, President of the Young Republic; Professor Bernard Lavergne, of the Law Faculty of Paris University.

A NEW STAGE IN THE STRUGGLE

On January 2 the French Peace Movement issued a statement saluting the great movement of national unity forged in the struggle against the London and Paris agreements. This movement 'showed foreign governments and the French Government the nation's unreserved hostility to German rearmament'.

The statement continues:

'The Council of the Republic must be prevented from ratifying the treaties, thus making it necessary for the National Assembly to re-examine them.

'The movement must grow throughout the country. The efforts of all must be brought to bear; the Deputies who voted for the agreements must be made to know the national protest; signatures, appeals and petitions must pour in. But the people should direct their efforts above all to the Municipal and General Councillors, so that they may express the national will to the Senators whom they elect.

'Whatever bills Parliament may pass, Frenchmen will never accept the revival of German militarism and the prospect of an atomic and thermonuclear war . . .'

*

GERMANY *Must and Will Become a Country of Peace*

Approximately 900 people from three districts of the German Democratic Republic recently met in Rostock to hear a report on the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace. In a statement they declared:

'We shall support the Peace Movement in West Germany with all our strength and shall see to it that the Federal Republic's statesmen are reminded even more insistently than heretofore of their responsibility for the maintenance of peace . . .

'Germans must and will become a country of peace. We shall strive towards this end with all our strength . . .'

*

At the end of December a large number of Bremen youth organisations demonstrated their opposition to remilitarisation and the projected conscription of 500,000 young men in West Germany by a torchlight procession through the streets of the city.

They included groups of young people from the German Social Democratic Party, young trade unionists, members of the 'Falcons' and of the Protestant youth. They bore many banners calling for struggle against the London and Paris Agreements.

*

The Presiding Committee of the German Socialist Student's Union (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund) has condemned the London and Paris Agreements as aggravating the division of Germany and international tension without giving any guarantee for the security of the Federal Republic.

GREAT BRITAIN

As the next national rallying point in the campaign to stop the rearming of Germany the British Peace Committee has issued an appeal for delegations from every part of the country to 'lobby' M.P.s on 25 January, the day Parliament resumes its sittings after the Christmas recess. This is the first time for several years that a national demonstration to Members of Parliament has been organised on this scale. The Peace Movement has called not only on peace organisations but on trade unions, co-operative organisations, churches, women's and youth movements in all localities to support this National Lobby.

An example of what is being done on a regional scale to widen and strengthen the campaign is the call by the Manchester and District Peace Committee for a regional conference to take place in February. This conference is already supported by organisations representing over 80,000 members, including the district committees of the railwaymen and of the Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions.

The appeal for this conference, which is to be addressed by Mr. John Burns, president of the Fire Brigades Union, and Councillor Edward Dixon of Coventry, says:

'If the present policies towards Germany continue the division of Europe into two armed camps will be completed and world peace will be at the mercy of the German militarists.'

A similar conference is being held on 16 January in Liverpool addressed by Mr. Gordon Schaffer, Chairman of the British Peace Committee, and by Dr. E.H.S. Burhop.

ITALY

Throughout Italy a great protest campaign against the London and Paris Agreements is being carried on.

The National Partisans' Association has called on all former partisans to actively oppose West German rearmament.

Former partisans and the families of partisans in Bologna sent to the President of the Chamber of Deputies and to the President of the Senate an appeal demanding that international issues be settled by peaceful means, without any discrimination and in an atmosphere of eased tension and friendly co-existence between States.

In Rome, the Borough Peace Committees held many meetings on December 22.

The Italian Chamber of Deputies' vote in favour of the London and Paris Agreements aroused the anger of wide sections of the Italian people who showed that they are resolutely hostile to German rearmament in any form.

In Torre Annunziata in the province of Naples a petition against the rearmament of West Germany and for the establishment of a system of collective security for the whole of Europe is being circulated. Similar petitions have been signed by the workers of five Bologna factories and by municipal and provincial employees. The Town Council of Villamarzano in the province of Rovigo, which is composed of Socialists, Social Democrats, Communists, Christian Democrats and Liberals, has unanimously condemned German rearmament.

In the province of Ravenna the members of the Peace Movement are collecting documents on the crimes committed by the occupation troops during the Second World War. They will be sent to the Senators for the area during the Senate debate on the London and Paris Agreements.

The Will of the Czechoslovak People

A wave of popular protest, including all sections of the people, is arising in Czechoslovakia against the London and Paris Agreements. Its principal feature is a great mass action. In the towns and in the smallest hamlets meetings attended by great numbers of the inhabitants have been held. Millions and millions of Czechoslovak citizens are seeking to establish direct contact with the people of France, West Germany and other Western countries by means of letters and messages calling on them to refuse to allow the implementation of the agreements for German rearmament.

Engineering workers in Kladno approve the text of a letter to their opposite numbers in France and the German Federal Republic.

Workers . . .

The engineering workers of Vitkovice have sent a message to the workers of the 'Vereinigte Stahlwerke A.G.' of Düsseldorf. The workers of the electrical engineering factory in Pilsen sent an appeal to the workers of Essen, Dortmund and Wuppertal; those of the factory of Ruzomberok sent a letter to their opposite numbers in Hamburg; and the citizens of Karlovy Vary also sent a letter to the people of Wiesbaden. The workers of Paris, Marseilles, Nancy, Bayonne, Boulogne and a number of other towns have received messages from Czechoslovak workers.

Here are some extracts from a message sent by the personnel of the Varnsdorf factories in Czechoslovakia to the workers of the Toulouse Arsenal in France:

'To the trade unionists, workers, apprentices and technicians of the arsenal.

'Honest people in Europe have not forgotten the horrors of German fascism. They have not forgotten either Lidice or Oradour. Yet we wish to live in friendship with the German people as with the French people, for this friendship is the guarantee of a lasting peace.

'Dear friends, we call on you to build the active unity of all the workers of your factory and town. It is an invincible force which must be set going to achieve a European conference for collective security, the reunification of a democratic Germany and world peace. Long live world peace!'

University Men . . .

The famous Charles University in Prague, one of the oldest in Europe, has sent a moving appeal to the universities of West Germany. It says:

'The war, which wiped out the best sons and daughters of our people in the concentration camps, struck the German people a terrible blow, destroyed their wealth and their rare historic monuments, dear to all mankind. We are convinced that from now on German scientists and young German intellectuals will be vigilant and will not accept the remilitarisation of Western Germany which would render impossible the reunification of your people in a united, democratic and peaceful state . . .'

Churchmen . . .

The Bishops and other dignitaries of the Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia have sent an appeal to all Catholics in Western Europe and to the Secretariat of the Holy See. It asks that negotiations between East and West be set going and that, conscious of their responsibility to God and History, Catholics should strive to find a solution which would make impossible the restoration of the terrible German militarism.

From Budapest...

At the beginning of the month of December the Hungarian Peace Council launched a great protest campaign against the revival of German militarism.

On December 9 a big meeting, at which more than 3,000 people were present, was held in the Palace of Sport in Budapest. A report on the work of the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace was given by Professor Erzsebet Andics, winner of the Kossuth Prize, President of the Hungarian Peace Council, and the Very Reverend Janos Peter, Protestant Bishop, both members of the World Council of Peace; and by Professor M. A. Földvari of Debrecen University.

Mr. Oscar Fischer, German Secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, was the next speaker and he opposed German rearmament.

All the speakers, with the approbation of the whole hall, protested at the remilitarisation of West Germany. They also expressed their admiration for Germans who are fighting for a democratic and peaceful Germany, and, in their honour, the demonstration ended with a performance of the Egmont Overture, one of Beethoven's masterpieces.

From the meeting a joint appeal to the people was made by the Patriotic Popular Front and the Hungarian Peace Council.

Furthermore, on December 9 the Lutheran congregation of Vesces held a general meeting to commemorate the destruction of their church and presbytery by the S.S. ten years before. A religious service was held and a telegram was sent to the World Council of Peace. It says:

'We draw attention to the nefarious attempts being made to rearm West Germany and to prepare for another war which would result in much greater suffering than what we have already seen. We protest at these attempts...

'We pray God to bring the peoples to a better understanding of each other... May he support the efforts of men of goodwill the world over so that a lasting peace may be won.'

...to TORONTO

The Canadian Peace Congress has asked the House of Commons' Standing Committee on External Affairs for public hearings on the German army plan.

It is asking the support of all party leaders and of a number of leading parliamentarians, including the Minister for External Affairs, for this request.

On his return from the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace Dr. James Endicott, President of the Canadian Peace Congress, prepared a statement for the press from which we give some extracts:

'Actually our organisation and our fraternal relationships do not yet reflect the fact of such wide acceptance of our proposals and beliefs. The World Assembly will unify and strengthen the forces for peace. It will demonstrate to the people of the whole world that peace is in their hands and that their hands are strong enough to build that peace into an enduring reality...

'But even as the first preparations for the Assembly get under way there is an item of pressing business which we would leave unsettled at our peril. The first item on the agenda of the Stockholm meeting was the supremely urgent question of German remilitarisation and the security of Europe.

'At this meeting the German delegation (from East and West) came as one delegation and refused to be listed as East or West. They were a German delegation for peace...

'The German people are our friends and the friends of peace. If we Canadians want to be their friends, and we do seek a reconciliation here, we must help them to defeat the rearming of the Nazis.'

Mass Rally

'Before Parliament decides how to handle the German army plan it will hear the voice of Toronto citizens' majority opposition to the plan', announced Mr. Bruce Mickleburgh on behalf of the Toronto Peace Council, the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians and the United Jewish People's Order. To this end a mass rally was held in the Massey Hall at the beginning of this month.

Mr. Mickleburgh stated that a telephone survey of majority opinion already in progress showed a decisive majority of the Toronto public want no part of this plan to revive the German General Staff.

'People in this city see this plan as a major threat to the security of our country', said Mr. Mickleburgh. 'There is no block in this city without its victims of German militarism.'

ARGENTINA

Sends 500 Messages to French National Assembly

In a telegram to the French National Assembly the Argentine Peace Council asked that German rearmament should not be ratified. The French Parliament also received similar messages from the local Peace Committees of a number of towns and districts and from various popular groupings. The approximate total of messages and telegrams sent was 500. Mrs. Maria Rosa Oliver, the writer, made an appeal to the French people on this subject. It was broadcast and widely reported in the press. The Jewish Peace Committee has the support of the Jewish community in the active campaign it is conducting against German rearmament.

Ballots and Referendum in DENMARK

Two months ago a group of soldiers wearing Hitler's uniform stamped across the Town Hall Square in Copenhagen. 'Have they come back again?', asked the amazed passers-by. Leaflets told them that it was a demonstration organised by Danish young people who had put on the Wehrmacht uniform to recall the terrible days of the occupation.

The demonstration gave only a glimpse of the vast movement against the remilitarisation of West Germany that is developing among all sections of the Danish people.

At trade union meetings and at places of work ballots on the question of the remilitarisation of West Germany are being organised, letters are being sent to the Government and Parliament by the entire personnel of certain factories, deputations are going to Parliament, leaflets are being distributed and posters put up at work places.

Strong protests against the remilitarisation of West Germany have been made by workers in the Carlsberg mineral water factory, by engineers' trade union branches in the capital, by almost all the workers of the printing press of the big daily paper, *Berlingske Tidende*, by 104 workers of the paper, *Dagens Nyheder*, by a general meeting of the unskilled workers of Kolding and Holbaek, by an engineers' trade union branch in Helsingör, and others.

At a general meeting the labourers of Nöresunbdy adopted a resolution to be sent to Parliament. It suggests in particular that the Danish people should be called upon to give their opinion of German rearmament by means of a referendum.

In a recent public statement which forcefully condemns German rearmament 28 well-known intellectuals also demand a referendum.

The many popular ballots which are being held throughout the country show what the result of such a national referendum would be.

For example, a plebiscite was organised in Copenhagen a few weeks ago. Urns were set up in the streets, especially at places where Danish citizens fell under Nazi bullets during the war. The urns were also taken round from house to house. The ballot was secret and democratically controlled and it resulted in an overwhelming majority against German remilitarisation in any form.

Finnish Workers of all Opinions Unite for Peace

More than 1,200 delegates from national and local trade union bodies, from building sites, from workers' religious organisations and from the various political trends and groupings of the labour movement in Finland took part in a National Workers' Conference which was held in Helsinki in December.

Three reports were presented to the Conference. The first, given by Mr. Aarne Saarinen, President of the National Union of Building Workers, underlined the decisive importance of the struggle against the London and Paris Agreements and German rearmament.

The second report was presented by Mr. Into Kallio, a working-class writer, who dealt with the Social Democratic workers' activity for peace and stressed the need for close collaboration between all sections of the labour movement in order to make the joint struggle for a peaceful world more effective.

Mr. Juhani Moilanen, Vice-President of the National Union of Christian Workers, gave the third report in which he spoke of work for peace from the point of view of Christians.

A very wide-ranging discussion was then entered into by the representatives of the various sections of the labour movement and a resolution condemning German rearmament was unanimously adopted.

'We send our fraternal greetings to the French and German workers who are courageously fighting in the front line of the struggle', says the resolution, which ends with the following appeal:

'We ask the Social Democrats, the Communists, the Popular Democrats, the Christians and other sections of the labour movement, together with working-class newspapers, to increase their efforts and make work for peace in the labour movement even more effective. It is undoubtedly in the common interest of all groupings of workers and of all sections of the labour movement to maintain peace. We must therefore work together for peace.'

Hundreds of meetings had been held and postcards had been sent to the International Committee for the Peaceful Settlement of the German Problem in preparation for the conference which marks an important step forward in improving working-class co-operation in the common struggle against German rearmament and for peace.

The conference also sent a letter to the President of the French National Assembly.

*

The Peace Movement in the Soviet Union

In response to requests by our readers, who would like information on the development and activity of the Peace Movement in the Soviet Union, we are publishing in this issue the first of a series of articles giving a brief history of the Soviet Peace Movement and a summary of its present work.

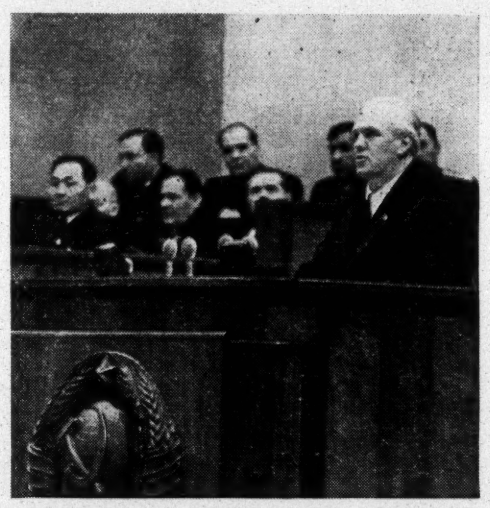
I

The Soviet Peace Movement is an integral part of the World Peace Movement and, like the latter, has been in existence for five years.

The First Conference of the Soviet Peace Movement was held in Moscow in August 1949. It was attended by more than 1,200 delegates representing all the peoples and every section of the population of the Soviet Union and by delegations from 14 foreign countries.

This conference elected the Soviet Peace Committee whose Chairman is the poet Nikolai Tikhonov. It is composed of 122 members, a number of whom are widely known throughout the world. These include the writers Alexander Fadeyev and Ilya Ehrenburg, the composer Dimitri Shostakovich, the scientists Alexander Nesmeyanov, Trofim Lysenko and Evgeni Tarlé, the Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitzky and Kolomna, and the film director Sergei Gerassimov.

The Soviet Peace Committee organised the signature-collecting campaign for the Stockholm Appeal in the Soviet Union and 115,514,703 Soviet citizens signed this historic document.



In accordance with one of the decisions of the Second World Peace Congress the Soviet Peace Committee presented to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. a draft law for the protection of peace which was adopted in March 1951.

Our photograph shows Mr. Nikolai Tikhonov, Chairman of the Committee, introducing the bill in the Supreme Soviet.

The Second Conference of the Soviet Peace Movement was held in October 1950; it elected and mandated the Soviet delegates to the Second World Peace Congress.

In 1951, in accordance with a decision of the World Council of Peace, the Soviet Peace Committee tabled in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the request that a law for the protection of peace be adopted. This law was passed.

A signature-collecting campaign for the World Council of Peace's Appeal for a Peace Pact between the Five Great Powers was organised in the Soviet Union by the Soviet Peace Committee and 117,669,320 Soviet citizens signed the Appeal.

The Third Conference of the Soviet Peace Movement was held in November 1951 and issued an appeal asking all supporters of the World Peace Movement to bring new sections of the peoples into active struggle against the war danger.

The Fourth Conference of the Soviet Peace Movement took place in December 1952, bringing together 1,107 delegates which included 212 workers, 145 collective farmers, 115 scientists, 183 writers and artists. It mandated the Soviet delegates to the Congress of the Peoples for Peace and, in particular, gave them the duty of proclaiming 'the Soviet people's firm determination to defend the cause of peace and their eagerness to collaborate with all who sincerely want to avoid war, consolidate peace between the peoples and extend economic and cultural relations between the nations'.

The Peace Movement in the Soviet Union has played an active part in all the campaigns launched by the World Council of Peace. The Soviet Peace Committee has commemorated the great cultural anniversaries, including those of Victor Hugo, Gogol, Avicenna, Leonardo da Vinci, Copernicus, Dvorak, Chekhov, Fielding, Aristophanes and other illustrious representatives of world culture.

(*To be continued*)

*

Professor Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize Winner, Condemns the H-Bomb

At a ceremony in honour of the Nobel Prize Winners for 1954, in the Blue Room of Stockholm Town Hall, Professor Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize Winner for Chemistry, made a speech to students in which he said:

'You will have great problems to solve and the greatest of these is that of war or peace. I think that this problem has been solved by the hydrogen bomb: there will never be another world war. The certainty that a world war would mean the destruction of the entire world and perhaps the end of civilisation will doubtless lead to a lasting peace. But it is incumbent on your generation to find the means of averting the catastrophe by improving the technique of international negotiations and creating measures of protection against insensate demagogues who are capable of pushing the nations to madness. It is up to you to accomplish this great work and I am convinced that you are capable of it.'

(Translated from the French)

*

On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of Iceland's gaining her independence the Students' Council of the University of Iceland issued a statement in which it says:

'Today, the people of Iceland are once again obliged to defend their independence because the stationing of American troops in Iceland is a growing danger to our country.

'We strenuously protest at the stationing of U.S. troops in Iceland and demand that the occupation statute of 1951 be immediately annulled.'

ALL INDIA CONGRESS

for Peace and Asian Solidarity

The All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity, which was held in Madras from December 30 to January 2, approved the World Council of Peace's proposal to call a World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace in May.

The Congress was attended by a thousand delegates including such eminent Indian public figures as Major General Sokhey, Pandit Sunderlal, Professor Kosambi, Mr. Chakkarai Chettiar, leader of the All India T.U.C., together with members of parliament and others.

Many foreign guests took part in the Congress, notably Professor J. D. Bernal F.R.S. of Great Britain, Vice-President of the World Council of Peace; Mrs. Andrea Andreen of Sweden and Mrs. Jessie Street of Australia, both members of the World Council of Peace; and Mr. Basil da Silva of Ceylon. Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, on behalf of the Chinese People's Committee for the Defence of World Peace, and the Peace Committee of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam sent messages of greetings.

Greeting the Congress, Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, declared that it was the duty of all Indian friends of peace to oppose aggressive plans in Asia.

In one resolution the Congress states its agreement with the Five Principles of the joint declaration of Premiers Nehru and Chou En-lai and calls on the peoples of Asia and Africa to extend and consolidate the zone of peace and to struggle for collective security based on these principles. A special resolution condemns the S.E.A.T.O. Pact. In another resolution the Congress unanimously condemns the military alliance concluded between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek. This same resolution demands that the American forces be withdrawn from Formosa and the neighbouring waters.

In Australia, the New South Wales Peace Council has published a pamphlet containing arguments taken from the best sources in support of its campaign against weapons of mass destruction. It contains a map of the Sydney district showing the various zones of destruction that would be caused by an H-bomb dropped on the city. The pamphlet is dedicated to the miners of New South Wales, to the sailors of a number of Australian ships and to the dockers of Port Kembla who helped in its publication by their constant, active support of the New South Wales Peace Council.

JAPAN: *Appeal for the Conference of Asian Countries*

In an appeal, prominent public figures and representatives of important organisations have supported the Conference of Asian Countries which will be held in New Delhi at the end of February or the beginning of March. The appeal says:

'We heartily welcome the holding of the Conference of Asian Countries which will contribute towards mutual understanding between the nations of Asia and towards the lessening of international tension. We hope that millions of Japanese will support it and contribute to its success by discussing it and making proposals on the problems common to the Asian countries.'

The signatories of the appeal were the following:

Mr. Tanzan Ishibashi M.P., Minister of International Trade and Industry, member of the governing Democratic Party.

Mr. Tetsu Katayama M.P., Former Prime Minister, member of the Right-wing Socialist Party.

Mr. Jiichiro Matsumoto, member of the House of Councillors, member of the Left-Wing Socialist Party.

Mr. Tsunejiro Hiratsuka, President of the Fishing Industry Association.

Mr. Tokutaro Kitamura, President of the Shinwa Bank, former Minister of Finance; former Minister of International Trade and Industry.

Mrs. Tamaki Uemura, President of the Japanese Y.W.C.A.

Professor Ikuo Oyama, President of the Japanese Peace Committee, member of the House of Councillors.

Mr. Keijyun Otani, high dignitary of the Shinsyu Sect of Buddhism (this is the largest Buddhist sect), member of the House of Councillors.

Mr. Saburo Endoo, former Lieutenant General in the Army.

Mr. Akira Kazami M.P., (Independent) High Commissioner of the National Council to restore normal relations with China and the Soviet Union.

Mr. Minoru Takano, General Secretary of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (membership over three millions).

Mr. Kaname Shibaya, President of the National Railway Workers' Union (membership 400,000).

Mr. Kaoro Yasui, General Secretary of the National Council against A and H bombs.

SYRIA and LEBANON: *'No strategic highways! We want to keep our lands!'*

The United States plan to construct a military highway linking up all the countries of the Middle East is meeting with strong opposition from the peoples of this region.

The project was condemned in the Syrian Parliament 'as being a strategic highway aimed at linking the Arab countries and facilitating the transportation of troops and strategic materials'. The position of Parliament and popular protests have led the Syrian Government to reject the plan officially.

Here, on the other hand, are some extracts from a manifesto issued by the Bureau of the Lebanese Peace Committee:

'This highway would cover great areas of very fertile arable land, deprive the Lebanese people of agricultural products, wipe out the source of revenue of thousands of Lebanese families and swallow up millions of pounds which are desperately needed for construction and production plans. These latter include roads in the agricultural areas, schools, hospitals, irrigation canals and industrial enterprises. In essence — and this can be seen by looking at the plan — this highway is a military project in preparation for war.

'The authors of this plan do not hide their long-range objective. They intend that the road shall reach as far as Turkey in the North and the Persian Gulf in the South. Clearly, therefore, the highway is a new form of the imperialist plans to turn the Lebanon into a military base and to incorporate it, together with the other Arab countries, into United States and British aggressive plans in the Middle East . . .

'The Lebanese Peace Committee calls on Lebanese people of all tendencies and views, all patriots and national organisations and parties, to be vigilant and to realise the dangers and the harmful nature of this plan . . .'

The Broadening of the Peace Movement in Syria and the Struggle against Military Pacts

The following three points were discussed at a recent meeting of the Syrian Peace Committee in Damascus:

1. The political situation in Syria and the other Arab countries and the international situation.
2. The organisation of the Peace Movement in Syria.
3. The election of a Bureau and a Secretary of the Syrian Peace Movement.

Speaking on the first point, Mr. Mustapha Amin said:

'The Syrian Peace Movement now includes people of various tendencies . . . for the simple reason that it clearly expresses the people's desire for peace and the common determination to put a stop to plans and preparations for war.'

Referring to Iran and North Africa, Mr. Amin expressed the Syrian Peace Movement's complete solidarity with the peoples of these countries in their struggle for national independence and peace.

Mr. Amin ended by pointing out that the Syrian Peace Movement 'bears a heavy responsibility, that of working effectively to keep Syria out of military pacts and of helping to unite the Syrian people with the other Arab peoples struggling against these pacts.'

The second point was dealt with by Mr. Yussef Feisal who called on the local and regional committees to broaden the Movement even more.

The meeting was attended by public figures new to the Movement, such as Dr. Nazim Musshi, Professor in the University of Syria, and Mr. Munir Suleiman, writer.

29,000,000 Signatures

The National Council of Signature-collecting Movements against the Atomic and Hydrogen bombs has issued the following communique: '20,069,000 signatures demanding the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs have been collected by the National Council. In the Suginami district of Tokyo, and in Zushi and Ishinomaki, over 70 per cent of the population have signed.'

The 20,069,000 signatures mentioned in this communique are those that have been checked by the National Council. The number actually collected but not yet all checked by the National Council is 29,000,000.

The National Council plans to hold a National Congress for the prohibition of A and H bombs on January 16 and appeals to the people to support it and elect delegates. One of the important items on the agenda of this Congress is the proposal to hold an International Meeting against A and H bombs in Hiroshima on August 6 next, which will be the tenth anniversary of the dropping of the first atomic bomb.

MEXICO: *National Assembly of Peace Forces*

The Mexican Council for Peace and Security has just issued an appeal to the peace forces in Mexico asking them to take part in a great national assembly for peace and security which will be held in mid-February.

In the introduction to the appeal the Mexican Council underlines the dangers to the people of Mexico involved in foreign interference in the country's economic and cultural life. In conclusion, the Council states:

'Security and peace — the watchwords of the peoples and of the World Council of Peace, — are inextricably bound up with the preservation of national independence and sovereignty.'

A second message has been drawn up to be distributed in the form of an appeal to the Mexican people for their approval. After showing the disastrous consequences of international tension for Mexico and the enormous dangers it would undergo should a third world war break out, the Appeal points out:

'For all these reasons it is not only necessary but urgent to bring together in a National Assembly all those forces which, freely and without undertaking any commitments, have a sincere, honest and courageous desire to build peace; all who believe that peaceful co-existence between men is in their own hands; all who prefer a calm decision to armed conflict and a pact of friendship to invasion; and, lastly, all who hope that the nations will establish between themselves relations based on equality.'

In every locality and State the most eminent and influential signatories of the Appeal will set up Sponsoring Committees for the Assembly.

The Mexican Council for Peace and Security is also making sure that there will be wide public support for the financing of the Assembly and a Finance Committee has been set up to this end. One of the first things it did was to set up 'posadas de la paz' or 'peace stands' which, in addition to bringing in money, did useful publicity work. The committee is also planning to send round films with a bearing on peace.

Cuban People Discuss Programme for a Peaceful Foreign Policy

The Cuban Peace Movement has drawn up a 'Programme for a Peaceful Foreign Policy'. This document defines the basic features of such a policy in 21 points and has been widely distributed and submitted for the approval of the people at many public meetings, gatherings and debates. The discussion of the programme at every level will be rounded off by a National Assembly at which the results of this popular discussion will be brought out.

Here are a few brief extracts from the main points of the programme:

'3. The Republic of Cuba shall declare itself opposed to interference by any country in the internal affairs of another . . .

'6. The Republic will support all moves in favour of negotiation at the United Nations and elsewhere . . .

'9. The Republic of Cuba will stress . . . the urgent need to ban the use of atomic, thermo-nuclear, bacteriological and all other weapons of mass destruction . . .

'10. The Republic of Cuba will not be able to join military pacts which commit the lives of its sons to undertakings contrary to the people's interests and to the national defence . . .

'11. Cuba's representatives in international organisations and especially in the United Nations will support all moves towards disarmament . . .

'12. The Republic of Cuba will follow a policy of intensive and extensive economic exchanges without discrimination of any kind . . .

'18. The Republic of Cuba must favour and develop a policy of intensive cultural exchanges . . .'

Rosario Doctors Publish Booklet on Banning of Weapons of Mass Destruction

The doctors of Rosario have just published a booklet expressing their anxiety at the danger to mankind involved in the testing of atomic weapons and their possible use as an instrument of aggression. Two of the town's doctors present the booklet in two brief explanatory notes. It contains many photographs showing the destruction wreaked on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their populations by the atomic bomb, and also details on the destructive effects of these bombs, together with the opinions of representative Argentinians and newspapers supporting the campaign.

The Peace Movement of the province of Buenos Aires has also expressed the urgency of mobilising the people to obtain the banning of nuclear weapons. The appeal asks the people to demand that the Argentine Government intervene in the United Nations for the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

Argentina Protects Oil from Foreign Take-over

Argentina's oil industry is under threat of being taken over by foreign monopolies. Against this, a group of well-known persons, including leaders of the Argentine Peace Movement, have issued an appeal for a campaign of petitions.

The appeal first of all points out that 'Argentina's oil, in the hands of the Argentine people, is indispensable for economic, industrial and technical development and guarantees the national defence'. It stresses that the foreign monopolies want to take over the oil industry to serve their war policy and concludes:

'The signatories express their strong opposition to any oil concessions and . . . demand that all Argentina's oil should remain in the possession of the Argentine people . . . and be used for a policy of national independence, progress and peace.'

There were various demonstrations for the protection of Argentina's oil on December 13, proclaimed 'Oil Day'.

BRAZIL

The Legislative Assembly of the State of Sao Paulo has adopted a proposal to renew relations with the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and the People's Democracies made by Mr. Cid Franco, member of parliament.

Mr. Mario Brandao Pimentel, former Brazilian ambassador to the Soviet Union, has stated that he considered this to be an opportune moment for the resumption of relations with the Soviet Union. He noted that the Soviet Union is exporting goods that Brazil urgently needs.

Present Tasks of Chilean Peace Movement

The Chilean Peace Council held a session in Santiago on December 11th and 12th. Mr. Juan Acevedo M. P. presented a report entitled: 'The forthcoming World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace and Chile's participation in it'. It calls on the Chilean people to send representatives of all their active forces as delegates to the Assembly.

Reports on the tasks of the Movement were presented.

According to the resolutions adopted, the Chilean Peace Council proposes to organise wider and wider activity:

1. Against the decisions of the Rio de Janeiro Conference which hinder the economic development of the country.

2. To condemn the United States-Chile bilateral military pact.

3. To defend the national sovereignty at all points.

4. For free trade with all countries.

On this latter point, the Chilean Peace Council will approach all bodies and the representatives of all sectors of opinion who put forward this solution of the crisis in Chile.

The Chilean Movement demands that the prospecting of strategic minerals, especially radioactive minerals, should be supervised and warns of the danger of H bomb tests in the Antarctic or in Chilean territorial waters, as certain items of information would seem to indicate.

Referring to Latin American affairs in general, the Chilean Movement condemns the policy of military blocs and urges the holding of an economic conference like that which brought together public figures and members of parliament at Santiago de Chile in July 1954.

In conclusion, the Movement declares its support for the world campaign for the banning of weapons of mass destruction and for the negotiated settlement of international differences.

Active Preparations for Commemoration of Cultural Anniversaries in 1955

Wide interest has been shown in the World Council's invitation to commemorate the following six great figures of world culture in 1955:

SCHILLER	— 150th anniversary of his death
MONTESQUIEU	— 200th anniversary of his death
MICKIEWICZ	— 100th anniversary of his death
ANDERSEN	— 150th anniversary of his birth
CERVANTES	— 350th anniversary of the publication of *Don Quixote*
WHITMAN	— 100th anniversary of the publication of *Leaves of Grass*

Moreover, the Cultural Commission proposed to collaborate with the All India Peace Council in the celebration of the 1500th anniversary of the magnificent frescoes in the Ajanta caves.

In a number of countries memorial events are in preparation. They are being given a form that will win popular support and the participation of many intellectuals of various backgrounds. In the near future we shall be giving in these pages the plans drawn up by a number of National Peace Committees.

Among the ideas that it is proposed to implement, we may mention one put forward by intellectuals in certain countries and by cultural and popular organisations. It is that messages of greetings and support should be sent to representative organisations of the nations to which the great figures celebrated in 1955 belong. This, and other similar measures, will certainly strengthen friendly relations between the countries and facilitate the establishment of closer and more cordial links.

The Peace Committees of Germany and Poland have decided to invite foreign intellectuals to the events that will take place in their countries, while the German intellectuals are prepared to go to countries where Schiller and Mickiewicz are being commemorated. The Peace Committees of Latin America are preparing to collaborate with the Spanish Peace Committee in the commemoration of Cervantes and Don Quixote so that this anniversary may be celebrated on as wide a scale as possible. They are also planning various events to honour the work of Walt Whitman who will be specially commemorated in the United States where the American Peace Crusade is making active preparations. In Czechoslovakia, a programme has been worked out for the commemoration of Andersen's anniversary. In implementing it the Peace Movement will have the collaboration of the Ministry of Culture, the State Publishing House, the Publishing House for Children's Books, the State Cinematograph Society, the Committee for the Defence of Children, the Children's and Puppet Theatres, both professional and amateur, and so on. The programme includes puppet films and cartoons based on Andersen's tales; a memorial evening with readings from his works and films; an open air evening gala for children in the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Leisure; many theatrical and puppet presentations; an exhibition of the various editions of Andersen's tales, illustrations done by the best Czech artists and decors for several of the tales, 'The Nightingale and the Emperor', for example. In the towns and districts many events will be organised by the schools, parent-teachers' associations, houses of popular education, amateur groups and various clubs.

The Anniversaries in 1954

JAPAN

In Japan, many meetings in honour of Aristophanes, Fielding, Dvorak and Chekhov were held in 1954.

The 'Geizyutseza' drama group performed Aristophanes' comedy 'Lysistrata' in Tokyo for a month in the Spring, then at the Peace Festival held during the month of August in Kansai district, where they played to an audience of 40,000.

Chekhov's plays were performed many times in almost all the big cities of Japan. In Kobe, for example, cultural groups, trade union organisations and so on jointly organised public meetings at which the anniversary of Chekhov's death was commemorated by lectures on his life and work, readings of some of his short stories and the presentation of a number of his comedies, 'The Bear', 'Corporal Prishibieieff' and others.

A poster announcing the Kobe memorial meetings.

HUNGARY

In collaboration with the Hungarian Writers' Association, the Cultural Commission of the Hungarian Peace Council has organised a Henry Fielding memorial meeting in Budapest. The evening's programme included a lecture by Professor Joszef Sziget on the significance of the great English novelist's work and the reading of extracts from *Tom Jones* and *Jonathan Wild*. The meeting was attended by literary figures and members of the British Embassy.

The students and professors of the Advanced School for Foreign Languages also held a memorial meeting in honour of Fielding.

BULGARIA

In Bulgaria, Fielding's anniversary was commemorated by the publication of many articles in the press, by broadcasts, and by lectures in Sofia and the provinces at which extracts from Fielding's novels were read and music by English composers was played.

HOLLAND

In Holland, the anniversary of Chekhov's death was commemorated at a meeting organised by the Amsterdam Actors' Association in the Stadsschouwburg Theatre in that city. They gave a performance of Chekhov's play *Three Sisters* to a packed house. The guests included the Soviet Ambassador to Holland and a group of Dutch scientists who had just visited the Soviet Union.

For the 50th anniversary of the death of Antonin Dvorak, Dr. Peter van Anrooy, conductor, member of the Dutch Peace Council, gave a week of broadcast talks illustrated with records on the work of Dvorak and Smetana.

POLAND

In Poland, many cultural, social and political organisations and associations have taken part in a great movement to popularise the works of Chekhov and Dvorak. They include the Polish Writers' Association, the Composers' Association, organisations of women and young people, the 'Popular Science' Association, the press and the publishing houses.

In town and village the Houses of Culture and clubs have held many concerts, lectures and exhibitions which have aroused great interest.

The complete works of Chekhov and scores by Dvorak have been published.

In the capital memorial meetings have been held. There was one in honour of Antonin Dvorak at which the Czech composer Vaclav Dobias was present and the Czech violonist A. Plocek gave a recital. Another in honour of Anton Chekhov was attended by Professor Anissimov of the Soviet Union.

Arab Writers Take a Stand

in Defence of National Cultures and of Peace

Arab intellectuals have often expressed their intention to meet and decide on the best way of developing their nationa cultures and of opposing all that hinders or sidetracks this development. They also want to express their solidarity with their people's struggle for the maintenance of their sovereignty and for world peace. With a view to organising such a gathering a meeting attended by representatives from Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq was held on the initiative of the Syrian Writer's Association, and it decided to call a Conference of Arab writers. The Conference took place in Damascus last September at the headquarters of the Syrian Fine Arts Society, with very satisfactory results.

A number of the most eminent intellectuals of Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan and Bahrein, of widely differing political and philosophical opinions took part in the Conference, including the poets Wasfi Krunfli, Abu Salma, Nassuh Fakhori, Sheikh Abdullah Alaili, Salah Zeinim Hassib Kayali, Shaker Mustafa, Marun Abbud, Ahmed Aref Zein, Hussein Mrooé, and Mahimed Itani. The Syrian Prime Minister, Mr. Saida Gazzi, sent greetings to the conference, and Mr. Alexei Surkov and Mr. Boris Polevoi sent a message of friendship on behalf of Soviet writers. Messages of greetings were also received from the Argentine Cultural Congress and from other organisations and persons in various countries.

The Conference took the decision to create the Arab Writers' Association, the motto of which is 'free thought and a happy life'. It replaces both the Syrian Writers' Association and the Lebanese League of the Mountain, which have been dissolved. In the near future this Association will have national sections in each of the Arab countries.

The Conference adopted a number of important resolutions: on the struggle against illiteracy; on universal and free primary education; against the restrictions on secondary education; for the entry of poor students into the Arab universities and faculties for higher studies; for the improvement of the living conditions of masters and professors; and for the removal from school books of all that is opposed to patriotic and scientific principles and to friendship between the peoples.

The Conference also resolved to revive the literary and artistic traditions of the Arab countries, to push forward the translation of foreign progressive works into Arabic and of the best Arab books into other languages. It recommended writers to do all they could to strengthen the national resistance of the Arab countries to foreign interference and to the efforts to enlist them in unjust wars; to struggle against the obscurantism spread by certain powers and which creates an anti-national attitude through the medium of books, films and foreign schools; to defend democratic freedoms; to broaden exchanges with progressive culture the world over; and to strive to avert the horrors of an imperialist war from the Arab countries. In order to perform these tasks successfully, the Conference called on all Arab countries to join their efforts to those of all honest men and women throughout the world for the consolidation of world peace.

The Arab Writers' Conference ended with a great literary festival at which poets and writers read extracts from their works.

Arab Writers' Week

Another meeting, lasting a week, was held on the invitation of the Lebanese Writers' Association. It adopted resolutions which have a certain similarity to those of the Damascus Conference. They deal mainly with the struggle for free thought and human dignity and against foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Arab countries.

The Soviet Writers' Congress, held in Moscow from December 15 to 26, with many foreign guests present, was an important cultural event. In the words of one of the resolutions adopted: 'Congress welcomes and supports the proposal to call a World Congress of Writers in 1955, widely representative of men of letters of all countries and bringing them together on a platform of peace and culture.'

FIRST CONTINENTAL EXHIBITION OF ETCHINGS AND DRAWINGS FOR PEACE ABOUT TO OPEN IN AMERICA

The Argentine Committee of Plastic Arts for Peace has just invited American artists to take part in the 'First Continental Exhibition of Etchings and Drawings for Peace' which will be held in Buenos Aires.

The Organising Committee is composed of well-known artists, winners of various national and international prizes, such as D. Urruchua, A. Vigo, L. Falcini, C. Giambiagi, A. Berni, W. Melgarejo Munoz, E. Policastro, J. C. Castagnino, C. Biscione and A. Devoto. The rules lay down that the sole theme is peace or the rejection of war, but there is complete freedom of interpretation. Works making either a real or symbolical allusion to the internal or foreign policy of any government will not be accepted. After the opening in Buenos Aires the exhibition will be presented in the main cities of America. In its appeal to artists the Organising Committee states that the exhibition will be a 'demonstration of solidarity towards the universal movement for peace, especially at this time when warlike forces are seeking to unleash wars of extermination and enslavement and are hindering the free development of culture. This leads to the banning of artistic creation. In this situation art, which is fed by, and has its roots in, the life of the people, truth and peace, cannot refrain from expressing the people's anxiety and from making its message of protest and brotherhood heard. The First Continental Exhibition of Etchings and Drawings for Peace will therefore have a profound significance, for it will help to preserve the sources of cultural riches and to foster the free development of artistic expression. It will promote cultural exchanges between the peoples of America on the one hand, and between them and the rest of the world on the other.'

Nine Personalities of the Peace Movement Receive the Stalin International Peace Prize

Nine famous figures of the World Peace Movement have just received the high distinction of a Stalin International Prize for the Consolidation of Peace between the Peoples. They are:

Mr. Denis Noel Pritt Q. C., President of the British Peace Committee.

Mr. Alain Le Léap (France), member of the Presiding Committee of the French Peace Movement.

Mr. Thakin Kodaw Hmaing (Burma), writer, President of the All Burma Committee of the World Peace Congress.

Mr. Bertold Brecht (Germany), poet and dramatist.

Professor Felix Iversen (Finland), professor at Helsinki University.

Professor André Bonnard (Switzerland), professor at Lausanne University; President of the Swiss Peace Movement.

Professor Baldomero Sanin Cano (Colombia), Doctor honoris causa of Edinburgh and Bogota Universities; President of the Colombian Peace Council.

Professor Prijono (Indonesia), Dean of the Arts Faculty of the State University of Djakarta; Vice-President of the Indonesian Peace Committee.

Mr. Nicolas Guillen (Cuba), poet.

*

CHARLES CHAPLIN:

'May 1955 Bring Peace throughout the World!'

'A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year; and may the ensuing year bring peace and security throughout to the world.' This was the message recently sent by Charlie Chaplin to an old age pensioners' party in the Borough of Lambeth in London. The party was organised out of a gift of £ 2,000 Chaplin made to the Borough Council of Lambeth, where he spent his childhood. The money was part of his International Peace Prize.

The N.A.T.O. Decisions to use Atomic Weapons as Described in the British and American Press

The Times, 18 December 1954:

'General Gruenther is understood to have ... requested formal agreement to military planning on the basis that nuclear weapons would be used. It was apparently agreed that the military planning should be conducted on this basis and that it should make the most efficient use of nuclear and other weapons ...

'As nuclear weapons become more readily available the day approaches when they will be necessary and normal for all N.A.T.O. forces ... The decision to plan on this basis seems, therefore, to bring nearer a decision to distribute such weapons to N.A.T.O. countries which do not at present possess them — for instance to Germany once she has become a N.A.T.O. member ...

'There is now general agreement that military units and formations will have to be on a smaller, more highly trained scale and that they must be highly mobile, so that troops can be transported over positions contaminated in a nuclear war to seize or hold key points in uncontaminated areas.'

The Manchester Guardian, 18 December 1954:

'Thus the council has tacitly agreed that the military commanders can count on being allowed to use their atomic weapons in defence and the whole military organisation is to be recast on that basis ...

'The North Atlantic Council has accepted the thesis ... that we are already "beyond the point of no return" with atomic weapons. It has accepted the view that our forces are bound to use atomic weapons against any major attack but has retained for civilians the power to decide what constitutes a major attack.

'The decision does not of course affect the independence of the United States and Great Britain to decide on the use of their long range bomber forces, which do not come under N.A.T.O. control.'

The Times, 20 December 1954:

'Commenting on this decision, Mr. Spaak said that it met exactly the wishes of the military, by authorising them to prepare for atomic war, but kept in civil hands the responsibility for deciding on the use of the atomic weapons.'

Press Interview of Mr. Foster Dulles reported in The Times, 22 December 1954:

'He explained that current military policies would gradually involve the use of atomic weapons for tactical purposes, in the same way that gunpowder had displaced the crossbow ...

'The issue of whether or not to use weapons of mass destruction arose in any war and, he suggested, did not involve a distinction between the destructive power of atomic weapons and that of old ones.'

The New York Times, 18 December 1954:

'Mr. Anderson (Robert B. Anderson, Deputy Secretary of Defence) declared that military aid by the United States to its allies would be continued at "about current levels" and that both weapons and the training thus supplied would be "reoriented" to meet the needs revealed by studies of "the new concepts of warfare".'

New York Herald Tribune, 18 December 1954:

(Report by Don Cook)

'The United States position is basically: "We will consult if there is time and it seems necessary, but we will not have our hands tied." In any case the military planners have their clear directive, and the rest of the problem can only be decided by time or events.'

Arguments Designed to Confuse the People

'The decision whether to use atomic weapons has been left in the hands of the civilians.'

*

The aim of this argument is to confuse the issue and to gain acceptance of the idea that the use of atomic weapons is admissable. In fact the military plans are to be *based* on the use of atomic weapons. The military organisation is to be recast so that eventually the only way it will be capable of fighting will be by using atomic weapons. Thus the carrying out of these decisions will mean that if another war does start it will inevitably be atomic war. Furthermore these decisions, if applied, would make almost impossible any further negotiation on the banning or non-utilisation of atomic weapons. One of the aims of all the fuss that has been made about whether the politicans or the generals should decide has been precisely to distract attention from this principal question — that nuclear weapons must not be used at all, that experiments must be banned and that eventually all nuclear weapons must be forbidden with measures of strict international inspection and control.

'It is only tactical weapons that are involved.'

*

It sounds so simple. And, in fact, this argument has had a certain success. 'Tactical' weapons sound so innocent and permissible. The aim of the argument is to disarm the opposition and win admittance for the principle of using nuclear weapons. These arms are 'tactical' only in the sense that they are comparatively easy to move about and do not need to be carried in long range strategic bombers as, at present, the hydrogen bomb does. The smallest atomic missile among these weapons has an explosive power of 12 or more 'blockbusters' of the last war, with, in addition, dangerous radiation effects. The rockets and guided missiles can be equipped with warheads of the power and effect of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Once such weapons are used atomic war has begun. The only defence is to stop them being used.

'There is not much point in developing new weapons unless we incorporate them in our armed forces and adapt our armed forces accordingly.' (*The Manchester Guardian:* Editorial, 20 December, 1954.)

*

Once again the aim is to avoid the real question. It is assumed that atomic weapons are essential to 'defence' and must be produced. That the existence of these weapons is a threat to civilisation, that experiments with them threaten the continuance of life on this planet, are already having unpredictable effects on animal and vegetable organisms and on the atmosphere — these facts are ignored. The dilemma is very simply solved. Universal agreement not to make these arms, to forbid experiments, to forbid their use, would make it unnecessary to incorporate them in the armed forces.

Reproduction authorised

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 3 (2nd. Year) FEBRUARY 1, 1955

Appel contre la preparation de la guerre atomique

Aujourd'hui des gouvernements préparent le déclenchement d'une guerre atomique.

Ils veulent en faire admettre la fatalité aux peuples.

L'usage des armes atomiques conduirait à une guerre d'extermination.

Nous déclarons que le gouvernement qui déclencherait la guerre atomique perdrait la confiance de son peuple et se verrait condamner par tous les peuples.

Dès à présent, nous nous opposerons à ceux qui organisent la guerre atomique.

Nous exigeons la destruction dans tous les pays des stocks d'armes atomiques et l'arrêt immédiat de leur fabrication.

Vienne, le 19 Janvier 1955

F. Joliot Curie

E. Cotton

A. Fadeev

Guo Mo Jo (Kuo Mo Jo)

Leopold Infeld

Facsimile of Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War in French signed by President and some of the Vice-Presidents of the W.C.P. For translation see P. 3.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- The first signatories of the Vienna Appeal 4
- Declaration of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.. 5
- Appeal to the Peoples of Europe 6
- Preparing the World Assembly. — Surrey Peace Council's programme. — The Appeal of the All India Peace Congress. — Statements by the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Women's International Democratic Federation 7
- The Peoples Speak Out against German Rearmament: No let-up in France. News from Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Holland, Poland, Sweden, the United States and other countries. — The Peace Movement in the Soviet Union (continued) ..... 8 & 9
- The Peoples Oppose the Atomic Danger: News from Argentina, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Switzerland, Uruguay and other countries ..... 10 & 11
- The All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity (Interview with Mr. Jean Laffitte, General secretary of the World Council of Peace).... 12
- The events in Costa Rica. — The activities of the Argentine Peace Movement. — Statement by the President of the Guatemalan Peace Committee. — Regional conferences in Lebanon. — Petition in Detroit 13
- Preparations for Celebrations of Great Figures of World Culture. — Montesquieu. — Support for Paul Robeson 14
- Second Congress of Soviet Writers. — The celebration of the cultural anniversaries in 1954 15
- International Meeting in Vienna. What the Press is Saying 16

STATEMENT BY PROFESSOR JOLIOT-CURIE

President of the World Council of Peace

We still have present in our hearts the emotion we felt when the extent of the damage wreaked by the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki became known. That was in August 1945, and every year since then we have learned that the effects of the dropping of these two bombs are still coming to light. The list of victims and their sufferings is not closed.

The problem of the banning of weapons of mass destruction had already been raised in 1945, and at their meeting in Moscow in December of that year the Foreign Ministers Mr. Bevin, Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Molotov demanded that a special committee to study this problem should be created alongside the Security Council of the United Nations.

The committee was created. Negotiations that proved difficult were entered into and pursued. New factors arose one after another: the disappearance of the atomic monopoly, the perfecting and testing of thermonuclear bombs thousands of times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

A further wave of anxiety arose out of the terrible consequences of the explosion in the Pacific on March 1, 1954. Fishermen who were *several hundred miles* away from the scene of the explosion were *all* stricken and one of them has died. The repeated warnings of scientists competent in the matter were dramatically confirmed. A new anxiety arose but hope began to revive through the apparition of certain signs of a relaxation of international tension, in relation both to the ending of wars going on and to the successful conclusion of the negotiations in the important Disarmament Commission of the United Nations.

It cannot be denied that in the sum total of factors that succeeded in preventing the use of the atomic weapon in Asia and in bringing about a certain easing of international tension, a role of the first importance was played by the mass consultation that took place in all countries and in all social circles through the launching of the Stockholm Appeal.

Everyone was asked for his opinion; all the questions were raised; all the answers given were thoroughly criticised. And the conscience of the peoples was so strongly revealed that the most responsible and powerful political leaders had to recognise the power of public opinion in the question of the use of atomic weapons.

Disarmament seemed possible; the negotiated settlement of political problems appeared over the horizon; the peoples began to hope for a stable peace and to see the promise of happiness ... It is precisely at this moment that *acts* are committed which put everything back into the melting-pot; the rearmament of Germany, and the decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council on the use of nuclear weapons. As if the principle of the use of these weapons had been admitted.

Clearly, these acts, which are part and parcel of the policy of 'positions of strength', are diametrically opposed to the success of the negotiations going on in the United Nations Organisation and are a threat to peace.

As to the Atlantic Council's extremely grave decision, which implicitly admits the legalisation of the atomic weapon — if there has not yet been a strong reaction on the part of public opinion, it is because the operation has been skilfully conducted. Public opinion was 'softened up' by carefully prepared statements by military leaders and the decisions themselves were presented in a diplomatic and technical form which makes it difficult to appreciate their full consequences.

Today, when a great number of atomic weapons have been produced and when even more powerful weapons have been perfected and tested — with what tragic results — an attempt is being made to override the censure of public opinion and to lead it, by stages, to accept the possible use of tactical atomic weapons, then strategic atom bombs, and finally thermonuclear bombs. It would appear that henceforth discussion should only bear on how nuclear weapons should be used, whereas the first and only problem is the very principle of the use of these weapons.

In short, these recent decisions of the Atlantic Council are the final touch to the preparations for the unleashing of atomic war, preparations which bear within themselves — and I am weighing my words — the possible annihilation of the human race.

The people will not thus passively allow themselves to be dragged down to collective suicide. For that is what is involved. Once nuclear war began, it would be waged with the full range of existing weapons. Think of the deserts that are Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Think of the unfortunate victims in the Pacific *who were hundreds of miles away* from the explosion on March 1, 1954. Tell yourself that nowhere will you be safe and that effective civil defence is an illusion. Understand that the nuclear bombing of any target in the world will sow immediate or delayed death even in places very far away.

The problem that is raised is not that of the level — General Staff, Minister, or meeting of Ministers, with or without veto — at which atomic war will be decided on. The problem is: will mankind accept the ruins and destruction, the death of hundreds of millions of living beings, wretchedness for the survivors and the probable birth of freaks, and even the possible annihilation of all life on our planet?

FREDERIC JOLIOT-CURIE

Paris, January 13, 1955

APPEAL AGAINST THE PREPARATIONS FOR ATOMIC WAR

Today, certain governments are preparing to let loose atomic war.

They are trying to make the peoples accept it as inevitable.

The use of atomic weapons would result in a war of extermination.

We declare that any government that lets loose atomic war will forfeit the trust of its people and find itself condemned by every people of the world.

Now and in the future, we shall oppose those who organise atomic war.

We demand the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the immediate stopping of their manufacture.

Vienna, January 19, 1955

On January 19, in the course of the closing session of the extended meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace held in Vienna from January 17 to 19, the following speech was delivered by Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace:

The Bureau of the World Council of Peace has taken the decision to launch a great signature campaign to express the universal opposition to the preparations for an atomic war.

This campaign will begin without delay and develop on the basis of an Appeal which you have asked me to draft.

In drawing up the Appeal I have relied on the help and collaboration of a number of you, and together we have taken inspiration from the ideas expressed by the speakers on this rostrum.

The text had to be written in a style devoid of all subtlety, in the simple and common-sense language of men and women who want to live in peace and have confidence in the future of mankind.

Before I read the text, allow me to cite a statement of opposition to the use of the atom bomb that was expressed at the time when that weapon was perfected.

The terms of a report drawn up by a committee of American scientists will always remain fresh in my memory. This was the James Franck Committee which sent a report to the Defence Secretary in Washington on June 11, 1945, two months before Hiroshima. The report opposes any decision to use the atom bomb in war and says that if the United States were to be the first country to use this new means of blind destruction against mankind it would forfeit the support of world public opinion, unleash an arms race and jeopardise the possibility of obtaining an international agreement on the control of these weapons in the future.

This group of scientists showed great clear-sightedness. In the years that followed scientists from various countries strove to warn public opinion of the dangers involved in these weapons. But, while they helped to enlighten public opinion, they were unable alone to create a great movement of censure and opposition to atomic war. It is one of our movement's great merits that, in Stockholm in 1950, it launched a great campaign for the banning of the atom bomb and strict supervision of this measure.

The Stockholm Appeal had very great repercussions and it cannot be denied that it played a role of the first importance in preventing the use of the atom bomb in Asia.

Governments which want to base their international policy on recourse to atomic weapons know that they must reckon with public opinion.

That is why, in organising and preparing for atomic war, they are striving to cover up their operations by skilful manœuvring. The decisions taken by the Atlantic Council last December are one of these manœuvres, and they constitute an act of the utmost gravity which it was our duty to denounce. These governments are trying to direct public attention to the ways of using atomic weapons and to the question of which bodies would be competent to take a decision on the unleashing of atomic war, as if the principle of the use of atomic weapons had been admitted.

We had to bring this new factor out clearly and to make an *immediate* call to the peoples to oppose those who are thus preparing for atomic war. We must not wait until such a war of blind extermination has been unleashed to condemn its authors; those who are preparing for it must be opposed *now*. The basic desire to live and to love one's neighbour demands that we should call for the destruction of stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and for the immediate stopping of their manufacture.

It is this desire to live and this love for one's fellow man that will tomorrow animate thousands and thousands of men

The President of the World Council of Peace is the first to sign the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war

and women in every country and every city to go from door to door, from house to house, and in the factories and fields, collecting signatures to our Appeal. Thus will be raised the most powerful of all barriers to atomic war.

Professor Joliot-Curie then read the Appeal and it was adopted unanimously.

The First Signatories of the Vienna Appeal

The Members of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie (France), President of the World Council of Peace.
Mr. Gabriel d'Arboussier (French West Africa), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace. Barrister.
Mrs. Eugénie Cotton (France), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace. President of the Women's International Democratic Federation.
Mr. Alexander Fadeyev (U.S.S.R.), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace. Writer.
Professor Leopold Infeld (Poland), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace. Professor of Physics.
Dr. Kuo Mo-jo (China), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace. President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.
Mr. Jorge Amado (Brazil), writer. President of the Brazilian Writers' Association.
Mr. Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie (France), Deputy. Former Government Minister.
Mr. Laurent Casanova (France), Deputy. Former Government Minister.
Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg (U.S.S.R.), writer. Member of the Supreme Soviet.
Mr. Wilhelm Elfes (Germany), former Mayor of München-Gladbach. President of the Union of Germans for Unity, Peace and Freedom.
Dr. James Endicott (Canada), President of the Canadian Peace Congress.
Mrs. Monica Felton (Great Britain), writer.
Mr. Nazim Hikmet (Turkey), poet.
Professor Joseph Hromadka (Czechoslovakia), Dean of the Comenius Faculty of Evangelical Theology, Prague.
Mr. Alexander Korneichuk (U.S.S.R.), dramatist. Member of the Supreme Soviet.
Professor Jan Mukarowski (Czechoslovakia), Rector of the Charles University in Prague.
Mr. Denis Noel Pritt Q.C. (Great Britain), President of the British Peace Committee.
Mr. Louis Saillant (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
Mr. Emilio Sereni (Italy), Senator.
Mrs. Jessie Street (Australia), Australian Representative at the Constituent Assembly of the United Nations Organisation.
Mr. Antoine Tabet (Lebanon), architect.
Mr. Nikolai Tikhonov (U.S.S.R.), poet. President of the Soviet Peace Committee.
Mr. William Wainwright (Great Britain), writer. General Secretary of the British Peace Committee.
Mr. Jean Laffitte (France), writer, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace.
Mrs. Isabelle Blume (Belgium), Former Member of Parliament. Secretary of the World Council of Peace.
Mr. Vincent Duncan Jones (Great Britain), publicist, Secretary of the World Council of Peace.
Mr. Panteleimon Goulaiev (U.S.S.R.), journalist, Secretary of the World Council of Peace.
Mr. Lee I-mang (China), Economist. Member of the First National People's Congress, Secretary of the World Council of Peace.
Mr. Ivor Montagu (Great Britain), Film Director, Secretary of the World Council of Peace.

Members of the World Council of Peace Invited to the Bureau Meeting

Mr. Abdul Rahman Bouchama (Algeria), architect. President of the Algerian Peace Council.
Professor Heinrich Brandweiner (Austria), Professor of International Law. President of the Austrian Peace Council.
Mr. Alberto Cavalcanti (Brazil), Film Director.
Mr. Robert Chambeiron (France), former Deputy.
Mr. Jacques Denis (France), General Secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.
Mr. Ostap Dluski (Poland), Member of Parliament.
Mr. Ambrogio Donini (Italy), Senator.
Mr. Erwin Eckert (Germany), member of the Provincial Parliament of Baden-Württemberg. President of the Peace Committee of the German Federal Republic.
Mr. Ernst Fischer (Austria), writer. Former Government Minister.
Mr. Nino Fogliaresi (Italy), teacher.
The Rev. Ragnar Forbeck (Norway), First Chaplain of Oslo Cathedral.
Mr. Sergei Gerassimov (U.S.S.R.), Film Director. Member of the Supreme Soviet.
Mr. Joris Ivens (Netherlands), Film Director.
Professor Felix Iversen (Finland), Vice-President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.
Mr. Liu Kuan I (China), General Secretary of the Chinese People's Committee for the Defence of World Peace.
Mr. Liu Chang-sheng (China), Vice-President of the All China Federation of Trade Unions.
Mr. Clarenzo Menotti (Italy), former Senator.
Mr. V. Parameswaran (India), Secretary of the All India Peace Council.
Mr. Kinkazu Saionji (Japan), former Senator. Director of the daily *Nichiyo Shinbun*.
Mr. Erwin Scharf (Austria), writer. President of the Left Socialist Workers' Party.
Mr. Zekeria Sertel (Turkey), writer. Journalist.
Mr. Valentin Sorokin (U.S.S.R.), economist.
Pandit Sunderlal (India), leading follower of Gandhi. Writer.
Mr. Sorin Toma (Rumania), journalist.
Mr. Alfredo Varela (Argentina), writer.
Mr. Fernand Vigne (France), General Secretary of the French National Peace Council.
Mr. Paul Wandel (Germany), Member of Parliament. Former Government Minister.
Mr. Heinz Willman (Germany), General Secretary of the German Peace Council.
Mr. Jorge Zalamea (Colombia), writer. Former Government Minister.

Persons Invited to the Bureau Meeting

Mr. Heinz Altschul (Austria), General Secretary of the Austrian Peace Council.
Mrs. Janos Bugar (Hungary), General Secretary of the Hungarian Peace Council.
Mr. Nestor Grancelli Cha (Argentina), barrister. Former President of the Argentine University Federation.
Mrs. Rosy Hollender (Belgium), Secretary of the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace.
Mr. Isa Ibrahim (Indonesia), Secretary of the Indonesian Peace Committee.
Mr. Georgi Pirinski (Bulgaria), Vice-President of the Bulgarian Peace Committee.
Mr. Anton Strand (Sweden), Secretary of the Swedish Peace Committee.
Mr. Suroso (Indonesia), General Secretary of the Indonesian Peace Committee.
Mr. Volodia Teitelboim (Chile), writer.
Mr. Luis Vidales (Colombia), writer.
Mrs. Miriam Vire-Tuominen (Finland), Secretary of the Finnish Peace Committee.
Mr. Jacob Wolf (Netherlands), journalist.
Professor Kaoru Yasui (Japan), Professor of International Law at Hosei and Kanagwa Universities. General Secretary of the National Council against the A and H Bombs.

Representatives of International Organisations

Mr. Bruno Bernini, President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth.
Mr. Renato Bertolini, Secretary of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters.
Mr. Paul Delanoue, General Secretary of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions.
Mr. Giuseppe Grassi, Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
Mrs. Zoia Ivanova, Secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation.
Mrs. Molly Mandell, Secretary of the Women's International Democratic Federation.
Mrs. Hilda Neumann, member of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.
Mr. Hsieh Pang-ting, Vice-President of the International Union of Students.
Mr. Dimitri Taptikov, member of the World Federation of Teachers' Unions.

Certain Members of the World Council of Peace and Public Figures

to whom the text ot the Appeal was communicated as soon as it had been approved by the Bureau gave it their support immediately.

They are:

Mr. Riccardo Lombardi (Italy), Member of Parliament. Former Government Minister. Secretary of the World Council of Peace.
Baron Antoine Allard (Belgium), business-man.
Professor Max Cosyns (Belgium), physicist.
Mrs. Yves Farge (France), member of the Presiding Committee of the French Peace Movement.
Mr. Jaroslaw Iwaszkiewicz (Poland), writer. President of the Polish Peace Committee.
Mr. Leon Kruczkowski (Poland), President of the Polish Writers' Association.
Mr. Victor Klosiewicz (Poland), President of the Central Council of Trade Unions.
Mrs. Elizabeth Thamm (Sweden), leading member of the Swedish women's movement.

The extended meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace was held in Vienna on January 17, 18 and 19 1955.

The following two points were on the agenda:

1) The tasks of the Peace Movement with relation to the N.A.T.O. Council decision on the use of atomic weapons.

2) The continued development of the struggle of all the forces for peace against the ratification and implementation of the Paris Agreements for the revival of German militarism.

Professor Frédéric Joliot-Curie was in the chair and the meeting was attended by 80 persons representing 32 countries from every continent.

On January 18 and 19 the sessions were open to the representatives of the press.

In addition to the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war — which is given on another page — the Bureau adopted a Declaration and an Appeal to the peoples of Europe.

DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

At the outset of 1955, two threats to the peace of the world have become definite: the remilitarisation of Germany and the steps taken to prepare and justify atomic war. These threats come just at the moment when new prospects of peace are opening before the peoples. It is now a matter of the acts of responsible governments, and no longer only the declarations of politicians and generals.

These acts deliberately flout the desires of the peoples concerned and world opinion.

The remilitarisation of Germany, and the obstacles placed by S.E.A.T.O. in the way of a peaceful solution of the problems of Asia, underline the exceptional gravity of the measures adopted by the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

These measures are designed to regularise atomic war, which has been condemned by the conscience of mankind and is contrary to international law, and persuade public opinion to accept it as a necessity. They can lead to the automatic unleashing of atomic war in Asia as well as in Europe. From now on, they threaten with this peril every country on every continent.

The remilitarisation of Germany and the regularisation of atomic war are closely linked. They are the fruits of a single policy founded on the division of the world into two blocs, the drive for positions of strength and recourse to war in prosecuting international differences.

The peoples know from experience that this policy can lead only to economic chaos, poverty and war. The World Peace Movement calls upon them to appreciate the magnitude of the new dangers and to avert them by all means in their power.

The concerted action of the peoples can end the policy of blocs. It can oblige the governments to negotiate, to disarm and to use nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes.

Mankind will not passively allow itself to be led toward the disasters of atomic war.

The problem is not to calculate at what staff or government level atomic war may be decided on, or to draw distinctions between so called tactical and strategic weapons. The task is to reject the destruction, oppression and suffering that it entails, to ensure to all the peoples of the world their independence and the right to develop their own wealth, and take together the path towards security and prosperity.

It is to fulfil this task that the appeal to maintain the struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany and the appeal to organise a great signature campaign to stop the use of atomic weapons have been issued.

It is to this same end that the call has been issued for a great World Assembly that on May 22nd, 1955, in Helsinki shall bring together representatives of all tendencies and organisations for peace.

Vienna, January 19, 1955

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE

The peoples of Europe refuse to accept the Wehrmacht.

They oppose the revival — a bare ten years after the end of the war — of the army which brought death and destruction down upon all Europe.

They are revolted by the idea that atomic weapons should be put at the disposal of Hitler's former generals.

The peoples will never accept this crime.

The ratification of the Wehrmacht treaties is far from being achieved.

In London and Paris, when the parliaments voted on the ratification, not even one half the members supported them. The governments, like the parliaments, have been obliged openly to acknowledge the hostility of the peoples concerned. But they are resolved to override the opposition of the peoples of Europe, and in particular the growing opposition of the German people themselves.

The peoples cannot be bound by decisions adopted by parliaments against their will.

Today, the governments that signed the London and Paris agreements can no longer cover up the tragic consequences of the creation of a new Wehrmacht: the remilitarisation of Western Germany would result in the setting up of armed forces in Eastern Germany. It would speed up the arms race. It would make the peaceful reunification of Germany impossible for years to come and would prevent any possibility of the collective organisation of European security.

The World Council of Peace calls on the men and women of every country to put all their strength, all their determination and all their courage into preventing the ratification and implementation of the London and Paris agreements.

It calls on all the men and women who have been waging such a magnificent struggle against the rearmament of Germany, and on all those also who are today becoming aware of the imminent danger which it involves, to join and multiply their efforts to oppose the revival of German militarism and to organise the security of Europe with participation of a peace-loving Germany.

Europe, supported by all the peoples of the world, will not let a new Wehrmacht be thrust upon her.

Vienna, January 19, 1955

Pandit Sundarlal delivering the closing speech.

Preparing the World Assembly

A Regional Peace Council in Britain Starts its Preparations

Recently the Surrey Peace Council sent out to all local peace councils and groups in Surrey a detailed plan for the campaign for the World Assembly. (Surrey is a county with a population of just over a million on the southern edge of London.) The Council called upon all local councils in the region to hold meetings before the end of 1954 to discuss these plans.

The different proposals are divided up into periods of action — some to be put into effect before the end of January, these to be followed by others in later months. Included also are proposals for action after the World Assembly has taken place.

Among the proposals are:

In each locality an approach by the peace council to local organisations, M.Ps.. the Mayor and other public figures.

Each local peace council to prepare a peace policy declaration.

Consistent efforts by personal calls and conversations to ensure that the Assembly is discussed in other organisations — for example, trade union and Labour Party branches.

Planned and consistent efforts to get local peace council speakers invited to all types of local organisation.

Invitation meetings of local peace councils to which guests from many other organisations and groups, and well-known individuals, are invited to discuss the World Assembly.

Each local council to organise at least one widely sponsored public meeting for the selection and endorsement of representatives from the area.

A regular information bulletin to be published by the Surrey Peace Council.

Every activity to be made the occasion of raising funds for the campaign, for sending delegates and to pay for the Assembly.

All these activities to be closely linked with the continuous work of the peace councils against German rearmament, for European unity, against atomic weapons.

Appeal of the All India Peace Congress

The All India Peace Congress held in Madras on December 30 — January 2 adopted a resolution on the preparations for the World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace which says:

'Fourteen hundred delegates representing different walks of life, assembled at the All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity, heartily welcome the decision adopted by the World Council of Peace at its meeting in Stockholm on November 18—21, 1954 to hold a World Assembly for Peace "including representatives of all the forces and tendencies that make for peace . . ."

'Congress believes that "the mighty movement of all peoples can prevent the division of the world into opposite blocs, prevent the rebirth of the armies that have been the source of so much misery and mourning and free mankind from the crushing cost of arms budgets. Only such a mighty movement can ensure the welfare, security and independence of all nations."

'Congress is confident that all Peace Committees will start preparations for the success of the World Assembly right now by electing delegations, by raising funds for sending delegates to this great Assembly and popularising the Appeal of the World Council of Peace.'

German Federal Republic

The Presiding Committee of the Peace Committee of the German Federal Republic met in Düsseldorf on January 9. The session was attended by guests from all parts of Germany.

The Presiding Committee welcomed the appeal launched by the World Council of Peace for a great World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace. In preparation for the Assembly meetings and conferences are being organised at many places in the Federal Republic. The West German Peace Movement will be represented by a strong delegation at the German Congress for Security and Peace to be held in Leipzig in mid-April.

Norway

The Rev. Ragnar Forbeck, First Chaplain of Oslo Cathedral, member of the World Council of Peace, said in an interview:

'It gives me particular joy to see so many of my colleagues from both the East and the West playing an active part in the work of the World Council of Peace. But it is desirable that the leaders of the different Churches should — as Pastor Niemöller has done — take a much greater part in work for peace. There is no doubt that the great World Assembly will be of vital importance for the strengthening and broadening of the whole Peace Movement.

'My wish for the New Year is this: that Christians should play a much more active part in work for peace.'

*

Chile

In the course of the Second National Assembly of the Chilean Peace Movement — that is, the session of the National Peace Council — held in Santiago de Chile on December 11 and 12, 1954, Mr. Juan Acevedo M.P., of the Chilean Labour Party, made a special intervention on the preparations for the World Assembly. He pointed out how important it was for Chile and emphasised the varied forms of activity that must be used in the great campaign for electing the authentic representatives of all sections of the nation, whether they belong to the Peace Movement or not.

The World Federation of Trade Unions:

'The struggle for peace, our essential task'

The texts adopted by the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions at its meeting in Warsaw, December 9-14, 1954 underline the great importance of action by workers in the struggle for peace.

The Council issued an appeal against the Paris Agreements which says:

'Workers of Germany,

'We urge you to let nothing divide you. Strengthen your unity and fight like brothers against the revival of militarism in your country, against the Paris Agreements, for the peaceful and democratic unification of your country. Do not allow the Paris Agreements to be ratified.

'Workers of France,

'Today, come out with all your strength against the ratification of the Paris Agreements. Do not allow the menace of German divisions, this time armed with atomic guns, to rise again on your Eastern frontier.

'Workers of Great Britain,

'Let no one deceive you. Do not allow German militarists again to threaten British towns with the fate of Coventry.

'Workers of the whole of Europe,

'Remember your dead, remember your bomb-torn cities, the torture chambers, the crematoria. Do not allow the murderers to be rearmed and to be given atomic weapons.'

We take the following passage from the General Resolution:

'In view of the present international situation, the General Council of the W.F.T.U. considers the struggle for peace in Europe, in Asia and throughout the world to be the essential and urgent task of the workers of all countries.

'The General Council of the W.F.T.U. therefore urges trade union organisations:

— to bring the workers into widespread, united, militant action against the Paris Agreements, against the revival of German militarism, and for negotiation, collective security, disarmament and peace;

— to call on the workers and their trade union organisations to support more actively, and be the foremost champions of, the activity and campaigns of the World Peace Movement;

— to call on them to give the fullest help in ensuring the success of the World Assembly for Peace to be held in 1955.'

In the Name of 140 Million Women . . .

In a statement issued by its Secretariat, the Women's International Democratic Federation 'warmly approves, in the name of 140 million women from 66 countries, all the decisions of the World Council of Peace adopted at its last session in Stockholm.

'The Women's International Democratic Federation greets the initiative of the World Council of Peace in calling a World Assembly of Representatives of the Peace Forces and will contribute by every means to its realisation.'

Poland

An enlarged meeting of the Presiding Committee of the Polish Peace Movement held in Warsaw in December adopted a resolution which says:

'The Polish Peace Committee wishes to emphasise strongly that the ratification of the Paris Agreements is not yet an accomplished fact.

'Indeed, when the real content and the aims of these agreements become clear to the masses of the people in Western Europe, the movement of resistance to ratification and to the remilitarisation of West Germany will become stronger and stronger, especially in France and in West Germany itself. More and more people are coming to understand that, by perpetuating the division of Germany, ratification of the Paris Agreements would make German reunification impossible and any negotiation on the German question useless. More and more people are coming to understand the falsity of the statement that the division of Europe into two blocs can serve the cause of peace and disarmament. More and more people are coming to understand that the real aim of the Paris Agreements, as Churchill admitted in his notorious statement, is to rearm the Hitlerite criminals.

'The Polish people declare their complete solidarity with the peoples of Western Europe who are fighting for the common cause of all nations.

'Reflecting the thoughts and feelings of all Polish patriots, the Polish Peace Committee sends particularly warm greetings to our French friends who made a great contribution to the rejection of E.D.C. and who today are once again uniting, regardless of their political and social views, to defend France's vital interests and the cause of world peace . . .'

France: No Let-up in Action

against London and Paris Agreements

There has been no let-up in the French people's action against German rearmament since the National Assembly ratified the London and Paris Agreements by 287 votes to 260 with 74 abstentions. They know that, if ratified by all the European Parliaments, these agreements would perhaps result in war — and not just any war, but an atomic war — and would in any case unleash an armaments race.

But they also know that it is still possible to bring this disastrous policy to nought.

The agreements are now going to be examined by the Council of the Republic. If it were to reject them or even to propose an amendment the National Assembly would have to examine them again. The time thus gained would be in favour of those who are working for peace.

The members of the Council of the Republic are elected in a different way from those of the National Assembly, namely, by an electoral college which is composed of all the Deputies and General Councillors, and by a big proportion of the municipal councillors and senatorial delegates who are nominated by the municipal councils on the basis of lists drawn up by the political parties.

So, after the vote in the National Assembly, the Movement's action has been concentrated on the Senators — that is, the members of the Council of the Republic — and their electors. The nation's representatives are being made to face up to their responsibilities, while the work of informing the people goes on. Already 4,500,000 signatures against German rearmament and for immediate negotiations have been collected, and district meetings and meetings of elected representatives are being held.

The Departmental Peace Councils and the local Peace Committees have warmly congratulated the Deputies who voted against the agreements and condemned those who voted for. The senators are being informed of the people's wishes by letters and reports of the actions undertaken.

The Presiding Committee of the Peace Movement has sent a letter to all the Mayors of France asking them, in their position as first municipal magistrate, to approach the senators and to be the spokesmen of public opinion in their localities.

Many mayors have already made their position clear. One hundred mayors of the Lot Department, the mayors of three cantons in the Department of Corrèze, and 118 mayors of the Department of Lot-et-Garonne, of all parties, have asked the senators 'respectfully but urgently' not to vote for the agreements. In the Ain Department General Councillors (the French equivalent of the County councillors in Great Britain) of various political parties have issued a joint appeal, as have also the secretaries of the Salernes branches of the Socialist and Communist parties in the Department of Var.

Already hundreds of municipal councils have adopted motions on this subject.

In one place Protestants have appealed to a senator belonging to the Popular Republican Party (M.R.P.) and in another teachers approached their Socialist senator.

So the work done in relation to Members of Parliament, which had such an enormous effect, is beginning again, without hesitation and without discouragement, in relation to members of the Senate.

The workers, who played such an important role in the first battle against the agreements (in Paris alone there were 2,000 deputations from the factories and 220 stoppages of work), are going into action once again.

In the Department of Moselle the workers will approach the 1,400 municipal councillors who themselves work in the factories.

In the course of these actions many peace committees are being set up.

Denmark

A group of well-known Social Democrats have issued an appeal for which signatures are now being collected.

The appeal states:

'The West German Social Democratic Party has called on all European Social Democrats to prevent the rearmament of Western Germany and its incorporation in N.A.T.O. before the opening of four power negotiations on the unification of Germany.

'We must support them in this call by demanding the resumption of negotiations before the London and Paris Agreements are finally ratified . . .'

Sweden

A meeting of the Stadsgarden port workers of Stockholm, all members of the Swedish Railway Trade Union Federation, adopted the following resolution:

'We support the demand for a settlement of the German question through Four Power negotiations instead of the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements. Negotiations for the relaxation of international tension and collective security in Europe is the way to lasting peace, and not the formation of blocs and rearmament.'

U.S.A.

According to a news item from Dayton (Ohio) Major K.E. Wallach of the United States Army Reserve has let it be known that he has returned to the French ambassador the Croix de Guerre he won during the Second World War for handing over to the French army French flags captured by Hitler's troops. This is Major Wallach's way of protesting at the French National Assembly's vote in favour of West German rearmament. If France approves the rearmament of West Germany, said Major Wallach, it will be a disaster for Frenchmen.

Argentine

In Argentine, deputations went to the French Embassy to demonstrate their opposition to the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements and many telegrams to the same effect were sent to France. To stimulate this campaign a special committee has been set up. The Jewish Peace Committee has also conducted important activities: many letters, signed by more than, 6,000 people, were sent to France. An important association, the D.A.I.A. (Argentine Federation of Jewish Associations), which has no connection with the Peace Movement, has condemned the revival of German militarism.

Uruguay

Mr. Jose Luis Massera, General Secretary of the Uruguayan Peace Council, has published an article firmly condemning the rearmament of West Germany.

Mr. Massera emphasises that the revival of German militarism gives rise to a growing war danger and calls on all defenders of peace to prepare for the World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace.

Canada

The Canadian Women's Congress has issued an appeal to all Canadian women to resolutely oppose the setting up of a new Wehrmacht.

EARMAMENT

Belgium

A great number of meetings and demonstrations are being organised in Belgium and their success shows the breadth of the national movement against German rearmament.

Street meetings with the collection of signatures took place in Binche, Couillet and Marcinelle on December 22 and 23. Mrs. Isabelle Blume, Secretary of the World Council of Peace, spoke at the meetings.

On January 10 a meeting organised by the Liaison Committee for all the country's peace organisations was held in the biggest hall in Brussels. There were four speakers: Mr. Ben Parkin, British Labour M.P.; Mr. Jacques Leman of the National Council of the French Peace Movement; Mr. André Blumel, on behalf of the Conference of European Jews against German rearmament; and Professor Jacinto Cardona of Rome University. Those present passed a motion to Parliament condemning the London and Paris Agreements.

A similar meeting was held in Liège on January 11.

The Progressive Women's Union is collecting signatures against the ratification of the agreements.

A resolution of support for the West German trade unions which have condemned remilitarisation was unanimously adopted at a meeting of the trade unions of St. Vith which are affiliated to the Belgian General Confederation of Labour. In Heppen, trade unionists asked their Trade Union Committee to take a stand against West German rearmament and to ask the leadership of the Belgian General Confederation of Labour to do likewise.

Holland

A conference on the German question which took place in Amsterdam on December 19, 1954 was attended by 400 people of various political standpoints.

Mrs. M. D. Minnaert-Coelingh and Mr. H. P. Langendijk made speeches which were followed by a discussion in which more than 40 people took part.

All the participants agreed on the danger to Holland's security involved in the Paris Agreements. The Conference unanimously adopted the text of a telegram urgently demanding the rejection of the Paris Agreements which is to be sent to both Houses of Parliament.

In addition, the Conference issued an appeal to the Dutch people warning them of the danger of the Paris Agreements and calling upon them to oppose these agreements strenuously. The organisation of a national petition opposing the revival of the Wehrmacht was also agreed.

This petition has already been signed by more than 75,000 people.

The Peace Movement in the Soviet Union

II (1)

In all its activities the Soviet Peace Committee works through local Peace Committees at the level of the Republics and regions. These committees are elected by local peace conferences and also have a broadly representative character. Thus, for example, the Moscow Committee, whose Chairman is Academician Ivan Petrovsky, Rector of Moscow University, includes the following among its members: Mr. A. Leontiev, bricklayer; Mr. S. Tulikov, composer; Miss M. Grafova, weaver; and Miss S. Poduzdova, athlete. The Leningrad Committee has Mr. P. Kovalev, an engineer, as its Chairman and includes among its members Academicians Bykov and Nalivkin; Mr. Filipov, building worker; Mr. Soloviov-Sedoi, composer; Mr. Fedossiev, engineering worker; and Mr. Cherkassov, artist.

The representative nature of the local Peace Committees makes it easier to work among all sections of the people. During the signature campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact the Briansk Regional Peace Committee called 3,689 meetings of different kinds, the Tula Regional Committee 4,487 and that of Sverdlovsk 11,820. The Tatar Peace Committee organised 1,608 meetings throughout the Republic to report the decisions of the Budapest session of the World Council of Peace.

To give some idea of the intensive and varied activity of a local Peace Committee in the Soviet Union we may quote the example of the Leningrad Committee.

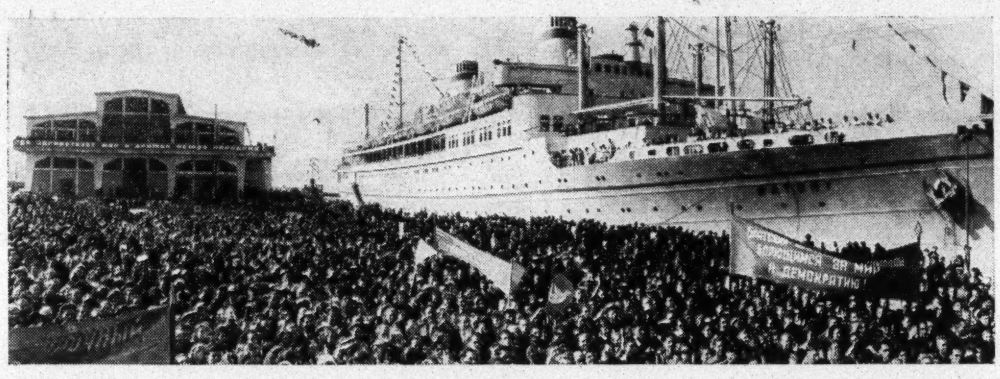
During 1954 the Leningrad Committee received 50 foreign delegations visiting the city. In particular, the arrival of the 800 participants in the 'Peace Cruise' on the Polish liner, the *S.S. Batory*, last autumn meant a great deal of work for the Committee. It helped the delegates in their study of the various aspects of life in Leningrad and organised a number of friendly meetings between them and the people of the city.

A film was made on the visit of the 'Peace Cruise' to the Soviet Union and it was shown during the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace.

The Leningrad Committee also organised a number of evening meetings, exhibitions and other events with a view to strengthening the friendly relations between the peoples. We may cite as examples the German-Soviet and the Sino-Soviet evenings, the Polish-Soviet Friendship Month, and so on.

The members of the Committee give regular lectures in factories, offices, clubs, the Pioneer Palaces and the Parks of Culture and take part in other peace work. In the last five years one of the members, Mr. G. Dubinin, who is a tracer in the *Krassny Vyboryets* factory, has given 750 reports on various problems of the struggle for peace and 200,000 people have heard him lecture. He carries on a regular personal correspondence with members of the Peace Movement in various countries and often treats the subject of peace in the press and on the radio.

The members of the Committee have several times gone on delegations abroad with other members of the Peace Movement.



The arrival of the Peace Cruise in Leningrad in September 1954. An enthusiastic crowd welcomes the S.S. Batory into port.

After a visit to India, Mr. Nikolai Cherkassov published a book of travel impressions and gave lectures in Leningrad. Mr. Bykov and Mr. Kovalev visited Finland. Mrs. Materikova, a worker in the *Rabotchi* textile factory, went on a women's delegation to Israel.

The activities of the other local Peace Committees, including those of the most distant regions, are similar to those of the Leningrad Committee. For example, last year the Kazakh Committee organised meetings for the anniversary of the liberation of Rumania, and Soviet-Bulgarian and Sino-Soviet friendship evenings. Mr. D. Khodjiev, Chairman of the Uzbek Committee, took part in the Peace Congress of the Asian and Pacific Regions, while Mrs. Malinina, a collective farm worker and Vice-Chairman of the Kostroma Committee, went to China and to the European People's Democracies.

(To be continued)

(1) See last issue.

JAPAN • Statement by Japanese Peace Committee on the N.A.T.O. Decisions

On December 20 the Secretariat of the Japanese Peace Committee published a statement protesting against the N.A.T.O. decisions on the use of atomic weapons. Here are some extracts this from this statement:

'In December the N.A.T.O. Council gave the Supreme Commander of the N.A.T.O. forces the power to supply the N.A.T.O. army with atomic weapons.

'This is a frenzied challenge to mankind and an act which tramples world opinion underfoot.

'As a result of this decision the rearmament of Japan and S.E.A.T.O. are now linked up with the danger of atomic war . . .

'The forces of peace are stronger than the forces of war, yet the latter can commit such vile acts.

'We call on all men and women in our country to unite in the sacred cause of peace in order to save mankind from total destruction.'

Congress for Banning Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs

The Japanese National Congress for the Banning of the Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, which has just been held in Tokyo, adopted resolutions against the danger of atomic war resulting from the decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council and for the holding of a World Meeting for the banning of the A and H bombs. The number of signatures handed in to the National Council represents about 40 per cent of the population (all who can express their will are asked to sign). The Congress was attended by 300 representatives from all parts of Japan and by eminent figures including Mr. Tetsu Katayama, former Prime Minister, Socialist Party M.P., Mrs. Tomi Kora, member of the House of Councillors, and others.

One of the resolutions says:

'We express our anger at the fact that certain forces in the world do not hesitate to declare their readiness to use atomic weapons. In order to consolidate our movement for the banning of atomic war, leading figures in government and other circles throughout the world will be invited to take part in the World Meeting for the banning of atomic weapons.'

Congress stressed that the Japanese movement must make every effort to get world opinion to oppose atomic war. It was proposed to invite delegations from abroad and to send representatives to other countries, to international conferences in particular.

Congress expressed its satisfaction that an International Commission of Doctors is going to Japan in February to investigate the casualties suffered by the Japanese people as a result of atomic bombing and the testing of thermonuclear weapons.

Message of a Group of Mexican Peasants

A group of peasants of Torreon Coahuila (a part of Mexico where the peasants have received land through the agrarian reform) have issued a Christmas and New Year Message which says in part:

'The news which has recently appeared in the press fills us with alarm, especially that of the agreement to use atomic and thermonuclear weapons which has been reached by Western statesmen . . .

'An atomic war could not be limited to one continent. It would affect the entire world . . .'

The message ends by demanding the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

ARGENTINE

The Argentine Federation of Agricultural Cooperatives, a strong association which includes all the farming cooperatives in Argentine, has just informed the Committee of Doctors against the use of of atomic and hydrogen bombs that it agrees with the aims of their campaign and has decided to support it. Not long before, the annual general meeting of the Argentine Agrarian Federation had expressed the wish that weapons of mass destruction should be banned. That these two organisations should have taken up this position shows the unanimous feeling of Argentine farmers on this question.

The doctors of Buenos Aires have set up committees which approach political, scientific, trade union and other figures, and the leaders of mass organisations, asking for their collaboration in this struggle to protect mankind. They have also sent an open letter to Argentine Catholics recalling the position taken up by the Pope and inviting them to take part in the campaign. This letter has been reproduced as a leaflet.

On learning that a United States ice-breaker was making for Argentine territory in the Antarctic, with the obvious intention of preparing for H-bomb tests, the doctors of San Fernando (the province of Buenos Aires) issued a moving appeal to the people asking them to demonstrate publicly their opposition to this move.

ITALY • 'German rearmament and atomic massacre are not inevitable'

The Italian Peace Committee has issued an appeal to the people which says:

'The growing pressure of warlike circles to get the French and Italian Parliaments to decide on German rearmament through the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements is today seen in all its gravity in the light of the last decisions of the Atlantic Council clearly basing its policy and strategy on the use of atomic and thermonuclear weapons. This pressure and these decisions are aimed at sharply arresting the trend towards a relaxation of international tension.

'The great campaign for the Stockholm Appeal which was successful in preventing the use of atomic weapons in Korea and Indo-China and the inevitable extension of these conflicts; the Italian Chamber of Deputies' vote against atomic and thermonuclear weapons; the victorious result of the campaign against E.D.C.; the first results of the campaign against the London and Paris Agreements ratified by the French National Assembly with less than half the Deputies voting for ratification — all this proves that the action of the peoples can foil the nefarious plans of the supporters of German rearmament and of atomic massacre.

'German rearmament and atomic massacre are not inevitable.

'It is necessary everywhere to strengthen and consolidate the action of all sections of the Peace Movement. Let the Peace Committees meet in every town, village and place of work! Form thousands of new committees to discuss and explain to the public the urgent tasks of the moment, to take decisions and new hard-hitting action against German rearmament and the threat of atomic massacre and to strengthen their collaboration with the new forces which are now joining the struggle for peace.'

The Peoples the

This poster was published by the Shinjyuku section of the National Council against the A and H bombs. Shinjyuku is an important district of Tokio with a population of 250,000 inhabitants. The poster bears this appeal: 'Save the lives and happiness of mankind!', together with the signatures of the Shinjyuku section of the Movement for the Banning of the A and H bombs, of the Doctors', Pharmacists' and Lawyers' Associations, the local section of the General Council of Trade Unions, the Federation of Buddhists, the Council of Women's Organisations, the Federation of Merchants, the Federations of Parent-Teachers' Associations of Middle and Primary Schools, the Chamber of Commerce and the Congress of Intellectuals.

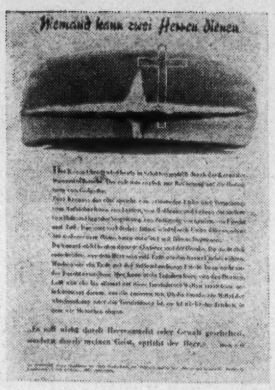
against Atomic Menace

*

'YOU CANNOT SERVE TWO MASTERS'

This leaflet against the H bomb has been published by a group of German Protestant ministers.

*



GERMANY • 'We want general disarmament'

Professor Walther Friedrich, President of the German Academy of Sciences and President of the German Peace Council, has made an appeal from which we take the following passages:

'How can general disarmament be achieved through the rearmament of Western Germany without starting an accelerated armaments race on the part of all States? Yet such an armaments race can only lead to unleashing an atomic war in the heart of Europe — an atomic war the consequences of which are all too clear to me as a research physicist who knows the destructive power of atomic weapons.

'In letters from West Germany we of the German Peace Council are reproached for opposing only the rearming of the Federal Republic, while having no objections to the rearmament of the German Democratic Republic. That is not true. We want no rearmament either in the East or in the West, but general disarmament and the banning of all weapons of mass destruction. This is clear from the material published by our Movement. Nor can it be denied that the Government and the People's Chamber have several times made Bonn the offer to conclude an agreement on the police forces in the two German States. This agreement would settle the size of the armed forces, the places where they will be stationed and the kind of arms they will carry.

'This offer was rejected in the same way as the Soviet Government's proposal that the two parts of Germany should be kept outside any alliance of a military character, that guarantees should de given against the revival of aggressive militarism, and that preparations should then be made for the reunification of the two parts of Germany through free elections.'

• Mass Action against Remilitarisation

Associated Press announces that the Social Democratic campaign against the London and Paris agreements has begun in more than a hundred towns of West Germany. It began with a large-scale poster campaign; the posters show the ghostly ruins of houses rising against a blood-red horizon. In the foreground rise, like a warning, the remains of a wall in the shape of a man with one leg amputated. The posters bear the inscription: 'Never again! So negotiate!'

The Social Democratic Party's campaign is to grow from week to week until the second and third readings of the bill ratifying the Paris Agreements. A total of approximately 6,000 demonstrations are planned to take place in every locality of any importance in the Federal Republic.

• Physicists Appeal to All their Colleagues

'We physicists know that the use of the hydrogen bomb during a war would mean the end of civilisation.

'We therefore raise our voice to defend all that man's science and work have created, all that we are attached to and love.

'We call on all physicists to realise their responsibility for the results of their work; we call on them to enlighten all men and women on the consequences of the misuse of science and to unite with all peace-loving people throughout the world to force the banning of the atomic weapon.'

The signatories of the appeal are:

Prof. Seeliger of Griefswald, Prof. Möglich of Berlin, Prof. Rompe of Berlin and Prof. Frühauf of Dresden, all National Prize winners; Prof. Görlich of Jena, Prof. Kunze of Rostock, Prof. Schütz of Jena, Prof. Bewilogua of Berlin, Prof. Holzmüller of Leipzig, Prof. Schmellenmeier of Potsdam and Prof. Büchner of Berlin.

WHAT THE MAYORS OF BOMBED CITIES ARE SAYING . . .

The Mayor of Hiroshima has sent a letter to the mayors of certain other great cities asking them to support the Japanese people in their aspirations for a lasting peace. Mr. Adolf Svoboda, Mayor of Prague, says in his reply:

'The peoples of the whole world have the same interests.'

In his reply, Mr. N. I. Smirnov, Chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet, says:

'We wholeheartedly welcome your appeal and look upon the struggle for the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons and for world peace as our most urgent task.'

Early in January Mr. Baernreuther, Social Democratic Mayor of Nuremberg, stated before the City Council:

'Together with the mayors of Hiroshima, Dresden, Stalingrad and Coventry, and all who have known the fury of war, we declare that peace must be preserved. Peace means security for all.'

Mr. George Albrecht, President of the Warsaw City Council, writes in his reply to the Mayor of Hiroshima:

'We believe that representatives of Hiroshima, Warsaw and others of the cities that suffered most destruction during the Second World War should jointly initiate some new action for the banning of weapons of mass destruction.'

GREAT BRITAIN

A petition bearing more than 500,000 signatures was handed in to No. 10 Downing Street on December 31 by a deputation led by the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, President of the Methodist Church in Great Britain.

The signatories ask the British Government to take the initiative in calling a three power conference (U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Great Britain) to reach agreement on the banning of the A and H bombs and the controlled reduction of armaments.

*

In a B.B.C. talk on 'The hydrogen bomb and the peril to mankind' Mr. Bertrand Russell, the British philosopher, said:

'. . .if the issues between East and West are to be decided in any manner that can give any possible satisfaction to anybody, whether Communist or anti-Communist, whether Asian or European or American, whether white or black, then these issues must not be decided by war . . .'

✶

Poland

A group of eminent Polish intellectuals have issued a statement from which we give the following extracts:

'The sanction given to atomic war and preparations for such a war by the last session of the N.A.T.O. Council has aroused profound indignation . . .

'We make this appeal to you, artists, writers and scientists of the Western States: "Stay the hand of those who want war!"'

The signatories of the appeal include:

Professor Jan Dembowski, President of the Polish Academy of Sciences; Professor Leopold Infeld, Professor of Physics at Warsaw University and Mr. Kasimierz Kuratowski, Director of the State Mathematical Institute.

Hungary

A meeting of doctors organised by the Peace Committee of the fifth district of Budapest has adopted the following appeal:

'We who strive every day to protect peoples' lives from danger and to heal cannot allow millions of men and women to perish through the use of weapons of mass destruction to serve the interests of those who want war.'

Switzerland

By 57 votes to 38 the Grand Council of the Republic and Canton of Neuchâtel has approved a motion asking the Swiss Government 'to make all the necessary approaches to foreign governments for the ending of thermonuclear explosions and for the general limitation of armaments'.

Uruguay

The news of the forthcoming A and H bomb tests in the South Atlantic and the Antarctic has caused grave anxiety in Uruguay. The Uruguayan Peace Committee has warned public opinion of the dangers of such tests and is planning to launch a great campaign against weapons of mass destruction.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS FOR PEACE AND ASIAN SOLIDARITY

An interview with Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace

The All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity was held in Madras from December 30 to January 2 last.

The following is the text of an interview with Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, on his return from this important Congress where he represented the World Council.

For four days you took part in the All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity. What are your impressions of the Congress?

That it was a great Congress, both from the point of view of the number of delegates that attended it and the ideas they expressed. But to describe it in a word, I would say that it was above all a working Congress.

Nearly 1,500 delegates from all the States of India took part in the proceedings. They came from Bengal and Travancore-Cochin, from Hyderabad and Pepsu, from Orissa and Bombay.

A Reception Committee of 200 persons with Shri P.M. Krishmaswaniyer as its Chairmen welcomed the delegates who represented the various sections of Indian society and Indian political and religious opinion in all their diversity.

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew chaired the Congress and gave the opening address. Important reports were presented by Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey F.R.S.; Pandit Sunderlal, writer; Shri J.C. Kumarappa, economist; Professor D.D. Kosambi; Mulk Raj Anand, the writer and by Shri Romesh Chandra.

The Congress elected a new All India Peace Council of 350 members. Dr. Kitchlew was re-elected President and 16 Vice-Presidents and a Secretariat of five were also elected.

A number of important resolutions were adopted. What do you think of the decisions reached?

The Congress very forcefully expressed the solidarity of the Asian peoples and gave its support to the five peace principles enunciated in the agreements recently concluded between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China. It also supported the position of the World Council of Peace on the settlement of major international issues such as the atomic threat and the setting up of military blocs in Europe and Asia, which keep the world divided and maintain international tension. It took important decisions on the organisation of the Movement and on the development of cultural work. Lastly, it welcomed the proposal of the World Council of Peace to call a World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace and decided that the Indian Peace Movement would make its contribution to the success of the Assembly.

On the evening of January 2 a mass rally of 120,000 people was held in Madras to mark the conclusion of the Congress.

Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, pointed out that the vast gathering was an unmistakable demonstration of the peace sentiments of the Indian people. The formation of S.E.A.T.O. had brought the threat of war to the very doorstep of Asia, he said, adding that in continuing their efforts for peace the Indian people would ensure the security not only of Asia but of the whole world.

What was your most striking impression of your stay in India?

One cannot fail to be greatly impressed by the whole Indian people's attachment to the cause of peace. In every town and village I visited I met fishermen, workers, peasants, merchants and intellectuals and I was struck by their love for peace and their profound desire to arrest the war dangers that menace the world.

For nearly a week the city of Madras was full of delegates who could be picked out by the large badge which they wore showing Picasso's dove in the centre of a blaze of colour. Every evening the delegates and the many guests were entertained by artistic performances in which some of the best-known and most popular artists in India took part. The last of these was nothing less than a festival of Indian song and dance, music and drama. It was watched by 8,000 people among whom were the group of Chinese artists invited by the Indian Government and who happened to be in Madras at the time.

After the Congress a procession two miles long wound through the streets to the sound of drums and trumpets; it was gay with the white robes of the men, the many-coloured saris of the women, and a forest of the blue banners of the Peace Movement waved above their heads. At its head were an elephant and chariots drawn by flower-bedecked bullocks. Everywhere it was enthusiastically welcomed by the people. The procession ended in a monster open-air meeting on the shore of the Indian Ocean in which 120,000 people took part.

The entire press gave daily reports on the proceedings of the Congress and the different demonstrations held. Members of Congress and of the State Parliaments of different parties, scientists and religious figures, artists and local and regional organisations sent messages of support.

I am happy that I was able to bring to this Congress and to the Indian Peace Movement, in the full flood of its development, a message of solidarity from the Peace Movements in the other parts of the world, together with greetings from the World Council of Peace.

*

Our readers will find on page 7 the text of the resolution adopted by the All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity on the calling of the World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace. We shall give further details on the proceedings and decisions of this important Congress in a future issue.

U. S. A.: Disarmament and Peaceful Co-existence

Petition in DETROIT

Federated Press reports that ministers of religion in Detroit have launched a petition which is to be submitted to President Eisenhower.

The petition demands the abolition of weapons of mass destruction as a first step towards general disarmament, the use of the resources thus freed for the improvement of living conditions... and a United States contribution to the peaceful co-existence of all states irrespective of their social system.

The committee of churchmen who are organising this campaign intend to collect several million signatures.

The Events in Costa Rica

We pointed out in our issue of October 1, 1954 the important campaign being conducted by the Costa Rican Peace Movement for the lessening of the tension in the relations between the various countries of Central America. Thousands of postcards were at that time sent to the President of the Republic asking that the principle of non-intervention in international relations should be strictly observed. The campaign included the intensive collection of signatures to a text addressed to the United Nations. It said:

'We urgently beg the United Nations to intervene (*in the differences between the states of Central America Ed.*) and demand that the principle of non-intervention contained in Para. 7 of Art. 2 of the Charter be respected, and to facilitate negotiations for the consolidation of peace in Central America.'

At the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace, Mrs. Emilia Prieto Lugores, President of the Costa Rican Peace Committee, drew the Council's attention to the threat of conflict hanging over Central America.

Then last November the Cuban Peace Committee published statements warning public opinion of the serious turn that could be taken by the differences between the governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua and condemning United States interference in the conflict. After affirming the principle of national sovereignty, demanding negotiations in any case of a difference between nations, and protesting against foreign intervention in any form in the internal affairs of a country, the Cuban Peace Committee concluded in these words:

'The countries of Latin America must not drift into conflicts and differences which would be full of danger. Today, more than ever, they must unite in defence of their liberty and sovereignty, their free economic development and progress, and in the struggle for peace.'

The events that have arisen in Central America in this month of January have fully confirmed the correctness of these predictions of the Costa Rican and Cuban Peace Movements.

★

REGIONAL CONFERENCES IN THE LEBANON

The Lebanese Peace Movement has launched a great preparatory campaign for its Second National Congress. As part of the preparations regional conferences were held in Tripoli and Bekah. The following is a report on these two conferences:

Tripoli, Capital of North Lebanon

The conference was attended by delegates and public figures of differing political viewpoints. It sent messages of support to the people of Algeria and the other peoples of the Magrheb, whose struggle for independence and against acts of violence is a contribution to the struggle against the war plans in North Africa. Messages were also sent to the peoples of Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Iran in their struggle against plans for war and aggression.

The conference adopted an appeal to the Lebanese people and to public figures and organisations opposed to the war plans, asking them to oppose the projected strategic road (international highway) which the Americans want to construct from Beirut to the Persian Gulf and to demand of the Lebanese Government that it give up any idea of taking part in this aggressive undertaking.

Bekah

The Bekah conference was held on December 19 and it was attended by 70 delegates from 40 towns and villages and by 30 observers. Municipal councillors and public figures of various political viewpoints were also present.

Two reports were then presented on

1) The activity of the Peace Movement in Bekah since 1949, its successes and the possibilities that exist for broadening it.

2) The importance of economic exchanges, on a footing of equality and mutual respect, for the economic life of the Lebanese people.

The Archbishop of Zahbé and Haalbek and Sheikh Abdullah Alaili sent greetings to the conference. Dr. Rashid Matuk, on behalf of the National Committee, spoke on the aims of the Peace Movement and its successes throughout the world.

Resolutions condemning imperialist interference, the projected strategic highway and the military pacts which threaten the security of this part of the world were adopted.

Activities of the Argentine Peace Movement

Surrounded by the growing sympathy of public opinion, the Argentine Peace Movement is intensifying its activity. An important meeting of its National Council was held in November, attended by 50 members, delegates from the provinces and guests.

On December 19th the Second Conference of the Peace Movement in Buenos Aires took place, while a similar conference was held in the province of Cordoba.

National leaders attended both these meetings, in accordance with a vast plan of organisation which stipulates that they should periodically visit the different parts of the country, organising regional meetings and helping to set up new peace committees or to strengthen those that already exist.

The various activities of the Movement are now being directed towards the preparation of the World Assembly of Representatives of the Peace Forces. The coming months will see the holding of many local assemblies for the election of a delegation representing all sections of Argentine opinion.

Of the current campaigns (1) it is necessary to make particular mention of that demanding an Argentine peace policy and an Argentine peace economy, and the campaign for the defence the Argentine oil industry, which is in danger of passing under foreign control. The signatories of the appeal for this latter campaign include the leaders of various political parties, members of the provincial assemblies and of the national Parliament, writers, delegates to the Radical Party Convention, leaders of youth organisations and others, many of whom are far from the Peace Movement.

In addition, a special effort is being made to improve publicity work. In addition to the periodical *Por la Paz* and the other regular organs of the Movement, the following have been published: the speeches of Mrs. Maria Rosa Oliver and Mr. Garcia Iturraspe at the national conference; a special pamphlet on the consequences of the war policy in Argentina and Latin America; two pamphlets on the dangers of German rearmament and for the banning of A and H bombs; and wall tableaux in support of the campaign for the defence of Argentine oil.

(1) The campaigns against German rearmament and for the banning of weapons of mass destruction are the subject of a more detailed article in this same bulletin.

★

GUATEMALA:

Statement by President of National Peace Committee

Following last summer's events in Guatemala, Mr. Cruz Franco, barrister, President of the National Peace Committee, was imprisoned for a number of months and then brought before a tribunal which, as a result of the Guatemalan people's growing attachment to peace, has just acquitted him.

Mr. Cruz Franco defended his case himself. We take the following passage from his plea:

'As personifying our country's interest in the maintenance of world peace the National Peace Committee charged me, in June 1952, with the honourable task of being its President. It had taken into account my pacifist antecedents, my devotion to my country and other qualifications which kept me apart from sectarian struggles and partisan activities which have no place in the defence of peace for the happiness of all men and women.

'To love peace, which is a cause common to all mankind, and to banish war, which is a hell for all people, is a lofty mission which merits respect and not punishment.

'But if that is the shameful motive for my detention then I shall live and die in prison — a glorious epilogue to a life devoted to the cause of justice, either in dispensing it as a judge, in serving it as a barrister, or in defending it as a man and a citizen.'

Preparations for Celebrations of Great Figures of World Culture

Is there a country in which the works of Andersen have not been avidly read by several generations of children? The characters in his Tales have been given citizen rights in all parts of the world and by all peoples.

It is for this reason that the appeal of the World Council of Peace for the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of this genius of children's literature has been welcomed everywhere. Children and grown-ups are getting ready to honour the author of the famous *Fairy Tales*. In his own country, Denmark, the National Peace Committee has examined the programme of events with particular care and a committee has been appointed to study the various suggestions which have so far been made and to put forward others. The proposals under examination include the organisation of trips to Denmark by children of various nationalities to visit the Andersen museum and the places where he lived and worked.

For next April the Danish Government is organising celebrations in which Danish intellectuals will collaborate. These celebrations are to include a festival in Andersen's native town, Odense, the adaptation of some of his tales for the stage and the issue of a series of stamps.

In various countries, too, programmes are being drawn up for the commemoration of the other great figures of world culture proposed by the World Council of Peace: Montesquieu, Schiller, Mickiewicz, Cervantes and Whitman.

In France, writers, philosophers and sociologists will take part in the various events to be held in honour of Montesquieu, the author of *L'Esprit des Lois*.

In Czechoslovakia, Montesquieu will be commemorated at memorial meetings, lectures, evenings devoted to the reading of his works, and so on, which will be held in Prague, Bratislava and the other main towns. These events are being organised by the Ministry of Culture, the Peace Committee, the Law Faculty of Prague University, the Law Section of the Academy of Sciences, the Czechoslovak Lawyers' Association and the Society for the Diffusion of Political and Scientific Knowledge.

In Germany, the main events in honour of the 150th anniversary of the death of Schiller include a memorial meeting to be held in Jena on May 14 at which the great writer Thomas Mann will speak. The Schiller celebrations are being organised by the Schiller Committee 1955 whose members include famous literary, artistic and scientific figures in Germany. A number of organisations are also collaborating: the 'Schiller Stiftung' (Schiller Fund for the encouragement of young writers); the Marbach-Stuttgart Society of Friends of Schiller, the Democratic Cultural Union of Germany and the Standing Committee of the German Cultural Congress.

SUPPORT FOR PAUL ROBESON

In a letter to the 'Provisional Committee to restore Paul Robeson's passport', Professor Josef Skupa, director of the famous Puppet Theatre in Prague, writes:

'At a time when throughout the world people are opening their arms to embrace each other in peace and when through the medium of cultural exchanges, they are meeting each other in joyous festivals of the arts of all peoples, we cannot understand that in the country of Franklin, Washington and Roosevelt an artist should be refused the right to do honour to his people through his art.

'We appeal to you to take action so that Paul Robeson may once again sing of man's love for man throughout the world.'

MONTESQUIEU

Two hundred years ago, on February 10, 1755, the illustrious sociologist and writer Montesquieu died. He had been almost blind for a number of years, though this did not prevent him from continuing his work, especially *L'Esprit des Lois*, the fruit of twenty years of labour — for he was an indefatigable worker. 'I should have burned it a thousand times', he said during his last days, 'if I had not thought that it is fine thing to make onseself useful to mankind until one's last breath . . .' Thus does he define the goal of his unremitting labour. Defending *L'Esprit des Lois* before the critics of the Sorbonne and of the Index Commission, he stated: 'Therein you will find only love of good, love of peace and of the happiness of men.'

Charles de Secondat, Baron of Brède and of Montesquieu, belonged to the group of clear-minded men who made the 18th century the 'philosophers' century' and the 'age of reason'. Each in his degree, they were laying the ground for the great events that were to take place in France at the end of the 18th century and to spread like wildfire through the world. Montesquieu's first works, written between 1718 and 1721, are the *Discourse on the Cause of Echoes, On the Functioning of the Renal Glands, On the Cause of the Weight of Bodies*, and *Observations on Natural History*. They give expression to the disquiet of his time when mankind was asserting itself, when the scientific attitude was spreading and when the will to fully understand nature and the universe was making itself felt. Mediaeval metaphysics was beginning to be driven out of its positions. The old absolutism was being shaken by the upthrust of new social forces, which, however, did not all want deep-going changes in the structure of society. Certain sections only wanted to introduce some reforms to limit the chaos and abuses of the feudal system. This was Montesquieu's line. But his canny prudence could not prevent him from helping to weaken the old order of things. In his *Persian Letters* (1721) he subjects social, political, religious and literary customs to a virulent satire. It is not by chance that his book 'sold like hot cakes'. The same severity of criticism is not to be found in his subsequent great works, *Reflections on the Causes of the Greatness and Decadence of the Romans* (1734) and *L'Esprit des Lois* (1750); so well received was the latter work that in two years it went through 22 editions. Modern sociology makes its début in these works. Instead of attributing the laws to divine command, they are drawn from experience, and social relations are seen as depending on the natural conditions in each country. One of his biographers could say: 'Montesquieu has taken politics out of the hands of the church. And better still, he has helped to make politics a science.' Some of his ideas inspired the members of the Constituent Assembly and were implemented in some of the state's later institutions.

In relation to the principal concerns of our time, it is especially appropriate to stress Montesquieu's humanist ideas, his interest in progress, his refusal to consider war as a means of eradicating differences between states: 'It is not the wish of the citizen to see his homeland devouring everyone else's homeland.' 'A prince thinks that he will be greater by the ruin of a neighbouring country. On the contrary. Such is the situation in Europe that France needs Poland and Muscovy to prosper . . .'

A staunch defender of science, he considered that it should not be used for purposes of violence. In our atomic era his penetrating observations echo like a prophecy: '*I fear that someone will ultimately discover some secret which will provide a quicker way of annihilating men and destroying entire peoples and nations.*' But Montesquieu gave a very pertinent answer: 'If a fatal invention were to be discovered, it would soon be prohibited by international law and the discovery would be buried by the unanimous consent of the nations.' So must it be.

Second Soviet Writers' Congress

Seven hundred and eighty Soviet delegates from all the Republics and territories of the Soviet Union met in Moscow from December 16 to 23 to discuss the problems of creative literature. The discussion was also followed by 100 foreign writers from 39 countries.

Through the number of reports presented, the importance of the subjects treated and the scope of the discussion, the Congress rapidly became more than a mere national event — became, indeed, a debate of world-wide interest. The constant reference to the great masters of various foreign literatures made it an authentic exchange of cultural values in the light of which the problems of Soviet literature had to be studied.

In the sphere of cultural relations Congress discussed a problem of the highest interest for all writers — that of translation. Is it possible to translate poetry or prose into a foreign language without spoiling the beauty of the original? The Soviet writers gave an affirmative answer to this question, provided that translation becomes, as Mr. Tikhonov said, 'an act of friendship between two writers', that is, between author and translator.

Another very important point was Nikolai Tikhonov's report on the world's progressive literature. The translation of its main works into the various languages of the Soviet Union has consistently enriched cultural exchanges between East and West.

From beginning to end of the Congress, moreover, it was clearly stated that Soviet literature is always at the service of peace, whether it be children's literature, literature for adolescents, film scripts or literature in general.

As we have already pointed out in a previous number, the Second Soviet Writers' Congress gave its full support to the World Congress of Writers which it is proposed to hold this year.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON SCIENTIFIC FILMS

250 scientific films from various countries presented

An International Congress on Scientific Films was recently held in Paris. At this Congress the International Association for Scientific Films re-elected its Council whose members are: Mr. Jean Painleve (France), President; Professor Ponzo (Italy) and Professor Sdan (U.S.S.R.), Vice-Presidents; and representatives of the following 12 nations: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Holland, Italy, Poland, the Soviet Union, West Germany and Uruguay.

FURTHER CELEBRATIONS OF THE CULTURAL ANNIVERSARIES OF 1954

In 1954, the anniversaries of Aristophanes, Antonin Dvorak, Henry Fielding and Anton Chekhov were commemorated in many countries and in various ways, as reported in these pages. Even in the last weeks of 1954 there were many such celebrations — a sign of the interest they have created in all circles and in all countries.

In Chile, the anniversary of Aristophanes' birth was commemorated at the University by a lecture given by Mr. Juan de Luigi, literary critic. At this same meeting Mr. Ruben Sotoconil spoke of Henry Fielding and Mr. Domingo Piga dealt with the life and work of Chekhov.

A successful artistic and literary evening was held in Havana, the capital of Cuba, in the middle of December. After a speech by Dr. Elias Entralgo Y Vallina, President of the Cuban Peace Committee, Mr. Marcos Behmaras gave a lecture on the life and work of Fielding, Dr. Juan Blanco on Antonin Dvorak, Dr. Gregorio Ortega on Chekhov and Dr. Gaspar J. Garcia Gallo on Aristophanes.

The second part of the programme included a short recital of Dvorak's music and a performance of one of Chekhov's one-act plays, *The Birthday*, by the Farseros company.

ARISTOPHANES

The Polish Peace Committee and the Polish PEN Club organised a memorial meeting in Warsaw at which the President of the PEN Club, Mr. Jan Parandowski, gave a talk on the life and work of the great Greek dramatist. The artistic part of the programme included extracts from *The Birds* and *The Peace*.

*

The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia held a memorial meeting on the evening of December 27, 1954 which was attended by intellectuals, teachers, artists and writers. The opening speech was made by Professor Peive, President of the Academy and President of the Latvian Peace Committee. The evening ended with a presentation of extracts from the work of Aristophanes.

*

An exhibition of various editions of the works of Aristophanes, together with essays and monographs on his work, was opened in Leningrad on December 22. The Soviet editions include a volume entitled *The Plays of Aristophanes* which contains *The Wasps*, *The Birds*, and others of his comedies, and his complete works in several volumes.

*

In Bucharest, Academician Constantin Balmus gave a talk on the life and work of Aristophanes to a large audience, followed by a performance of an extract from *The Peace* by a group of students from the I.L. Caragiale Drama Institute. Similar events were held in other Rumanian towns such as Jassy, where a lecture on 'The Problem of Peace in the Plays of Aristophanes' was given at the Faculty of Philology.

DVORAK

The Academy of the People's Republic of Rumania held a special session at which the composer Mihail Andrico gave a talk on the great Czech musician. There was also a memorial evening in Bucharest at which the composer Sabin Dragoi gave a lecture; this was followed by a short concert of Dvorak's compositions by the soloists of the State Philharmonic Society. The life of the composer was illustrated by a large number of photographs arranged in the form of an exhibition in the hall.

Similar exhibitions and concerts, together with the showing of slides, were organised in the principal towns of the country. At Timisoara, for example, there was a public meeting at which the composer Russu Nicolae gave a talk and the symphony 'From the New World' was performed.

FIELDING

In Great Britain, the Birmingham Peace Committee organised a meeting in honour of Fielding on December 13 last.

In Rumania, Fielding's works were published and memorial meetings were held throughout the country. In Bucharest, the writer Mihnea Gheorghiu gave a talk on Fielding which was followed by a reading of an extract from *Tom Jones* by the popular artist Forly Eterle.

CHEKHOV

The Delhi Cultural Committee of the All India Peace Council staged three one-act plays by Chekhov: *The Bear*, *The Proposal* and *The Anniversary* with the collaboration of local drama associations such as the Little Theatre Group and the Delhi Art Theatre. The public and the press gave these performances a warm welcome.

In Calcutta, the Cultural Sub-Committee of the West Bengal Peace Council held a very successful public meeting in which some of the most distinguished writers of West Bengal participated. A Bengali version of one of Chekhov's short plays, *A Tragedian in Spite of Himself*, was performed.

With *Three Sisters* and *Martyrs* running at the Theatre de l'Oeuvre and the Theatre de Poche respectively, Chekhov continues to be seen on the Parisian stage.

*

The anniversaries of other great cultural figures have also given rise to important events.

The Indian public gave a warm welcome to the celebration of the anniversary of Swami Haridas, the founder of Indian music. The musician Rahimuddin Dagar, a celebrated exponent of the music of Swami Haridas, gave a recital and Mr. Dilip Chand Vedi lectured on the life and work of the composer.

*

The centenary of the birth of the Argentine scientist, Florentino Ameghino, was celebrated at a special session of the Academy of the People's Republic of Rumania. Professor Alexandru Codarcea stressed Ameghino's exceptional contribution to palaeontology and anthropology.

International Speakers at Vienna Rally

In Vienna on January 19 was held the first meeting of the world signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal. An hour and a half after the Bureau of the World Council of Peace had adopted this historic appeal to the whole of mankind asking it to oppose the danger of atomic war, eminent members of the World Council of Peace informed the people of Vienna of the launching of the Appeal at the Vargas Dreherpark. This is one the biggest halls in Vienna and it was packed to the doors.

Professor Brandweiner, President of the Austrian Peace Council, introduced the speakers, who came from eight countries.

The first speaker, Mrs. Isabelle Blume, member of the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace, stressed the importance of the signature campaign which was just beginning for the prevention of atomic war. Pandit Sundarlal, Vice-President of the All India Peace Council, brought greetings from the Indian people and made a great impression. Mr. D.N. Pritt Q.C. of Great Britain spoke in German (as did Mrs. Isabelle Blume) on the work of the Peace Movement in the United Kingdom. The audience were deeply interested in the speech of Professor Kaoru Yasui who described the terrible sufferings of the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a result of atomic bombing and the effects of the test explosions of the hydrogen bomb at Bikini. Professor Leopold Infeld, who also spoke in German, gave a physicist's view of the terrible prospects held in store by an atomic war. The audience welcomed with extraordinary enthusiasm the speech of Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China. (Dr. Kuo Mo-jo translated his own speech into German.) He brought a message of greetings from the great Chinese people who are exerting all their strength on the side of the peace camp. The speech of the Soviet dramatist Alexander Korneichuk was full of confidence in the strength of the peoples who can bring to nought the plans of those who are preparing for atomic war. This imposing demonstration of international solidarity ended with the speech of Mr. Erwin Eckert, member of the Provincial Parliament of Baden-Württemberg in West Germany, which made a great impression on the audience.

What the Press is Saying . . .

Extract from the December 23 issue of the *New York Times*

'No Distinction Possible between Strategic and Tactical Weapons,' says Mr. Hanson Baldwin.

'Mr. Dulles' somewhat arbitrary distinction between the tactical and strategic use of atomic arms, his policy of relying particularly in Southeast Asia on the deterrent effect of mobile sea and air striking forces, his assertion that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation's decision to base its defence on atomic arms insured the security of Western Europe, have raised far more questions than they answered . . .

'When is a tactical atomic weapon a strategic weapon; how do you differentiate between a weapon used against troops in the field and weapons of "mass devastation"?

'Does not Mr. Dulles know that the hydrogen bomb has been urged as a tactical weapon? Can such a weapon, which may poison an area of 4,000 to 10,000 square miles by radioactive "fall-out", be termed a tactical weapon? Is a "Corporal" guided missile with an atomic warhead and a range of 100 miles a "tactical" weapon? . . .

'In other words, if we commit ourselves to the tactical use of atomic weapons do we not open the door to their unlimited use everywhere?'

Extract from an editorial in the December 14 issue of *Politiken* (Denmark)

'They are now speaking of "tactical" atomic weapons for direct use against the armed forces of the enemy: little bombs, artillery shells, rockets. "Little" arms, yet which have a terrifying power. They would perhaps succeed in clearing the enemy out of a zone of operations but they would also annihilate thousands of civilians. We must face the possibility that armies will progressively become more and more "atomic", that gradually even rifle bullets will perhaps become small atom bombs. Where then is the limit between what one can and what one cannot permit oneself?

'During the recent military manoeuvres in Germany there was a dummy attack with a tactical atomic bomb on a bridgehead occupied by the enemy. It was estimated that the whole enemy force of 3,000 men had been wiped out — together with 50,000 civilians. So how many survivors would there be in a zone of operations if atomic weapons were used?'

Extract from an article by Mr. M. Duverger in the January 4 number of *Le Monde*

'On Christmas Eve the Deputies expressed their own and their constituents' deep desire — they rejected the rearming of one half of Germany. On New Year's Eve the Assembly bowed to the brutal determination of our Anglo-Saxon allies and sacrified French public opinion to the maintenance of the Atlantic Pact . . .

'We need hardly mention the frightful paradox of the victors of 1945, at that time absolutely determined to put an end to German militarism once and for all, today imposing on the citizens of West Germany an army they don't want. For all witnesses agree on the strength of the German people's opposition to the rearmament plans . . .

'The switchover of a few votes in Parliament may be enough for taking a legal decision, but it cannot change public opinion and the profound feelings of the nation.'

Reproduction authorised. Please acknowledge source.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 4 (2nd. Year) FEBRUARY 15, 1955

The World Campaign against Atomic War

The great campaign against the preparation of atomic war is the answer to a grave danger. For in the recent decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council the representatives of the governments concerned decided to base the whole mil tary organisation of N.A.T.O. on the use of atomic weapons – a decision which brazenly flouts world public opinion.

This is no mere trial balloon put up by individual politicians, no mere threat of some big brass-hat. It is an act of responsible governments. It means that armies are to be re-equipped on an atomic basis; it means a great increase in the number of dangerous experiments for their use. It applies to any conflict which may arise in the future. It is an encouragement to militarists and adventurers to precipitate aggression. It strengthens the possibilities for blackmail and pressure on small countries. It means that any war which might break out in any part of the world would inevitably be transformed into atomic world war. It threatens every country without distinction, just when scientists agree in recognising that atomic war could lead humanity to destruction.

Every military disposition taken or planned up till now becomes yet more threatening after the decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council.

The plans to rearm Germany become an even greater danger to world peace, since they would, in fact, arm the former Hitler generals with thermonuclear weapons.

In other parts of the world, too, the atomic danger becomes much sharper: in Asia because of military blocs like S.E.A.T.O. and of repeated provocations; in the countries of Latin America and in the Middle East, placed under the permanent threat of the use of force.

Such are the new dangers which led the Bureau of the World Council to set going with great urgency a campaign against the preparation of atomic war. This will be a signature campaign. It is based upon simple demands and common sense solutions: the destruction in all countries of stocks of atomic weapons and an immediate halt to their manufacture. These demands must be taken up by the whole human race.

In 1950, the Stockholm Appeal received 500 million signatures. The immense support given to this Appeal has been a decisive element in preventing the use of the atomic weapon in the wars which have now stopped.

Today, though it is true that the danger has become even greater, it is true too that the peoples' opposition has continually increased. This has shown itself on the widest scale in every country, far outside the circles of those who signed at the time of the Stockholm Appeal.

For these reasons, the campaign which has now started should lead to a protest movement incomparably greater than that of five years ago. The important thing is that the campaign should be developed quickly, to enable public opinion to express itself before it is too late. The World Assembly for Peace, which is to take place on the 22nd May at Helsinki, must be in a position to express the irresistible will of the peoples to oppose the preparation and the outbreak of atomic war.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- Preparing the World Assembly: Statement by Mr. Otto Nuschke. — Programme of the Japanese Peace Committee 2
- A book by Professor Joliot-Curie: 'Five Years of Struggle for Peace' 2
- Meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace (Vienna, January 17-19) ... 3 to 10
- Statement on peace by the American Peace Crusade. — National Conference of Japanese Council against the A and H bombs. — World Conference of Buddhists ... 11
- All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity. — The Peace Movement in the Soviet Union ..... 12 & 13
- Celebration of Cultural Anniversaries — Pianists of 33 Countries to Compete in Warsaw 14
- A Symbol of Student Friendship. — Reciprocal Visits by French and Soviet Students. — International Conference on University Sport in Paris 15
- Great Britain: 10,000 British call on their M.P.s to demand 'No Arming of Germany'. — France: week of action against the Paris Agreements. — Germany: actions against remilitarisation and atomic weapons. 16

PREPARING THE WORLD ASSEMBLY

Declaration by Mr. Otto Nuschke

Vice-Premier of the German Democratic Republic

I welcome the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace demanding the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the immediate stopping of their manufacture. The sentence: 'Now and in the future, we shall oppose those who organise atomic war' exactly expresses the will of all tendencies and organisations for peace and particularly of Christians throughout the world. For indeed the hydrogen bomb is incompatible with the Sermon on the Mount and the Christmas Message.

I also welcome the Bureau's decision to call a great World Assembly of Representatives of All Organisations and Tendencies for Peace in Helsinki on May 22. This World Assembly will have to act as the conscience of the peoples. It should represent all humanist tendencies whatever their philosophical views or religious convictions. We in Germany shall do our utmost to extend the influence of the peace forces and win more and more men and women to join the World Council of Peace in its work. That is the lever of Archimedes that can topple the policy of strength and the plans for a blitzkrieg.

Berlin, January 25, 1955

Plans of Japanese Peace Committee

Meeting in Tokyo on January 14 and 15, the Japanese Peace Committee decided to hold a National Assembly of Representatives of the Peace Forces at the beginning of May, prior to the World Assembly.

Other decisions taken at this meeting were:

— To make known in every corner of Japan the Appeal of the World Council of Peace for the calling of a World Assembly;

— To give special consideration to the question of cooperation with peace forces which do not belong to the World Peace Movement, by closer contacts with the trade unions and with the organisations of the peasants, women, young people, religious circles and intellectuals, and by forming preparatory committees on which these organisations would be represented;

— To organise small meetings and discussions everywhere, especially in factories, shops, schools and homes, and elect delegates to district conferences;

— The problems to be discussed with the people are the banning of the A and H bombs and peace and security in Asia.

Delegates from Hokkaido District proposed a 'Peace Cruise' from Japan to Leningrad. The ship would take representatives to the World Assembly on board and visit different countries on the way. This proposal was unanimously endorsed and the session charged the Standing Committee to draw up concrete plans for it.

A Book by Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace:

'FIVE YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR PEACE'

As part of the steps taken to mark the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the World Peace Movement 'Défense de la Paix' Publications has put out, in Paris, under the title Five Years of Struggle for Peace, *a volume of Professor Joliot-Curie's speeches, letters and articles during this period.*

The book is, in effect, a history of the World Peace Movement, its birth and development, the campaigns it has launched, the struggles it has conducted and the victories it has won. Reflected in it are the many effective actions accomplished by the peoples under its leadership since 1949 and which resulted in ending the Korea and Indo-China wars and in preventing the use of the atomic bomb in these two conflicts, thereby proving that there is no international problem that cannot be settled through negoviation.

But at the same time as he goes back over the ground covered since the Pleyel Congress with Professor Joliot-Curie, the reader finds a clear exposition of the principles and objectives of the Peace Movement, as set out and explained in each one of its President's speeches, together with the Movement's position on the major questions, failure to settle which involves the danger of another world war.

Many people, many organisations and tendencies now uphold the ideas which our Movement announced at the time of its foundation and has defended ever since. One need only mention those of the settlement of differences through negotiation or, on another level, of the dangers of German rearmament. Today, hundreds of millions of men and women are demanding with us the abolition of weapons of mass destruction.

The situation would be quite different if the Peace Movement took its stand on anything other than concrete reality and the serious analysis of this reality. The speeches of its President are an example of this.

At the Warsaw Congress Professor Joliot-Curie said, speaking of the Stockholm Appeal:

'The march towards a stable peace must be done by stages and the objectives to be successively attained must be simple . . . It was therefore the clearest and most urgent problem that had to be raised.'

That is the principle that has guided each of the campaigns launched by our Movement and the book brings out, for the benefit of all its members, this method which makes necessary the long and patient work which they are doing.

For this reason Professor Joliot-Curie's book is indispensable to all who wish to know the truth about our Movement and is a real textbook for every one of its members.

Five Years of Struggle for Peace *is also a picture of Frédéric Joliot-Curie, one of the greatest scientists of our century, at the head of the great battle against those who consciously want war, to whom he says: 'You must reckon with us.'*

The name of Joliot-Curie is today linked with the discovery of atomic energy; no one is better equipped to judge its glorious possibilities and mortal dangers. That is why his name will always be connected with the struggle for the banning of atomic weapons.

In his very first speech Professor Joliot-Curie sounds the alarm. He throws light on the awful perspective of an atomic massacre, he argues passionately. The man who personally proposed the launching of the Stockholm Appeal speaks to scientists, intellectuals and all men, strongly opposing all the fraudulent uses to which science is put.

The book ends with the warning that Professor Joliot-Curie gave on October 30, 1954: 'Do not allow the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements!' But it is not yet finished. Every struggle the peoples conduct, every new danger and every new victory will provide material for further pages. Already, in this Bulletin, further declarations by the President of the World Council of Peace have appeared.

Five Years of Struggle for Peace *has come out at the right time. Important victories have been won; decisive action is still needed against the manœuvres of those who wish to wipe out what has been achieved by the peace movement; the 1955 World Assembly is in preparation. Here we have a book which reviews the forces of the Movement, speaks the truth about what the Movement is and what it wants and provides its members with theoretical arguments.*

Fourth Hungarian Peace Congress

The Presiding Committee of the Hungarian Peace Council met on January 3. Mrs. Janos Bugar, Secretary of the Council, spoke on the tasks of the Hungarian women's movement and gave information on the results of the vast protest campaign against West German rearmament.

The Presiding Committee decided to hold the Fourth Hungarian Peace Congress in Budapest on February 26 and 27.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MEETING OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

(Vienna, January 17—19, 1955)

The last number of the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace contained the Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War, the Statement and the Appeal to the Peoples of Europe adopted by the extended meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace in Vienna on January 17—19.

The following pages contain extracts from the speeches made by members of the Bureau and guests.

There were two points on the agenda of the Bureau meeting:

1) The tasks of the Peace Movement in relation to the decision of the N.A.T.O. Council on the use of nuclear weapons.

2) The continued development of the struggle against the ratification and implementation of the Paris Agreements for the revival of German militarism.

The Rev. RAGNAR FORBECK

(Norway)

A few weeks ago Pastor Martin Niemöller, who is very well-known in Norway, sent me a circular entitled 'The Christian must not come too late'. Apropos of peaceful negotiations he writes: 'Here in West Germany they say that peace is a Soviet slogan.' It does not matter to me whether it is a Soviet slogan or not. I ask: why is it not our slogan? Are we to ask people to take an effective stand for peace, while we ourselves are incapable of speaking clearly and unequivocally? I mean that we must not only demand peace in the name of God and of Jesus Christ, but also ask the Christian Church and all Christians to start doing genuine work for peace. For it is our duty to work for peace...

Last Spring I spent five unforgettable weeks in New China, and through me the leaders of the Chinese Church sent a message to Norwegian Christians. It says:

'As Christians we cannot remain aloof from work for peace, we cannot enjoy our peace with God and be satisfied with ourselves if we neglect to work for peace among men.' I too should like to make a fervent appeal to ministers of religion and to those who belong to no denomination: 'Awake and come and work for peace with us before it is too late'...

Today, it is we, the friends of peace, who are the genuine realists. We have both feet on the ground and, to avoid falling into abstraction, we are today meeting to deal with concrete tasks: the banning of atomic weapons, the struggle against German rearmament alongside the German Social Democrats and the holding of a World Assembly of representatives of the forces of peace in every country in the world. We must do our utmost to save peace.

Mr. WILHELM ELFES

(German Federal Republic)

The idea of the rearmament of West Germany is the cause of increasing anxiety in the countries contiguous to the Federal Republic. The people of the Federal Republic themselves are more and more becoming a prey to this anxiety because they know what fascism and militarism mean; they suffered from them in their own flesh, and they see fascist and militarist elements gradually coming to dominate the policy of the Federal Republic. You, my friends, know that we West Germans, that all Germans have stated in all our conferences and congresses that the German people want peace and that the remilitarisation of West Germany is being accomplished against our will. You believed our assurances and we thank you for it. We are happy today to be able to bring you the confirmation of what has always been, as it were, a mere verbal promise. Look at West Germany now, look at the Federal Republic now! The women and the mothers are our most courageous and resolute collaborators in work for peace and against war. The young people have expressed their position clearly, resolutely and forcefully, as is only natural. They have said: we do not want to go into barracks, we do not want to take part in manœuvres, we do not want to fight another war, we do not want brothers to shoot each other down. We want an honest and secure job, we want to work for our own and our people's prosperity. The Trade Unions have adopted resolutions against remilitarisation and for negotiations which would lead to agreement, and the news that we are now receiving on the debates in the Bavarian trade unions is proof that these resolutions were not taken lightly...

The German Social Democratic Party is today openly opposed to the Paris Agreements because they are an obstacle to the reunification of Germany and to agreement. We all feel great satisfaction at the attitude of the Social Democratic Party and the work it is doing.

D. N. PRITT Q. C.

(Great Britain)

The rearmament of Western Germany, largely under the leadership of the worst elements surviving from the Nazi period, and equipped, moreover, with atomic weapons, would directly and greatly increase the danger of a third world war. It would render virtually impossible the reunification of Germany in one democratic country. It would of necessity involve the rearmament of the German Democratic Republic. All this of itself would maintain and increase the existing tension in Europe and would directly increase the likelihood of the outbreak of the third world war.

This rearmament of Western Germany would at the same time recreate the danger that a remilitarised Germany would once again turn to aggression, after all, Westwards against its creators instead of Eastwards against its intended target...

As to the fight against the proposals to use nuclear weapons, we in Britain, as most other people, know that this fight and the fight against German rearmament constitute integrally and essentially one fight; and we for ourselves in Britain know too that, if it is possible to calculate degrees of horror in the nightmare of atomic horrors which certain elements seek to prepare for the destruction of the world, the use of nuclear weapons does present greater and more direct danger to the peoples of Great Britain than to almost any other people.

Dr. JAMES G. ENDICOTT

(Canada)

I am here to speak for the 100,000 Canadian boys who lie buried in the soil of Western Europe. They died to save Western Europe from German militarism. I happen to be a veteran of the Canadian Corps of the First World War and today I speak for the conscience of the Canadian people. The overwhelming majority of the Canadian people do not want any more war, they are opposed to atomic warfare and they are opposed to any revival of German militarism . . .

There are a number of military dodos wandering loose in the atomic age. They are busy giving press interviews saying that the hydrogen bomb will be used and that atom bombs will make a jolly hot war and kill a lot of people. One of these fellows says he is a Christian and reads his Bible regularly. Well, he did not find that poisonous stuff in his Bible. In my opinion, any man today who advocates atomic warfare is a devil-worshipper. The love of God is unknown to him. Devil worshippers, armed with atom weapons, are far more dangerous than people who do not believe in God.

In 1945 one small, out-of-date bomb exploded over Nagasaki. They call it a baby bomb. That is a good name for it. Look at what that baby atom bomb has done to the babies of Nagasaki . . .
Listen to this: 8 were born without eyes or eye-sockets, 25 born without brains, 47 had undeveloped brains, 965 had abnormalities of various organs, 1,046 had degenerated bone structure, or nervous system or skin defects. In short, one baby in seven greatly harmed or ruined by one small atom bomb. And yet, today, both Dulles and the devil-worshippers are planning to use hundreds of them. Giving them into the hands of ex-Nazis will make certain that they are used. Does anybody doubt what Hitler would have done with an atom bomb?

Therefore, not only must we win the struggle against a new Nazi army but we must redouble our efforts to have our Appeal accepted by all governments, and all atomic weapons must be outlawed and abolished.

Mr. LIU CHANG-SHENG

(China)

The Chinese people have invariably opposed the rearmament of Western Germany, since the Fascist Axis of Germany, Italy and Japan brought disaster to China during the Second World War . . .

In the name of the six hundred million Chinese men and women I want to assure you of our unreserved support for the tireless struggle which the peoples of Europe have carried on against the rearmament of Western Germany and for collective peace in Europe. The support which the Chinese people give to the European peoples' struggle for peace is not only a promise but also a vow. I ask our European friends to believe in the strength of the support which the Chinese people can give, to believe in their desire to join with you and to offer you this strength . . .

Mr. EMILIO SERENI

(Italy)

Why are we once again having to raise the question of a world campaign after the great Stockholm campaign? Are we not merely repeating a campaign we have already carried out? Does it imply that we are admitting the futility of a campaign which had such repercussions in the world a few years ago?

I think that we must face up to a new situation by using new methods and that there is no question of repeating the Stockholm campaign, whatever forms this present campaign may take.

It seems to me that two new facts have been brought out in our discussion.

On the one hand, there are the increased efforts being made on a world scale by certain groups, certain political forces, to impose the rearmament of Western Germany on the people of Europe and of the whole world . . .

On the other, there is a new factor which has arrested the relaxation of international tension which began last year. It is not only the N.A.T.O. decisions indicated in the agenda but also statements on the use of the atomic bomb in the Far East — statements which are no longer being made merely by public figures or by a few brasshats, but by responsible politicians and military leaders . . .

The preparations for atomic war no longer consist merely in the manufacture of atomic and thermonuclear bombs. Concrete decisions have been taken involving the transformation of the whole military forces of certain countries on the basis of atomic strategy and tactics . . .

In my opinion, the gravity of these decisions lies in the fact that the process is irreversible. You cannot simultaneously prepare for atomic war and for another kind of war. At a given moment atomic war would become 'obligatory' if the joint forces of all the peoples did not succeed in stopping this madness.

I think that we must lay great stress on this point and mobilise the forces of the peoples immediately to prevent the world from travelling along this terrible road . . .

Mr. EMMANUEL D'ASTIER DE LA VIGERIE

(France)

Our Bureau would seem to agree now to give all its attention to the two most serious acts. The first is the unilateral decision to arm West Germany and to incorporate it in a coalition; and the second is the steps that the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation took in December on the one hand to prepare, and on the other to decide on, atomic war . . .

It is not possible to separate the two problems because, on the one hand, the rearmament of Germany will enable a new Wehrmacht to be given atomic weapons and, on the other, the new atomic strategy will lead the governments that support it to look on German territory and the German army as essential for the development of this strategy. It is for this particular reason that the French people found in the decisions taken by N.A.T.O. in December a new justification for their firm opposition to German rearmament . . .

The representatives of the French Peace Movement think that it is necessary to undertake without delay a vast campaign against the use and regularisation of atomic weapons. This campaign should neither replace nor be opposed to the campaign against remilitarisation. The campaign against the remilitarisation of Germany is not at an end and we affirm that it would not be without purpose even if ratification were to go through . . .

The French Prime Minister, Mr. Mendès-France, himself stated during the debate that if the agreements in question were only ratified by a small relative majority, that would create as many difficulties in practice as rejection. Today — and this must be repeated for the benefit of our friends from all countries — the parliamentary battle itself is not at an end. The renewal of mass popular activity at the beginning of January showed this and there exists a reasonable hope that the French Senate may put forward an amendment which will oblige the National Assembly to re-examine the agreements and refer the whole question back.

Mr. ILYA EHRENBURG

(Soviet Union)

The supporters of the 'policy of strength' themselves stress the link that exists between the revival of the Wehrmacht and the plans for the use of thermonuclear weapons. According to Louis Laroche, *France-Presse* correspondent, the leaders in the Pentagon state that they intend to carry out their programme in three or four years, a programme formulated in the following terms: 'The development of thermonuclear weapons and the complete remilitarisation of Germany'. Speaking in the House of Commons, Eden also put atomic weapons and the German divisions, which he called 'an important contribution', on the same level.

We were profoundly moved yesterday listening to the words of our President Joliot-Curie on the preparations for atomic war which threatens mankind with unprecedented horrors. Allow me to dwell on the plans to revive German militarism.

I would like to point out first of all that here we are dealing not with an equation containing unknown factors, but with the revival of the 'brown plague' that everybody knows. We have had enough of lying assurances about the allegedly new, democratic, defensive and even humanitarian nature of the West German army which Messrs. Dulles, Adenauer, Churchill and their recent but faithful friend Mendès-France are trying to set on foot! It is a question of reconstituting the same Wehrmacht which killed Churchill's countrymen and tortured Mendès-France's compatriots in the jails.

We know those whom it is intended to put at the head of the new German army: there is General Crüwell, former inspirer of the 'black Reichswehr', one of those who took part in the invasion of Yugoslavia; SS Divisional Commander General Manteuffel, butcher of old men, women and children in the Soviet Union; General Galland, one of the commanders of the Nazi air forces; Kretschmer, submarine pirate and favourite of the Führer; Heusinger, head of the strategic section of the General Staff of the Third Reich; and other war criminals. Who would dare to say that he doesn't know these gentlemen? The ruins of hundreds of towns — Polish and French towns, British and Soviet towns, know them; the widows of those who were killed and the children of those tortured to death know them; the pits where the victims of the SS lie buried know them . . .

The question of the revival of the Wehrmacht is far from being settled, but already, from Bonn, which once gave Beethoven to mankind, we can hear the cries and curses of the Nazis who are again plucking up courage. Adenauer's closest collaborators are already openly speaking of both the reunification of Germany by force and of the 1939 frontiers. The N.A.T.O. leaders are reckoning on the spirit of revenge turning the Wehrmacht against the East — that is why they are in such a hurry to carry out the Paris Agreements. They want to see the revival of the army which reduced half of Europe to ashes, the army of the Anschluss, the army with marching songs about Strasbourg cathedral and Danish Schleswig, the army of revenge, of hatred and death . . .

We have spoken a great deal about the principle of negotiation which should do away with the policy of strength. We have many times called on the politicians and the diplomats. Now we must call on the peoples. The principle of negotiation must, of course, prevail, but we must say to the ordinary people of all countries: 'If you do not now bring your diplomats and your politicians to the round table, they will drag you later on before the recruiting board, to the trenches and the air raid shelters.' The peoples of Europe will never agree to the revival of the Wehrmacht. No underhand combinations, arranged in the lobbies or buffets of the various parliaments, will give legal force to the Paris agreements. These agreements, on which the fate of Europe depends, were passed in Britain and France on a vote of only a minority of M.P.s. Is there any need to say that the majority of the electors of these countries, like the majority of West Germans, repudiate the revival of the Wehrmacht. All the cunning politicians will not succeed in imposing on the majority the will of the minority when it is a question of life or death.

The supporters of peace are the leaven of the peoples. The outcome of the main struggle for peace depends today on our efforts, our enthusiasm and our sacrifices. The peoples want to live. They will prevent the revival of the Wehrmacht. They will put an end to preparations for atomic war. They will save peace.

Mr. LOUIS SAILLANT

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

All workers, whether or not they are members of our trade union organisations, know full well that the legalisation of the use of atomic weapons would make it easier for them to be used. Weapons of mass destruction make no distinctions and workers affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and to the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions would all be their unfortunate victims.

This being so, we propose that the signature campaign for the appeal we shall issue at the end of this meeting should be carried on everywhere, in all trade unions and at all places of work.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is ready to call on its 80 million members and their leaders throughout the world to sponsor groups or committees for collecting signatures in all factories, whatever the categories of workers.

I repeat that we look on this task as a task of honour and that we are fully aware of our responsibilities, not only to our members but to world opinion as a whole.

Dr. JOSEF HROMADKA

(Czechoslovakia)

The main issues of the present era won't be solved on the level of diplomacy or the average routine politics, they will be solved in the hearts, in the minds and in the actions of the people in our villages, towns, and factories, on farms and everywhere, in all ways, in all walks of life . . .

It always takes a long time until we are able to reach the living heart of man, but my experiences have taught me that the situation is not hopeless; if we are sincere, if we know what we want and if we bring relevant arguments for our point of view, we

On January 16 at Frankfurt-on Main in the German Federal Republic there was a mass rally and march which lasted for several hours in protest against remilitarisation and for the rejection of the London and Paris Agreements. Five thousand young people took part: trade unionists, Falcons, Socialist youth, the Friends of Nature, members of the German Federation of Socialist Students, the German Youth Community and other organisations.

cannot help having a success. Young people, students and genuine Christians among the church members are ready to listen, to react, to understand and to modify their own views even in the countries which belong to what we call the Western orbit of our present world. Is it not very significant that during the discussions at the General Assembly of the World Council of Churches last August at Evanston in the United States, a resolution was unanimously adopted urging all the Governments of the world to work for the abolition of the atom bomband to make some significant step along the lines of disarmament. That is very significant and very, very good . . .

The situation is grave. The situation may be disturbing and we have to be vigilant, we have to concentrate upon the points of danger and we have to have strong convictions of what we have to do. But we have to have a hopeful and joyful approach to the big issues of our time.

Mrs. ISABELLE BLUME

(Belgium)

SECRETARY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

I speak here on behalf of all those little countries which for centuries have been ground between France and Germany as between the upper and nether millstones and which have been destined, throughout their history, to be the battlefield of Europe . . .

The most fabulous arsenal in the world is going to be set up on their doorstep and everywhere there will be stocks of atomic weapons which are rather evidence of the dangers we are running than of the power they confer on their possessors.

But all these evils that are piling up through the reconstitution of the Wehrmacht culminate in an even greater evil: the Wehrmacht will be in possession of atomic weapons and could use them tactically and strategically . . .

The N.A.T.O. decision obliges us to think of what would happen to our countries if war were unleashed. Holland, whose territory has been won from the sea in a battle that has gone on for centuries, will disappear under the sea again with the first hydrogen bomb that is dropped on her. The population of Belgium, which is one of the most dense in the world, will be destroyed at one blow, and the blast furnaces of the Grand Duchy are much too visible and tempting targets to be missed by the annihilating thunderbolt . . .

But our peoples have learned that it is possible to struggle against the decisions of governments and parliaments . . .

Let the parliaments be besieged by deputations, let the will of ordinary people be brought to their notice so that the divorce between those who claim to represent the nations and accept the preparations for war on the one hand, and ordinary people not one of whom wants war, on the other, is made more and more strikingly clear.

And when we say not one we are thinking of the German people who, aware of their responsibility, are for the first time in the history of this century refusing to be the chosen instrument for unleashing another war which would mean both their destruction and ours. By struggling for their security, our little countries wish to help in the reunification, democratisation and pacification of Germany. To live in a world at peace is their only chance of survival.

Mr. ALBERTO CAVALCANTI

(Brazil)

The anger felt throughout the world as a result of the N.A.T.O. decision has been very deeply felt in my country. For this reason the Brazilian Peace Movement very strongly supports the proposals made at this meeting of the Bureau for a great signature campaign against atomic and thermonuclear weapons.

The Stockholm Appeal won four and a half million signatures in Brazil; this new campaign will win many more. The choice of the South Pole as a testing ground for the hydrogen bomb after the tragedy in the Pacific is a direct and frightful threat to the countries of Latin America.

We strongly support this signature campaign and ask all scientists, artists and intellectuals through out the world to join with their peoples in preventing another war at any price and in demanding the absolute banning of weapons of mass destruction which are a threat to all the peoples of the world.

Mr. BRUNO BERNINI

PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

The World Federation of Democratic Youth will give its full support to the world campaign and will put forth all its strength to make it a success. It has convened its Executive Committee for the month of February and the first point on the agenda is the young people's contribution to the struggle against the danger of an atomic war. Already, a number of delegations are setting out to take the decisions adopted here to many countries and to see to it that in the preparations for this summer's Fifth World Festival the young people express, in their own way, their support for this great campaign.

Mr. ERWIN SCHARF

(Austria)

In 1950 and 1951 more than 800,000 Austrians signed the Stockholm Appeal and, later, many public figures and organisations of various tendencies went on record for the banning of the atomic bomb . . .

The obviously positive effect of the Stockholm Appeal and the fact that it met with such a big response that it has so far succeeded in preventing the use of the atomic weapon convinces us that a further effort of this kind could help to spare the world an unspeakable catastrophe. It would be a great honour for us if such an important campaign were to start from our capital, Vienna.

If West Germany is rearmed and incorporated in N.A.T.O. the former Hitler generals will also have atomic weapons at their disposal.

The fact that the politicians in control in West Germany have still not given up their claims to Austria in itself shows the dangers of such a development for Austria . . .

The launching of a great campaign by this Vienna meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace could make a capital contribution to the security of Europe. Austria can have no future except in a peaceful Europe and is therefore vitally interested in the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. HSIEH PANG-TING

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STUDENTS

In accordance with its main watchword, 'Peace, national independence and a democratic education', and with its constitution, the International Union of Students gives its support, together with other peace-loving students in the world, to the call of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

At this decisive time when civilisation is under the grave threat of the use of nuclear weapons, we are sure that the students of the whole world will know what attitude to adopt and will take resolute action alongside the peace-loving peoples.

I conclude with these words of the Japanese students:

'Let us never allow another Hiroshima in the world!'

Mr. ANTOINE TABET

(Lebanon)

The peoples of the Near and Middle East are following with great interest and sympathy the struggle that is being conducted by all the peoples of Europe against the revival of German militarism. They are quite aware of the danger this represents not only to the security of Europe but to world peace . . .

We are aware of the gravity of the international situation and of the incalculable dangers to our countries and to mankind as a whole that could result from the use of atomic weapons at any level whatsoever . . .

The hundreds of thousands of people, from the man in the street to the most authoritative public figures, who signed the Stockholm Appeal, are still with us. The number of peace supporters has considerably increased in our countries and throughout the world. They can do better and they will do better.

It is our duty to tell them today, in the most solemn manner, that their future, the future of their children, their country and even of the human race is in their hands.

Mr. ABDUL RAHMAN BOUCHAMA

(Algeria)

Yes, a great campaign must be launched immediately . . .

In this respect, signature campaigns and world-wide days of action have in the past given the greatest stimulus and the best results. A world signature campaign is therefore indicated, but in size and effectiveness it must be different from all previous campaigns . . .

We salute the millions of signatures that have already been collected in Japan. We salute the Asian and Afro-Asian Conferences which are in preparation in the Far East. We salute the French people's great fight against the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements and we hope that it will win victory at the last moment . . .

All this constitutes an immense capital and augurs an unprecedented success.

The biggest problem will be the practical mobilisation of the millions of people throughout the world who would like nothing better than to go into action. Never at any time have we felt a greater need for wide, powerful national peace movements . . .

Speaking of the particular problems of North Africa, Mr. Bouchama continued:

North Africa is the main base of the so-called peripheral strategy. Algeria even has the sad privilege of belonging to the Atlantic Pact. Of course, it was others who signed for her. In our countries there are stocks of atomic weapons and aerodromes from which atomic bombers can take off . . .

Our people have every reason for mobilising and giving a mass reply to the Appeal that will come out of this Bureau meeting.

Mrs. HILDE NEUMANN

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DEMOCRATIC LAWYERS

Do there already exist international law conventions concerning the use of atomic weapons? To this question one must unreservedly reply in the affirmative . . .

In 1907 in the Hague Convention relative to war on land, the States agreed that the horrors of war must be kept within certain limits and that the civilian population of the belligerent countries must be spared. After the First World War this principle was confirmed and adapted to the new conditions in the Convention banning the use of toxic and asphyxiating gases signed in Geneva in 1925. This Convention was ratified by 49 States . . .

Like the 1948 Convention on genocide, the Nuremberg Judgement constitutes the broadest basis for classifying any new kind of weapons of mass destruction, any new technique in this domain as a violation of international law, as a crime . . .

No one can cast any doubt on the fact that the use of atomic weapons, even considered from a purely juridical point of view, constitutes the gravest crime. But any form of preparation for using atomic weapons is also a violation of international law.

PROFESSOR LEOPOLD INFELD

(Poland)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The Polish people cannot and will not be passive in the face of a reborn German militarism. Our past experiences are too deeply rooted in our memory for that.

The ratification of the Paris agreements will make the peaceful solution of the German problem impossible . . .

Those who engineered the Paris agreements claim just the opposite and try to convince a few naive people that the ratification of the Paris agreements will make negotiations easier. How can one talk about new negotiations for the peaceful solution of the German problem when at the same time one is rebuilding German might, when one is providing the divisions of the reborn Hitler Wehrmacht with atomic, chemical and other weapons of mass destruction in accordance with the latest decision of N.A.T.O?

The session of the World Council of Peace in 1953 announced that the idea of negotiations is in contradiction with the creation of *faits accomplis* because, then, all discussions are meaningless. This is doubly true today and therefore it is not true that the ratification of the Paris agreements will make negotiations easier . . .

At the last meeting of N.A.T.O. the use of atomic weapons was regularised. Atomic weapons will be put in the hands of the new Wehrmacht, that is, in the main the same men who killed millions of people in Europe. This N.A.T.O. decision is one more reason why the Polish people, together with other European nations, must strengthen their fight against the remilitarisation of Germany. Today, the fight against the remilitarisation of Germany is linked up with the fight against atomic war.

I would like to end my general remarks with a few concrete proposals concerning the tasks which lie before us. First we must, without frightening people, explain to every man and woman what atomic war would mean for them, tell them that the prevention of such a war depends on them, tell them that such a war will never happen if they are against it . . .

Secondly, we, as members of parliament, must be aware of what an atomic war means. Appeals and mutual visits of Members of Parliament from different countries would help in this matter . . .

Thirdly, we should organise as many international visits and meetings as we can, all dealing with the threat of atomic war.

Fourthly, we must publish good, attractively printed books and pamphlets, written by our best writers.

We must bend all our efforts towards saving mankind from the viciousness of the enemies of peace. This is the most noble and important task that lies before us. And in it we must and shall not fail.

Mr. PAUL DELANOUE

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TEACHERS' UNIONS

We believe that a great universal campaign against weapons of mass destruction, against preparations for a third world war, arousing energy, initiative and devotion, will be successful. We shall be able to give great support to such a campaign, not only among the teachers but also among the parents and students, bearing the experiences in the various countries in mind, seeing to it that they all converge on the same objective, and encouraging initiative . . .

All teachers can, for various reasons and using their own arguments, give their help and support or create favourable conditions for a world campaign against weapons of mass destruction . . .

At the present time, for one reason or another, the major teachers' professional organisations are not remaining aloof from the peoples' fight for peace; on the contrary . . .

For us, the struggle against the atomic weapon is not simply agitation. It is an educative activity. It is the affirmation of our confidence in mankind's possibilities. Man has shown that he can understand and master the forces of nature; great scientists like Professor Joliot-Curie have made science advance with seven-league strides. At present we are confronted with something that depends on man and on man alone — avoiding war; and it is our duty as teachers to do our utmost to see to it that the conscience of mankind stops war.

PROFESSOR KAORU YASUI

(Japan)

GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE JAPANESE NATIONAL COUNCIL AGAINST ATOMIC AND HYDROGEN BOMBS

On January 16th, that is, the day after I left Japan, a general conference of the National Council against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was held in Tokyo; and, according to telegrams I have received, it passed some important resolutions including one to convoke a world conference against nuclear weapons and another against the N.A.T.O. decisions sanctioning the use of nuclear weapons . . .

Japanese militarism caused measureless harm to the peoples of the world, while the Japanese people themselves had to suffer unspeakable miseries. The tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, in particular, were beyond description. Through these bitter experiences, the Japanese people, and especially housewives and mothers, began to think, in earnest, that they should never allow another war in the world, in order to protect the lives and happiness of all and especially of the coming generation . . .

The U.S. experiment with a hydrogen bomb at Bikini horrified not only the crew of the *Daigo Fukuryu Maru*, who were the direct victims, but also to the people of Japan as a whole. This, on top of Hiroshima and Nagasaki! Our indignation finally exploded. And it eventually became crystallised in the signature campaign. Many, who had never had any experience of the peace movement, joined; housewives and mothers played particularly important and courageous roles at the head of this campaign. It was nothing less than a 'gushing torrent of national feeling' . . .

As a consummation of this kind of work, we have a project for a 'world conference on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs' in Hiroshima on August 6th, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on that city. The preparations are now in progress . . .

Further, as a means of bringing the problem of the bombs to the attention of the peoples of the world, we have great hopes for a project of making a film with international cooperation . . .

The international situation, which seemed to get brighter after the success of the Geneva Conference, has again darkened owing to the prospect of the London and Paris Agreements. Moreover, a new danger has been born as a result of the decision taken by N.A.T.O. to permit and regularise atomic war. We Japanese fully realise how important and precarious the present situation is. There is no other way to meet it than by reinforcing the peace forces in every part of the world in order to confront the war forces and to bring their plans to nought.

Last year, the nucleus of the Peace Movement in Japan was the signature campaign against the atomic and hydrogen bombs. And, this year, with the new state of affairs in the world, we must make it develop into a world movement uniting all the peoples of the antagonistic camps. Moreover, other forms of peace activity, including the campaigns against rearmament, will have to be advanced on the strength of the success of the anti-atomic and hydrogen bomb drive.

Mrs. EUGENIE COTTON

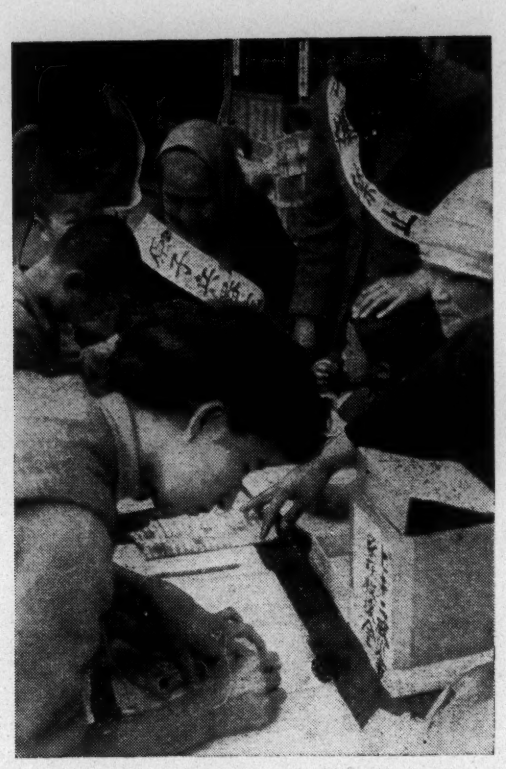
(France)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE — PRESIDENT OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION

From one meeting to another we have seen great progress in women's understanding of political problems. This is of great importance when we think of the role women play in the formation of public opinion.

It goes without saying that women in the countries directly threatened by German rearmament feel the need to unite and oppose it. But it is a remarkable fact that the women of Argentina should also have sent messages to the French Deputies to show their opposition to the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements . . .

Faced with the pressing dangers that threaten mankind, the Women's International Democratic Federation will closely associate itself with the preparation and holding of the World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace which the Peace Movement has called for next May. To achieve the maximum mobilisation of women in all countries, the Federation has convened for June a World Congress of Mothers to protect their children from war, for disarmament and friendship between the peoples . . .



The signature campaign for the banning of nuclear weapons in Japan. A signature-collecting stall at Meguro Station in Tokyo.

The idea of the Congress of Mothers is arousing the enthusiasm of all our national organisations and of many public figures. It will be an important contribution to the work of the Peace Movement and I hope that it will find support among the organisations taking part in the World Assembly, for we both serve the same cause, the cause of peace.

Mr. KUO MO-JO

(China)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

One month ago, at its short two-day session, the N.A.T.O. Council revealed its criminal intention to massacre the peace-loving peoples by using atomic weapons . . .

The Chinese people and all the peoples of Asia consider such an open act of preparation for atomic war as a serious provocation in opposition to the will of mankind . . .

We Chinese people expressed our ardent support for the historic Stockholm Appeal against atomic weapons launched in 1950.

At that time the People's Republic of China had only been in existence for a short while, but the number of signatures collected for the appeal exceeded 220,000,000 . . .

Recently, the chief of the United States General Staff, Admiral Radford, publicly stated that in the event of a new military conflict, atomic weapons will be used not only in Korea but in other regions. It goes without saying that this is a new threat to the Chinese people arising from the problem of Taiwan . . .

Today, however, these threats of an atomic war have taken a step forward. They have already passed the stage of an irresponsible clamour set up by certain individuals and have become open agreements made between responsible government leaders.

How can the will of all mankind tolerate such a serious provocation without protest?

We are convinced that this cannot be, cannot possibly be.

'Even if you are not ill, a thousand accusing fingers can make you die.' This is one of the most popular proverbs in China. It means that the will of mankind — the criticisms, reproaches and accusations coming from the people — represent an incomparable force . . .

We must mobilise world public opinion so that more than 2,000 million men and women throughout the world raise their hands and point accusing fingers at those who are in favour of atomic war . . .

We are firmly confident that we shall abolish the threat of atomic war.

Mr. NAZIM HIKMET
(Turkey)

Will the atomic bomb be dropped or not, that is the question . . .

Turkey has possessed atomic weapons for a long time and recently manœuvres with atomic weapons were held. The N.A.T.O. powers have decided to use atomic weapons on the basis of the result of these manœuvres in Turkey . . .

It depends on the peoples of Iraq, Iran and Turkey whether atomic weapons will be used in the Middle East or not.

Although their peoples are for peace, it is impossible to organise peace committees and to make publicity for peace in these countries.

But in spite of everything our Peace Movement must make its voice heard legally and it must take advantage of every opportunity and possibility . . .

It must try to see what can be done.

Mr. LUIS VIDALES
(Colombia)

The phenomena of the modern world teach us that we cannot consider events as being foreign to us simply because they take place in far-off regions. German rearmament and the N.A.T.O. decision are beyond a doubt to be taken as a single fact, now that the tendency of those who want war is to set up armies organised for atomic war. But German rearmament exactly corresponds to the policy that these same people are following in Latin America. Now, we fully understand that we are not far away from the war centres, that the atomic bomb can be dropped on our peoples as well, and that we shall therefore not be spared the consequences of its use in any part of the world. At the present time a great hope is arising for the peoples of Latin America — I mean the Soviet offer to set up factories in other countries for the peaceful and progressive use of atomic energy. This offer is filling our movements with a new enthusiasm. For these reasons, we give our full support to the proposal put forward by the President of the World Council of Peace and discussed at this meeting of the Bureau.

Mr. GABRIEL D'ARBOUSSIER
(French West Africa)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

German rearmament is significant proof that we may once again find ourselves with a rifle in our hands in the Senagalese light infantry, as it used to be and still is called; that we may have recruitment once again and all the other hard conditions that the peoples of Africa had to go through during the war.

I might add that the last war saw the German army in Africa for the first time, and that, too, is an important indication of what German rearmament and the revival of German militarism mean . . .

Mr. d'Arboussier then explained that the peoples of Africa are particularly sensitive to the threat of atomic weapons because the Japanese precedent makes them fear that these weapons will above all be used against coloured people.

There exists in Africa, *he said*, the idea that there is a sort of innate solidarity between Africa and Asia; from this point of view I think that the Afro-Asian Conference is an excellent thing, but I think that we must go further.

As to the atom-bomb — and it is the duty of all of us in Africa to explain this — it is not merely a threat directed against peoples because they are of a different colour, because they belong to one race rather than another. It is a threat directed against mankind as a whole.

Dr. NESTOR GRANCHELLI CHA
(Argentine)

On behalf of the Argentine Peace Council I wish to declare that we support the proposal to launch a great campaign against atomic weapons immediately, for we are convinced that the recent N.A.T.O. decisions have aggravated the danger of wiping out mankind in a fiendish manner . . .

In signing the Stockholm Appeal, millions of Argentinians showed their determination to prevent civilisation from being wiped out. Recently, the peasants — who constitute 60 per cent of the population of Latin America — have, through their most representative organisations, the Argentine Agrarian Federation and the Argentine Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives, gone on record against the use of atomic weapons. But the most striking action on the national, and even on an international, level has been that taken by thousands of Argentine doctors. They collected the signatures of the most eminent members of the medical profession in our country — university professors, Deans and former Deans of medical faculties, directors of hospitals and so on — and sent a message to the United Nations demanding the banning of weapons of mass destruction. The United Nations replied to this request through its Disarmament Commission, stating that it would be studied together with the other aspects of the problem.

Moreover, the members of the Peace Movement approached the Members of Parliament to get them to voice this popular demand. The parliamentary group of the Radical Civic Union, the party to which I belong, recently studied this question with a view to tabling a draft resolution in the Chamber of Deputies. A similar step had already been taken by the Peronista Deputy, Mr. Bustos Fierro.

We can assure you that, in this new campaign, no section of the Argentine people will remain aloof from this noblest of struggles, the struggle to save life.

Mr. A. FADEYEV
(Soviet Union)

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

The N.A.T.O. Council has decided to use atomic weapons in the new war that this bloc is striving to launch.

This decision was taken with the participation of government representatives of the countries taking part in this aggressive bloc . . .

Everything happening in the N.A.T.O. countries, since its Council took this adventurous, inhuman decision, makes us, the friends of peace, tell all peace-loving peoples throughout the world frankly the following: 'The activity of the enemies of peace has gone over into a new stage, a more dangerous one. The threat of atomic war is hanging over the peoples and they must fully realise the fact. They can and must defeat the preparations for atomic war and they are strong enough to do so . . .'

Millions and millions of people throughout the world know that while the Soviet Union acts for the peaceful settlement of international problems, this is not because it is weak but because it wishes to develop in peace and protect itself and other countries against monstrous and absurd destruction and human losses. The Soviet Union is in a position to apply its policy of peace successfully precisely because it is strong . . .

The most ardent enemies of peace, among whom there are clear-sighted men, know full well that the Soviet Union is strong. But that is precisely why, from time to time, they circulate myths about the weakness of the Soviet Union in some sphere or other, so as to deceive the peoples and win them over to their adventurous policy . . .

But there are still large numbers of good, honest but inexperienced people who believe these myths because they are deceived, day in, day out.

To these people I must say, first of all: 'Do not believe the myth that the Soviet Union speaks up for the banning of atomic weapons because it is alleged to feel weaker in this sphere than the aggressive United States. Do not believe those who tell you so. They have seen nothing, they have reckoned nothing, they know nothing.'

The Soviet Union opposes the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons primarily because it considers that they are the most criminal and most inhuman of all types of weapons of mass destruction, and because it wishes to spare its people and other peoples the incalculable losses that the use of such weapons could bring about.

The Soviet Union did not possess this weapon when the aggressive circles of the United States began to brandish the atomic bomb in front of us. We were compelled to arm ourselves with these bombs also in order to protect our country, the hope of mankind, against the adventurist activities of men who have lost all semblance of humanity. But always, and at all stages, the Soviet Union has been and remains a supporter of the banning of atomic weapons and is for the establishment of strict inter-

national control of this ban, and for the peaceful use of atomic energy. The Soviet Union is also in favour of stopping atomic and hydrogen bomb tests and of the simultaneous destruction by all states of their stockpiles...

I would like to remind you that during the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet Union agreed, in order to reach a successful solution to this problem, to accept the Anglo-French draft proposals, as a basis of agreement, as a result of which unanimity was achieved in the United Nations on the problem of the peaceful use of atomic energy also.

The Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. has recently published a communique on scientific and technical assistance to a number of countries regarding the peaceful use of atomic energy—to China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the German Democratic Republic. The question of extending the number of countries which could receive such assistance is being studied...

All thinking men, all impartial men, can see that the decision of the N.A.T.O. Council on the preparation of atomic war is contrary to the agreements reached at the U.N. and that this decision and these agreements are incompatible.

The Soviet Union will continue to base itself on these agreements and act to win the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons...

Though they have been deceived by the propaganda of the enemies of peace, the people of the West must give up the naive idea that the atomic weapon can serve as a guarantee of security in the hands of aggressive politicians and military men. On the contrary, the mad and adventurous policy of these ephemeral governments can at any moment make their own peoples the victims of an atomic war of extermination. The guarantee of security lies in the banning of the atomic weapon and general disarmament.

Mr. SUROSO

(Indonesia)

A few years ago, when the Indonesian Peace Committee started a big campaign against atomic weapons, many people in our country were sceptical, and quite a number thought it was just empty propaganda. But later on, thanks to the continuous work of enlightenment, the people became aware of the dangers of atomic war, and the campaign began to be successful. This could be seen by the spontaneous indignation of our people on the occasion of the explosions at Bikini last March.

This indignation was so great that it became a movement in which people from all walks of life participated...

The Indonesian people nowadays are struggling for the extension of the idea of peaceful co-existence, to widen the peaceful areas, and to safeguard and complete their national independence. These principles are supported by the people and the government alike, and they constitute the main strength of our peace forces.

We are aware that these efforts would not mean anything should an atomic war break out...

My country is situated far from Europe. I know that the decision of the N.A.T.O. Council is a decision by a military alliance in Europe, but it is a great mistake to say that this question is a matter which only concerns Europe. I believe that once atomic weapons are used, there will be no question of where they will be used first... And if this happens, there will no longer be any borders of war or any peace areas...

That is why the struggle against German rearmament and the use of atom weapons must have the full support of the peoples all over the world...

Mr. RENATO BERTOLINI

SECRETARY OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF RESISTANCE FIGHTERS

A world campaign against atomic weapons can only strengthen our struggle against German rearmament. I believe that resistance fighters, those who escaped from the Nazi prisons, and the victims of fascism and Nazism, have sufficient reasons for striving to prevent such terrible weapons from being put into the hands of men who were capable of exterminating millions of men, women and children...

Dr. VOLODIA TEITELBOIM

(Chile)

A month ago the Chilean Peace Council met in Santiago de Chile and decided to give a strong stimulus to the campaign for the banning of the use of atomic weapons. The Council took into consideration the announcement made a few days before that the United States would conduct tests on the H bomb in the Antarctic Ocean in order to experiment with the possibility of melting the vast fields of ice at the South Pole. Chile possesses more than a million square kilometres of territory in the Antarctic. More serious still, the people of Chile remember the terrible fate of the Japanese fishermen. They do not want America to be made a guinea-pig for the hydrogen bomb, any more than they want to be cannon-fodder in a third world war.

It is for this reason that the great campaign launched here will not be something exported from Vienna but rather something bound up with the fears and the deepest desires of the peoples of Latin America who wish to protest their own interests.

CLOSING SPEECH

PANDIT SUNDARLAL

(India)

For the present I think if there is any organisation which represents the peoples of the world, the voice of the peoples of the world, the fortunes of the peoples of the world, it is this organisation.

My dear friends, the responsibility upon our shoulders therefore is great and I hope, I am sure, we all realise that responsibility. We are here not merely to discuss politics. We are here to fulfil a sacred mission, we are to unite the peoples of the world. We are to make their voice heard by the governments of the world, for after all the peoples are greater than the governments. We are to maintain the progress of the world, the prosperity of the world, the peace of the world, the very existence of the world...

India naturally abhors war, war as such, and even more so as a means of solving world problems. Our government's humble efforts to keep out of blocs and to help in the solution of all differences between nation and nation, through peaceful negotiations, are but a natural outcome of our immediate past as well as of our ancient traditions...

Every Indian believes that men who can plan to massacre in cold blood innocent and unarmed men, women and children, invalids in their beds and babes in their mothers' arms, have already forfeited the right to be called civilised or cultured, or even human... I may not dwell upon the possible consequences of the use of such weapons of mass destruction... I once more only assure you that the entire people of India stand, and will throughout stand solidly shoulder to shoulder with you in your noble efforts...

We must do all that we can to get as many signatures as we can for this appeal issued by our worthy President. We have to reach every corner of the globe, we have to reach every country and every individual. We have to wake up the conscience of the world. We must remember that we represent the conscience of the peoples of the world; that we represent the voice of the peoples of the world.

A very heavy responsibility falls upon us and therefore I close with a serious appeal to you, with an earnest appeal to you, that each one of you as he goes away from this hall will do his utmost to see to it that this Movement for Peace succeeds, will do his utmost to see to it that every man and woman who can express his or her opinion signs the Appeal. We have to go from door to door, from house to house, and we hope, let us hope, that these efforts of ours will bear fruit...

The Peace Movement expects every man and woman to do his or her duty.

American Peace Crusade Statement on Formosan Situation

In a statement on the situation in Formosa, the American Peace Crusade expresses the great anxiety felt by the American people as a result of recent developments in United States policy in the Far East.

'The Cairo Conference of 1943 between the United States, Great Britain and China pledged the restoration of Formosa to China after World War II,' states the American Peace Crusade. 'No international conference or body has withdrawn this pledge. It is therefore understandable why the Government of the People's Republic of China regards U.S. actions off the Chinese coast as interference in its internal affairs.

'Whatever differences exist between the United States and China can be solved peacefully . . .'

In conclusion the American Peace Crusade calls for an avalanche of letters, resolutions and wires to the President, Congressmen and Senators urging that 'no hasty action be taken which could end in world annihilation'.

Avert the Prospect of an Atomic War

Academician Dimitri Skobeltsin, who has just been designated to represent the Soviet Union at the United Nations consultative commission which has been charged with the preparation of the international conference on the peaceful use of atomic energy, has published an article in the Moscow review *International Life*.

The eminent atomic scientist shows how the major international problems relative to the stockpiling of A and H bombs in the United States and the Soviet Union could be solved.

'The solution', writes Academician Skobeltsin, 'lies in setting up and consolidating the system of security, the first foundations of which were laid by the creation of the United Nations Organisation. It is the establishment of a system of relations between the peoples which will ensure the settlement of disputes through negotiations and agreements acceptable to all concerned.

'The problem of the banning of atomic weapons and of the establishment of a system of control over the implementation of this step is, in my opinion, one of the most important problems, if not the most important problem, that the United Nations is called upon to solve . . .

'The best, or more exactly the only solution is the banning of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

'Throughout the centuries mankind has always rejected wars for the extermination of whole populations. There have always been laws of war based on the inadmissibility of such wars. In present circumstances these principles dictate the imperative necessity of banning the atomic bomb.

'Today the problem is this: either mankind will succeed in barring the way to atomic war—and we believe that this is what will happen—or the world will be hurled into a devastating war. We believe that it is necessary and possible to avert such a prospect.'

National Conference of Japanese Peace Movement against A and H Bombs

The Japanese Peace Movement's National Conference against the A and H bombs, which was held in Tokyo on January 16, registered over 22 million signatures demanding the banning of the A and H bombs. It adopted an 'Appeal to the Peoples of the World' and a 'Resolution condemning the N.A.T.O. decision to arm its troops with atomic weapons'.

Three hundred delegates from all parts of Japan attended the conference, among them the families of victims of the hydrogen bomb tests. The Conference made clear the need for the movement to widen its range and take on an international significance. To this end it was decided:

— to send representatives to international meetings such as the Conference of Asian Countries and the World Assembly of Representatives of All Organisations and Tendencies for Peace, and others;

— to send information and material to other countries;

— to call a World Conference for the banning of the A and H bombs in Hiroshima on August 6, 1955.

The Conference also adopted a resolution urging the Japanese Government to send representatives to the Afro-Asian Conference.

Appeal to the Peoples of the World

'. . .The atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki caused the instantaneous death of 200,000 people in the former city and 90,000 in the latter. But the tragedy did not end with the bombing. Even today, ten years later, we are still seeing survivors dying suddenly from diseases resulting from radioactive contamination . . .

'The effects of the test explosions of the hydrogen bomb at Bikini resulted in the death of Mr. Kuboyama and in serious injuries to the other fishermen on board the *Daigo Fukuryu Maru*. Furthermore, the radioactive emanations given off by these tests contaminated fish—the Japanese people's main source of protein—rainwater and agricultural products, thereby endangering the lives of the Japanese people . . .

'Therefore the Japanese people make the following appeal to the peoples of the world:

"The use of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the testing of these weapons must be banned unconditionally . . .

"We want atomic energy to be used only for peaceful purposes and for the happiness of mankind.

"We hope that the United Nations will continue the negotiations for general disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction . . .

"We call on the peoples of the world to send their representatives to the World Conference for the Banning of the A and H Bombs which will be held in August." '

Resolution against the N.A.T.O. Decisions

'. . .The N.A.T.O. Council has authorised the Supreme Commander of the N.A.T.O. forces to arm his troops with atomic weapons . . .

'The Japanese people, who have thrice suffered disaster from the atomic and hydrogen bombs, consider this decision to be a challenge to mankind and demand that the N.A.T.O. Council withdraw it.'

In a message of 'Hope and Peace' broadcast by the Swiss National Radio Company at the New Year, Queen Elizabeth of Belgium spoke of the problem of nuclear weapons in these terms:

'The marvellous discoveries of science which are bringing us ever nearer to universal harmony must never become a nightmare to mankind and lead it to destruction and death. The researches and discoveries, indeed the very life of great, inspired men implant in us a loftier conception of man and his destiny. This conception must bring all the peoples together.

'My most ardent hope is to see this progress resulting in a better life, physically, intellectually and morally.'

The Duty of Every Man

In connection with the Vienna Appeal, the Presiding Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences has published a statement which says:

'It is the duty of every man to demand the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the immediate stopping of their manufacture. The danger of the use of atomic weapons will always exist so long as they have not been destroyed and their destruction banned once and for all.

'Only the common action of all men and women can eliminate this threat to mankind and civilisation. In the name of conscience and reason we enter the battle for the destruction and banning of atomic weapons.'

World Conference of Buddhists Opposes Use of A and H Bombs

The World Conference of Buddhists, held in Burma last December, was attended by Buddhists from 29 countries including Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, France and Germany. The delegated included the Cambodian and Thailand Ministers for Religious Affairs, the Rev. Asakura, a high dignitary of the Otaniwa sect of Buddhism, and 60 other Japanese prelates.

The Conference adopted a resolution based on a proposal made by Japanese Buddhists which 'calls on the governments and peoples of the whole world to take action to ban the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction'.

Mr. Ba Uu, President of the Republic of Burma, was present at the conference and greeted Buddhists throughout the world. He hoped the efforts to ban war from the earth would bear fruit.

All India Congress for Peace and Asian

A view of the procession through Madras

A mass rally of 120,000 people was held on the shore of the Indian Ocean at Madras on January 2 to mark the conclusion of the All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity which had opened on December 30, 1954.

The Congress was preceded by a session of the All India Peace Council and its Bureau on December 28 and 29.

At these meetings proposals for the agenda were discussed and adopted. The Bureau and the All India Peace Council both sent cables to Mr. Nehru conferring at Jakarta with the Prime Ministers of the other Colombo countries expressing the hope that he and the other Asian Prime Ministers would make every effort to avert the dangers of foreign intervention by securing the application of the five principles enunciated by him and Mr. Chou En-lai.

Opening Session

The Congress opened on December 30 in St. Mary's Town Hall, George Town. Fourteen hundred delegates from all over India and from foreign countries were present at the session. Foreign delegates included Professor J. D. Bernal F.R.S. (Great Britain), Vice-President of the World Council of Peace; Mr. Jean Laffitte (France), General Secretary of the World Council of Peace; Mrs. D. N. Pritt (Great Britain); Dr. Andrea Andreen (Sweden) and Mrs. Jessie Street (Australia).

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, in the course of his Presidential address, referred to the leading part played by India in focussing the attention of the peoples of the world on the vital necessity for peaceful co-existence and stressed the need for popularising the five peace principles enunciated by the Prime Ministers of India and China.

Dr. Kitchlew thanked the people of Madras for the warm welcome given to the representatives of the Peace Movement.

'We are particularly happy to note', he said, 'that among the delegates today are large numbers who represent the workers and peasants—the backbone of our country—showing the vast increase in the consciousness of the ordinary people of our country in regard to the problems of peace and the urgent necessity to act for peace . . .'

Peace Song

After Dr. Kitchlew's speech, Mr. Kumari Nagalakshmi sang a 'peace song' which was warmly applauded by the Congress. Then Mr. Romesh Chandra read the messages sent to the Congress by eminent figures from different countries.

During this first session the foreign guests brought greetings from the movements they represented to the All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity.

Group Discussions

On the second day the Congress divided itself into six groups to discuss the following subjects:

1) Asian solidarity and the five principles of peaceful co-existence;

2) Colonialism, racialism and foreign interference in the internal affairs of nations;

3) Disarmament, the prohibition of weapons of mass destruction and the question of German rearmament;

4) Trade among Asian countries and the development of their economies;

Resolutions

On the Five Principles and the Solidarity of Asian and African Countries

In the coming Afro-Asian Conference, the peoples of our two Continents see a new hope for the further strengthening of their solidarity, their ties of unity and brotherhood.

The Afro-Asian Conference will enable the peoples of the two Continents to examine the serious threats which face the peace of the world, particularly in Asia and Africa.

The Indian people are proud that as a result of a number of steps taken by the Prime Minister and the Government of India which have assisted the cause of peace and the part played by the Indian people in the struggle for peace, India has won the affection and esteem of millions in all lands.

The joint declaration of the Prime Ministers of India and China provides a basis for peace and freedom for the whole world in the now historic Five Peace Principles.

The Asian and African peoples fully support these principles and call for their acceptance and implementation by all countries . . .

On Colonialism and Racialism

This Congress anxiously notes that colonialism is being sought to be perpetuated or restored in new forms in various parts of the world. The S.E.A.T.O. pact confronts the countries of South East Asia, including India, with such a danger. The independence of countries like Guatemala, British Guiana, and Iran has been infringed upon by foreign powers. N.A.T.O. powers are being called in to support the Portuguese in maintaining their rule in parts of India . . .

This Congress urges the necessity of Asian solidarity as a condition for the attainment, preservation and maintenance of freedom of the peoples of Asia.

On Taiwan (Formosa)

This All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity strongly feels that the question of Taiwan (Formosa) is at present pregnant with the greatest danger to world peace . . .

The Congress, therefore, while condemning the recent U.S.A.-Chiang Kai-shek military alliance as a great threat to peace in Asia and in the world, demands that all U.S. armed forces be immediately withdrawn from Taiwan and the adjoining waters, leaving the People's Republic of China free to solve its own domestic problems.

On Disarmament and the Banning of Weapons of Mass Destruction

The new weapons of mass destruction, particularly the hydrogen bomb, now threaten the very existence of humanity. This threat has become all the more grave from the recent declaration of the intention to use these weapons as a normal form of armaments.

Accordingly, this Congress urges on all countries to speed up their negotiations (approved by the United Nations Committee) to assure their abolition and the cessation of all experiments as an interim measure. This should be done in a framework of drastic all-round disarmament removing the danger of war and liberating resources to improve conditions of life.

5) Cultural relations among the Asian countries and the defence of national culture;

6) Organisational problems.

In the afternoon, delegates belonging to various professions — doctors, lawyers, writers, businessmen, trade unionists and others — met in separate groups and discussed the ways and means of promoting peace and solidarity among the nations of Asia in their own spheres.

Resolutions

In the course of the third day the Congress examined and discussed the draft resolutions proposed by the different commissions and resolutions were adopted on the following subjects:

— The five principles and solidarity between the countries of Asia and Africa.

— The World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace.

— Colonialism and racialism.

— Taiwan (Formosa).

— German rearmament.

— Malaya.

— Goa.

— Disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

— Work of the Cultural Commission.

— Organisational principles.

— Trade between the countries of Asia and their economic development.

Closing Session

At the beginning of its closing session the Congress discussed and adopted a resolution urging the need for cultural exchanges among the different countries of Asia.

The Congress also welcomed the decision of the World Council of Peace to hold a World Assembly for Peace, after which the office-bearers of the All India Peace Council were elected.

The conclusion of the Congress was marked, as we have already said, by a great mass rally. A mile-long procession wound its way from St. Mary's Hall to Triplicane Beach. A caparisoned elephant headed the procession followed by Dr. Kitchlew and foreign delegates who were seated in open carts drawn by bullocks.

At the Triplicane Beach a mass meeting was held. The speakers included Dr. Kitchlew, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand and Pandit Sunderlal who all stressed the need for promoting peace and friendship among the nations of Asia.

The Peace Movement in the Soviet Union

III

• *Delegations for Peace*

The exchange of delegations plays an important part in the work of the Soviet Peace Movement (1). In 1954 alone 22 delegations from 20 countries went to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee. They included delegations from the Peace Movement in India, China, the Federal German Republic, Hungary, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Viet-Nam, Burma, Ceylon, Korea, Japan, Argentine, Bolivia, Australia, Canada and other countries. These delegations were composed of persons from different walks of life and of different political parties: Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, President of the *Academia Sinica;* Mr. Josef Wirth, former Chancellor of the German Reich; the Indian singer Mr. Onkar Nath Thakur; Mr. Wilhelm Elfes, President of the Union of Germans for Unity, Peace and Freedom; and writers, workers, housewives and composers, etc.

The delegates visited Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Kiev, Rostov, Tbilisi, Erivan, Sukhumi, Sochi, and other towns in the Soviet Union. They visited factories, collective and state farms, schools and creches, churches, clinics and universities and had many meetings and discussions with many Soviet citizens — workers and peasants, government ministers and scientists, churchmen and students.

'We have everywhere found proof that the Soviet Government and the whole Soviet people stand for peace and against war. They have no aggressive intentions towards any people.' This was the conviction that Pandit Sunderlal, Vice-President of the All India Peace Council, expressed after his visit to the Soviet Union.

In their turn, the members of the Soviet Peace Movement go on delegations to other countries at the invitation of their respective National Peace Movements. In the Spring of 1954 a delegation led by the writer Mr. A. Sofronov took part in the Finnish National Peace Congress devoted to the *Kalevala*, a national celebration. Last September, Soviet delegates took part in the 'Peace Week' in the German Democratic Republic. Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg, Vice-President of the Soviet Peace Committee, went to Chile and Argentine at the invitation of the National Peace Committees. Professor Anissimov and Mr. Maxim Tank, the poet, both members of the Soviet Peace Committee, were present at the commemoration of Anton Chekhov in Poland. In the course of the past two years members of the Soviet Committee have gone on delegations to China, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain and many other countries.

• *Conferences, Books and Films*

Another important part of the Soviet Peace Movement's activity is the popularisation of the work of the World Council of Peace.

After the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace meetings of the local peace committees were called in the Soviet Socialist Republics of Latvia and Lithuania and in Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Gorki, Murmansk, Tomsk and other towns. Throughout the country the Peace Movement has called many meetings of opposition to West German rearmament and the London and Paris Agreements. In the near future the decisions taken by the recent extended meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace will be studied at meetings to be called by the Soviet Peace Committee.

Literature and the press, radio and cinema are widely used in the Soviet Union to spread the ideas of the Peace Movement. Full reports on the sessions of the World Council of Peace are published regularly. Between 1950 and 1954 more than 130 different collections and pamphlets on the World Peace Movement were published with a total print of 5 millions copies. The Russian edition of the peace review *Horizons* is published in Moscow and has a big circulation.

In addition, eminent members of the Movement play an active part in this publicity work.

In these last years Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg has published seven volumes of collected articles on the struggle for peace including *Men Want to Live*, *The Will of the Peoples* and *For Peace*. A collection of the Metropolitan Nikolai's speeches in support of peace has been published and also a book, *The Struggle for Peace*, by Jan Peive, President of the Latvian Peace Committee. The Uzbek actress Sarra Ishanturayeva, member of the Soviet Peace Committee, published in Uzbekistan a book of impressions on the Congress of the Peoples entitled *My Foreign Friends*. Fifteen thousand meetings copies were printed. Members of the Soviet Committee give many talks on the problems of the struggle for peace. Thus Alexei Maresyev, whose heroism is described in Boris Polevoi's novel *The Story of a Real Man*, has given more than 1000 talks, while Lyubov Kosmodemianskaya, the mother of the famous Zoya, has given hundreds of lectures.

Soviet film producers have made a number of documentary films on the Peace Movement, such as 'The Youth of the World' (which won an international peace prize), 'The Soviet People Vote for Peace', and 'We Are for Peace'.

We shall not discuss here the wealth of artistic production — literature, drama, films, painting, sculpture and architecture — which also takes its stand under the banner of peace.

We have tried, in this brief sketch of the Peace Movement in the Soviet Union, to satisfy our readers' requests. This series of articles is far from giving a complete picture of the overall activities of the Soviet Peace Movement which has millions and millions of members. We shall strive to supplement them by giving regular information in this Bulletin.

(1) See last two issues.

Many Events Planned to Celebrate Cultural Anniversaries

The commemoration of the great cultural anniversaries proposed for 1955 by the World Council of Peace promises to be on an even greater scale than in previous years.

The National Peace Committees of a number of countries are drawing up plans for a series of events — some of them very original — so that the commemoration of Schiller, Cervantes, Andersen, Whitman, Mickiewicz and Montesquieu may have the support of intellectuals and the people in general. The aim is to publicise and explain in various ways the works of these great authors: by conferences, exhibitions, special articles in newspapers and reviews, radio broadcasts and so on. The following are also planned: performances of Schiller's plays; readings of Walt Whitman's poems and the execution of musical compositions inspired by them; public discussions on the significance of a particular book, such as *Don Quixote* or Montesquieu's *Persian Letters;* visits by intellectuals to other countries to take part in special events and trips to the historic places where these great figures lived. Czech cinematographers will make cartoons and puppet films based on some of Andersen's tales. Latin American writers will ask cultural bodies in the United States to collaborate in the commemoration of Whitman. The preparations for all these events are going ahead in India and the Soviet Union, in Poland and in Finland, in the United States and in Syria, in Chile and Brazil, in Germany and Great Britain.

This activity of the friends of peace is being taken up indirectly by other circles who will sponsor commemorative events of their own. As decided at its Eighth General Conference, U.N.E.S.C.O. will honour the memory of Mickiewicz by publishing a book on the life and work of the great Polish poet. In the United States, the Library of Congress has recently decided to mark the centenary of the publication of *Leaves of Grass.* Lastly, the announcement that Vittorio de Sica, the famous Italian film director and actor, will very soon make a film of *Don Quixote* with himself in the title role has aroused wide-spread interest.

PIANISTS OF 33 COUNTRIES TO COMPETE IN WARSAW

A Cultural Event: Fifth International Chopin Competition

The Fifth International Chopin Piano Competition will be held in Warsaw from February 22 to March 21. It is one of the most important and famous of international music competitions, and talented young pianists from all over the world, eager to win the coveted title of the best performer of Chopin's music, take part in it. The competition is noted for its high quality and helps to strengthen friendly links between musicians and nations.

One hundred and thirty-eight pianists from 33 countries will compete. They come from Albania, Argentine, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Ceylon, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Finland, France, German Federal Republic, German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Guatemala, Holland, Hungary, Iran, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxemburg, Mexico, Poland, Rumania, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Switzerland and the United States. Some of these pianists have already won prizes at international competitions in Paris, Geneva, Brussels and Prague. The jury is also international and is composed of world-famous musicians from Poland, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, China, France, Italy and other countries.

It has been announced that many persons from different countries, composers, pianists, music critics and representatives of the press, radio and cinema, have arrived in Warsaw.

The Fifth International Chopin Piano Competition will be one of the highlights of the Second Polish Music Festival which was inaugurated on January 17, tenth anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw, and will go on till July 2. Great international musical events will take place during the first fortnight of May.

The 1954 Anniversaries

A great public meeting to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Anton Chekhov has been held in Sao Paulo (Brazil). The novelist Jose Geraldo Vieira and the dramatist Rugero Jacobi spoke on the personality and work of the great writer. The drama group of an office-workers' club presented the play, *The Anniversary,* and a monologue by Chekhov.

In Rumania, there were editions of Chekhov's works, broadcasts, lectures illustrated by performances of extracts from his works in the towns and the villages, exhibitions and the showing of a Soviet film, *The Anna Cross,* adapted from the play of the same name by Chekhov.

Germany

The Cultural Section of the Peace Movement in the German Democratic Republic has discussed the celebration of the anniversaries in detail, and has already published a pamphlet on the six great figures to be celebrated. A selection of their works for schoolchildren will soon appear. A number of works will be published and there will be new editions of others: *Pan Tadeusz* of Mickiewicz, *Tales and Short Stories* and *Selected Tales* by Andersen, Cervantes' *Don Quixote* and Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass.* The Schiller Committee is carrying on with the preparations for a special programme in honour of the illustrious author of *Don Carlos.* Works by Schiller and books on him will be published in the course of 1955; they include *Correspondence between Schiller and Körner, A Schiller Picture-book* and eight volumes of the works of Schiller with an introduction by Alexander Abusch.

Similar events have taken place in the German Democratic Republic. A film for epidiascope on Chekhov was made and distributed to the local Peace Committees. The anniversary of Henry Fielding was also celebrated on a wide scale; for example, the Institute of Pedagogy and of the History of Pedagogy of Geifswald University organised an evening memorial meeting. The press has published many articles on Fielding and much information on Aristophanes has been translated from the modern Greek and collected in one volume.

Soviet Union

Important events are to be held in the Soviet Union; foreign intellectuals will take part in certain of them. It is to be noted that the six figures who are being commemorated this year are widely known in the Soviet Union. Between 1918 und 1954 the works of Schiller went through 89 editions in 15 of the languages of the Soviet Union; the total number of copies printed was a million. Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* have been published in Russian and Lithuanian. There have been 39 editions of the works of Mickiewicz in 750,000 copies. Andersen is tremendously popular with Soviet children; there have been 189 editions of his works in 32 of the national languages — a total of 7 million copies. The fiftieth edition of *Don Quixote* appeared recently, with illustrations by the Kukrinskys. Walt Whitman, too, is highly appreciated; a new selection of his works in Russian was published recently and other editions in the various national languages of the Soviet Union are in preparation.

On the occasion of the 125th anniversary of the death of the French scientist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, the biological section of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the natural sciences section of V.O.K.S. held a solemn session at which Academician Oparin paid homage to Lamarck's contribution to science.

A Chinese women's delegation led by Mrs. Chang Yun, Vice-President of the All China Federation of Democratic Women, has visited France.

Among others taking part were Mrs. Lei Chieh-chiung, Assistant Dean of the Peking Law College, Mrs. Lou Chih-chia, Professor at Tsinghua University, and Mrs. Tsu Teh-hsin, editor of the magazine *Women in New China*.

Commenting on their visit, they said:

'All the countless expressions of friendship which have been lavished upon us give us a further reason for taking an optimistic view of the future development of friendly cooperation in trade and cultural exchanges between China and France. The people of both countries love and need peace.

'This friendly cooperation depends, on mutual understanding; and in order to understand each other personal contacts such as we have had are necessary. We hope that our delegation, which has come to France with a message of peace and friendship, will be the forerunner of other visits. We hope too that in the future more and more French people of every section of society will be able to visit our country where they will be warmly welcomed.'

*

Mr. Dimitri Shostakovich, the Soviet composer and International Peace Prize Winner for 1953 has just been elected a foreign member of the Swedish Royal Academy of Music.

*

A Rumanian Folklore Ensemble including 121 singers, musicians and dancers, gave a highly successful series of performances at the Théatre de l'Empire in Paris. The National Traditional Ballet of the People's Republic of Hungary later performed in the same theatre.

*

A delegation from the Arab Academy of Sciences of Damascus went to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Its members included the following eminent figures: Mr. Hassani, Vice-President of the Academy; Sheikh Bahdjat Bitar; Dr. Hussein Sabah, former Dean of the University of Syria; Dr. Sami Dahan, and others.

On the delegation's return from the Soviet Union, Sheikh Bahdjat Bitar made an important statement largely devoted to freedom of worship in the Soviet Union and the Soviet people's attachment to peace and their peaceful labour.

*

An exhibition of Soviet painting was held in Damascus last December, under the auspices of the Syrian Fine Arts Society. It attracted a large number of visitors, students especially, and was commented on by all the Syrian press.

A Symbol of Student Friendship

Students have recently given a fine proof of the results which the friendly collaboration of the young people of the world can give: the opening of the International Union of Students' Sanatorium for Asian students, which was recently inaugurated in the presence of 800 delegates, visitors and guests from different countries. The speech made by the Indian Professor Nihar K. Munsi, President of the Calcutta Students' Health Home and a member of the Senate of Calcutta University, stressed the significance of this happy achievement:

'The opening of the I.U.S. Sanatorium for Asian Students in Peking crowns with success the efforts of students of all countries in the field of mutual cooperation. Never before has such a magnificent project been undertaken by the students themselves for their own benefit. In the tense international situation of today the Sanatorium stands out singularly as a symbol of international peace and friendship among peoples of all countries.'

Among the delegates and guests were representatives of the Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese student organisations, the Soviet Anti-fascist Youth Committee, the Union of Czechoslovak Youth, as well as the President of the Association of Filipino Students' Councils, the General Secretary of the National Union of Israeli Students and the President of Students in Sanatoria in France.

Among the distinguished Chinese guests were the Minister of Higher Education, the Vice-Minister of Public Health, the Vice-President of the Red Cross Society, etc...

In the midst of great applause, the French student delegation presented the Sanatorium with a pneumothorax apparatus and the delegation from the Calcutta Students' Health Home presented a portrait of the world famous Indian writer, Rabindranath Tagore.

Addressing the gathering, Mr. Leonardo Ignacio Jr., President of the Association of Filipino Students' Councils, said:

'This Sanatorium is an outstanding testimonial to the unity and friendship of the youth and students of the world... I am sure that for us this is the beginning of a new era of friendship with all students of the world.'

Many messages of greetings were received from student organisations in Poland, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Mongolia, Australia, etc... The Secretary General of the Indonesian Ministry of Education wrote: 'I congratulate you on the opening of this splendid institution and hope it will prosper as a symbol of mankind.'

The Sanatorium, which is situated near Peking, is absolutely up-to-date in its construction and equipment on the basis of plans worked out by Chinese professors of architecture and medicine in collaboration with their students. The project was completed thanks to the collaboration of the All China Students' Federation and students in other countries. It is available free of charge to Asian students who suffer from tuberculosis. Covering an area of 90,000 square metres with a floor space of 20,000 square meters, the Sanatorium provides 300 beds and will give treatment to students suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis. The first group of patients was admitted to the Sanatorium on the opening day.

● Reciprocal Visits by French and Soviet Students

Young people and students of various countries are strongly feeling the need to meet each other regardless of borders, to know each others' desires and experiences and to establish a close international friendship. This is the conclusion to be drawn from the many meetings that have taken place between young people of different nationalities and different points of view. Certain of these exchanges are particularly fruitful because they are reciprocal.

For example, the student section of the Soviet Youth Anti-fascist Committee invited the French National Union of Students to send a delegation of 30 to the Soviet Union. The delegation was led by Mr. Louis Bernier, Vice-President of the Union, and visited schools, universities and clubs: it also had many meetings with Soviet students.

In turn, 30 young Soviet people have made a stay of three weeks in France at the invitation of a committee whose members represent 32 sports, student and cultural organisations, among them the Youth Section of the General Confederation of Agriculture; the Youth Section of the General Confederation of Labour; Catholic and Protestant youth organisations; the French Union of Republican Youth and various scout organisations.

● International Conference on University Sport in Paris

An international conference of European student sport organisations has taken place in the U.N.E.S.C.O. building in Paris. It was convened by O.S.S.U. (the French National Student Sport Federation) and by U.N.E.F. (the French National Union of Students) together with the International Federation of University Sport and the International Union of Students.

At this conference the representatives of 19 European countries — Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Luxemburg, Monaco, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union, Spain, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, together with the Saar, — met to discuss how to coordinate student sport on an international level. Unanimous agreement was reached on the conditions of entry into the World University Games and on the possibility of organising University Summer Games in 1956 or 1957.

*

An International Conference of Architectural Students will be held in Paris from April 5 to 13 in the School of Fine Arts. The Sponsoring Committee includes representatives of the Italian and Belgian students and representatives from the International Union of Students and the International Union of Architects. U.N.E.S.C.O. is helping in the preparation of the conference and will take part in it.

GERMANY: *Actions against Remilitarisation and Atomic Weapons*

In the biggest factory of the German Democratic Republic, the 'Leuna-Werke', 650 delegates from 245 enterprises in the Halle district discussed with representatives from West Germany and foreign countries how to make their factories into bastions for peace.

In a telegram to Mr. Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, the participants write:

'We shall explain the meaning of the signature campaign against the preparations for atomic war in our factories and localities and to our comrades and fellow citizens in such a detailed way that this action will become an effective means of attaining the objectives set out in the Vienna Appeal.'

In the German Democratic Republic more than 52,000 artists, scientists and intellectuals have already signed the Appeal against the London and Paris Agreements issued by Professor Walther Friedrich, President of the German Academy of Sciences, and by the poet Bertold Brecht.

In the German Federal Republic the German Association for Peace held a conference in Duisburg on January 16. We give the following extracts from the statement that was issued at the end of the Conference:

'The decisions of the last session of the N.A.T.O. Council clearly show that any new war would be an atomic war, and that would mean the end of the countries affected by it, including Germany . . .

'The German Association for Peace calls for the exploration of all possible ways of entering into discussion with the people and organisations on the other side of the Elbe and of helping to create the necessary conditions for the reunification of Germany.

'The German Association for Peace calls on the Federal Government, political parties and all members of the Federal Parliament to oppose the ratification of the Paris Agreements. We would point out that, in making his decision, each member of parliament shoulders a heavy responsibility for the future of Germany.'

A section of the vast queue of people waiting to see their M.Ps.

FRANCE: *Week of Action against the Paris Agreements*

The National Council of the French Peace Movement met on January 30 shortly after the meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace in Vienna. The problems dealt with at Vienna were the theme of the discussion: the rearming of Germany and the threat of atomic war.

This session of the National Council reflected the extension of the influence of the Peace Movement; it was attended by a number of elected representatives, political and trade union figures and others of a wide variety of views.

Mr. Gilbert de Chambrun, in presenting the report, spoke of the two threats that are hanging over the world: the threat of the revival of German militarism and the policy of intimidation based on the atomic strategy.

There were many contributions to the discussion including that of Mr. Laurent Casanova who showed the link between German rearmament and the N.A.T.O. decisions on atomic weapons and stated that the French people will never submit to this. With the aid of British and American documents, Mr. Picard stressed the gravity of the atomic problem, and an engineer who works in the Atomic Energy Headquarters described the attitude of French research workers to this question. Mr. Bernard Lavergne analysed the Paris Agreements.

At the end of the session three texts were unanimously adopted:

— An 'Address to the German People' assuring them of the French people's support in their action against German rearmament, for a united and peaceful Germany and for security and peace in Europe;

— An 'Appeal against the Ratification of the London and Paris Agreements calling on all Frenchmen to take part in a week of action, from February 14 to 20, to make known to the Council of the Republic the country's feeling about the London and Paris Agreements, and to bring effective pressure to bear on the municipal and county councillors and the senators;

— An 'Appeal for a National Assembly of Organisations and Tendencies for Peace' which asks all Frenchmen to help in the preparation of a national demonstration against German rearmament and the atomic menace on March 27. This would be part of the preparations for sending a French delegation to the World Assembly of Representatives of Organisations and Tendencies for Peace.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Ten Thousand British Call On Their M.Ps. Demand 'No Arming of Germany' Biggest Political Demonstration for Twenty Years

Responding to the call of the British Peace Committee ten thousand people from every part of Great Britain went to the reopening of Parliament on January 25 to see their M.P.s, to call upon them to oppose the rearming of Germany and to demand the reopening of the debate on the Paris Agreements. It was the biggest political demonstration of its kind in Great Britain since before the war.

In specially chartered buses, by train, by car, deputations elected by trade unions, cooperative organisations, labour parties, peace organisations, women's organisations, came from North Scotland, West Wales, the far South West of England, from the great industrial towns, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, Coventry, from the rural areas of Sussex, Gloucestershire and other counties. A specially striking fact was that most of these deputations were fifty to a hundred per cent bigger than was expected.

Starting at two o'clock in the afternoon before the House opened, the stream of deputations continued right into the evening. At seven o'clock there were six thousand people queuing to get in to their M.P.s, singing and shouting slogans which could be heard in the House during the debate.

In spite of the police, who prevented the majority from going into the lobby, many succeeded in seeing their M.P.s, some of whom came out into Parliament Square to talk to their constituents.

Later in the evening the police tried to disperse the thousands who were waiting to see their M.P.s. Mounted police rode into the queues, using their batons. This only gave all the more spirit to the march which then took place through the centre of London, with over ten thousand taking part.

At the end of the march the Hon. Ivor Montagu, Vice-President of the British Peace Committee, at a big open-air meeting, said:

'Let the M.P.s realise that what has happened today is not the end but the beginning — the signal for a still greater avalanche that will bring into motion millions of people until the Wehrmacht is defeated before it can march again.'

Mr. Montagu put to the meeting the Peace Movement's proposals for the next steps in the campaign:

1. Continual lobbying of all M.P.s in their constituencies.

2. Organisation of 5,000 public meetings in streets, shopping centres and outside factories.

3. A series of local and area conferences bringing together the widest range of organisations.

It was also agreed by acclamation to send messages of support to the Peace Committees of France and of East and West Germany.

Reproduction authorised. Please acknowledge source.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 5 (2nd. Year) MARCH 1, 1955

A Pledge for Peace

In a number of countries the campaign against the preparations for atomic war is already in full swing. The response of public opinion to the Appeal of the World Council of Peace shows that the Appeal has come at the right time and that it meets a universally felt need.

Further, these first experiences confirm the correctness of the World Council's decision to conduct the action against the preparation of atomic war in the form of a signature campaign.

'Why a signature campaign?', people may ask.

Because the deliberate and considered act of putting one's signature to a text which is both clear and explicit is the active and concrete expression of one's will. Because the signature means that one has understood. Because it is a political undertaking, a contract which begins with the physical act of writing one's name and is fulfilled in work to get others to sign and to see the common will realised. Because a great number of signatures in opposition to the forces of destruction necessarily leads political forces and organisations of all kinds to take a stand, for they cannot run the risk of becoming isolated from the hundreds of millions of men and women who, by the pledge they have given, are defending their own and their children's lives, and the lives of their fellow men.

Because, in short, the fixed intention of certain governments to hurl the world into atomic war can be blocked by a powerful barrier: the firmly expressed will of all the peoples.

These are a few of the reasons for the specific form of our campaign.

Clearly, to carry it through successfully imposes great tasks on every Peace Committee and a heavy responsibility on every member of the Peace Movement. For this must be no mere mechanical collection of signatures. If each signature is to be a solemn contract pledging the writer to win his neighbour to sign too and make their common will prevail, it will be necessary to explain, to persuade, to convince on a gigantic scale. And if the number of signatures is to compel the retreat of those who do not hesitate to prepare for a war waged with hydrogen bombs, every man and woman must be given the possibility of playing a direct and conscious part in this decisive struggle.

This implies that the Peace Movement must bring into operation every means at its disposal. It will be necessary to seek out each man and woman at home or at their place of work, in office or factory, in the workshops and in the fields. It will also be necessary to compile canvassing lists and to do detailed organisational work. For this the defenders of peace must use the means at their disposal, together with those they acquire in their daily struggle and through the exchange of experiences; the means, too, at the disposal of the big national and international organisations which are working for peace in their own particular fields; and lastly the new means that will arise in the course of the campaign as the latter grows through the feeling of human solidarity aroused by a threat that is common to all countries.

Every defender of peace is animated by the profound conviction that he can be victorious over the forces of negation and destruction. He knows that public opinion has already shown itself strong enough to stay the hand of those who menacingly brandish the atomic bomb and to bring to the negotiating table governments that refused to go of their own accord, and that it can also prove itself strong enough to impose the destruction of atomic weapons and the stopping of their manufacture. That is the meaning of the Appeal and of the campaign launched by the World Council. By understanding it aright, hundreds of millions of men and women in every part of the world can transform it into a material force powerful enough to win victory for aims which are those of reason and commonsense.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- Great organisations support the Vienna Appeal. — A message from Dean Chandler . . 2
- The world signature campaign against the preparations for atomic war is launched: Austria, China, Finland, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Mongolia, Poland, Sweden and Switzerland 3, 4 & 5
- The peoples speak out against German rearmament: The Warsaw meeting. — The German Manifesto . . . . . 6 & 7
- Preparing the World Assembly: information on the preparations in Brazil, China, France, Poland and South Africa. — Statement by Pandit Sunderlal. — An interview with Professor Iversen . . . . . 8 & 9
- Soviet public opinion welcomes the Bureau's Appeal. — Asian Lawyers' Conference 10
- The peoples support the Conference of Asian Countries and the Afro-Asian Conference 11
- Second Lebanese Peace Congress. — 14,000 miles across Australia for peace 12
- Argentine: National Conference draws up plans for the campaign against atomic weapons. — The work of the Cuban Peace Movement. — The agenda of the Mexican National Assembly for Peace and Security 13
- The cultural anniversaries for 1955. — Americans speak out for cultural exchanges. — An appeal by the Brazilian film director Alberto Cavalcanti . . . 14
- A people's cultural movement in Japan: 'The Songs of Japan' 15
- Great Britain: How 'National Deputations Day' was organised. — 'Shadows Over Austria', a documentary film made by the Austrian Peace Council . . 16

A message from Dean Chandler

It is heartening news to learn that Protestant Church leaders throughout Germany have thrown themselves into a campaign against the rearmament of Western Germany. May God bless their endeavours and keep them staunch in their struggle for the reunification of Germany. This fully accords with enlightened Christian public opinion throughout the world. The base endeavours of power-drunken politicians must be defeated if a third World War is to be averted. As Germany has led the world into two wars already, may it this time be an instrument of Divine justice, and peace-loving brotherly affection. May it strengthen the will to peace, by refusing to become part of an aggressive Western bloc.

I appeal to my brethren of the German Evangelical Church to stand together in this crucial hour, and so frustrate the evil intentions of those who delight in war.

The Very Rev.
Charles W. Chandler
Dean of Waikato
New Zealand

International Organisations support the Vienna appeal

The World Federation of Trade Unions

The Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions has published the following statement:

'The World Federation of Trade Unions wholeheartedly supports the decisions taken by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its last meeting in Vienna, and the document it adopted condemning those who are pressing for an atomic war.

'In particular the World Federation of Trade Unions gives its full support to the appeal against preparations for an atomic war . . .

'The World Federation of Trade Unions is convinced that the workers of the whole world, whether or not they belong to an organisation affiliated to the W.F.T.U., will throw their full weight behind this campaign against preparations for an atomic war and sign this appeal in their millions.

'It calls on them to organise, in the most varied forms, the collection of signatures in all enterprises and to make every effort in support of this appeal.

'It also urges them, and above all the workers and trade unions of all European countries, to take the lead in the struggle against the Paris agreements which are aimed at making German militarism touch off an atomic war.

'The World Federation of Trade Unions reminds all trade unionists, all workers that every step towards war is always accompanied by measures to lower the living standards of the working people and whittle away their trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

'The fight of the workers for better living and working conditions and their struggle for peace, collective security and the lessening of international tension, and against preparations for a new war and the militarisation of the economy are indivisible.

'In the face of the grave and acute dangers threatening the world and the policy which means for the people poverty and an atomic war which could wipe out entire countries, the W.F.T.U. is convinced that all workers, whatever their nationality, trade union affiliation, political opinion or religious belief, will strengthen their unity and fight with determination. In this way they will make a decisive contribution to the action of the people for peace, freedom and a better life.'

Women's International Democratic Federation

At its meeting in Geneva from February 9 to 13, the Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation adopted the following statement:

'The Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation is aware of the immediate danger created by the dispositions that certain governments have taken to prepare and regularise the unleashing of atomic war anywhere in the world.

'It is the duty of every woman to make every effort to protect her home and children and to ensure the happiness of the rising generation.

'Only a powerful protest movement by the peoples can avert this grave threat and put a stop to the plans of those who want to unleash atomic war.

'For this reason the Women's International Democratic Federation gives its full support to the resolutions adopted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace on January 19 in the course of its meeting in Vienna, and calls on women to unite and strengthen the peoples' movement of opposition by signing and getting others to sign the powerful Appeal against the preparations for atomic war.'

World Federation of Democratic Youth

The Secretariat of the World Federation of Democratic Youth has published a statement which says in part:

'The World Federation of Democratic Youth declares, on behalf of its 95 million members, that it approves the resolutions of the World Council of Peace on the struggle against the remilitarisation of West Germany and on the organisation of a vast campaign against the preparations for atomic war.'

The Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth will meet in Berlin from February 25 to 28 to discuss the tasks of youth organisations in the struggle against the danger of an atomic war.

International Federation of Resistance Fighters

The Bureau of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters held a session in Warsaw from January 23 to 25 in which representatives from many European countries took part, including Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and the Soviet Union.

In its resolution, the Bureau 'welcomes the decision of the World Council of Peace to launch a signature campaign demanding the banning and destruction of atomic weapons. The Bureau considers that it is urgently necessary to invite member organisations to give all possible support to this campaign, while continuing with the utmost vigour their opposition to the London and Paris Agreements for the remilitarisation of West Germany. To this end they should make a pressing appeal to the resistance fighters and deportees of their country.'

At the end of the session the Bureau members present signed the World Council's Appeal against the preparations for atomic war.

A Statement by the International Organisation of Journalists

The Secretariat of the International Organisation of Journalists has published an appeal asking all journalists to struggle against the danger of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The appeal states in part:

'At this time, journalists bear a heavy responsibility both to the peoples of the world and to their own consciences. Every journalist who does not want war owes it to himself to tell public opinion about the growing danger, sincerely and truthfully.

'The International Organisation of Journalists calls on all representatives of the press to speak out at this decisive hour in our history against the unleashing of a new war, and against the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons. This is vital for the sake of all mankind.'

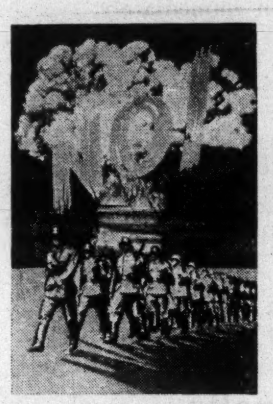
World Signature Campaign against the Preparations for Atomic War is Launched

China

A joint extended meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Presiding Committee of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace was held in Peking on February 12.

The meeting unanimously decided to open the signature-collecting campaign for the Vienna Appeal. A special committee was elected to organise the collection of signatures; it has 65 members headed by Dr. Kuo Mo-jo. The participants in the meeting were the first to sign the Vienna Appeal.

Italy



Poster issued by the Rome Provincial Peace Committee.

The Italian Peace Movement launched the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal at a special assembly in Rome on February 3.

Eminent public figures took part in the meeting. They included the Italian members of the World Council of Peace, the members of the National Peace Committee and authoritative representatives of the great parties and organisations which support the Peace Movement, such as: Mr. Di Vittorio, General Secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labour, President of the World Federation of Trade Unions; Mr. Santi, secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labour; Mrs. Rossi, Mrs. Leonilde Jotti and Mrs. Rosetta Longo, respectively President and Secretaries of the Union of Italian Women; Mr. Roveda, General Secretary of the Engineers' Trade Union Federation; Mr. Boldrini, President of the National Association of Italian Partisans; the President of the Association of Victims of Fascism, Internees and Deportees, and others.

There were also a number of M.P.s and senators present, including the vice-president of the Senate, Mr. Mole; university professors including Professor Cortini of Rome University and Professor Pancini of Genoa University, both physicists; famous doctors like Professor Morellini; representatives of regional and provincial councils such as Mr. Varvaro of the Sicilian Assembly and Mr. Pennisi, a monarchist of the Rome provincial council; also artists, writers, journalists and soldiers such as General Carboni . . .

Twenty-four hours after this assembly, the peace committee of the village of Alquanegra sul Chiese in the province of Mantua, which has only a few thousand inhabitants, sent in the first 500 signatures.

On February 6, more signatures, which had been collected in peace notebooks, were handed to Mr. Targetti, Vice-Chairman of the Italian Lower House on the occasion of a meeting organised in Leghorn by the Peace Committee.

At the same time the campaign against the London and Paris Agreements is extending its scope. Thousands of deputations are going to see the senators and political figures, and thousands of people are taking part in all the activities of the Peace Movement directed against German rearmament: petitions, marches, the commemoration of episodes in the war of liberation, and so on.

India

In the February 2 number of its bulletin, the All India Peace Council published a plan of work for the launching of the campaign against atomic weapons proposed by its Secretariat. The plan includes the following points:

1) To publicise the All India Peace Council Appeal supporting the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace. The text of this appeal calling for the campaign will be translated into the various Indian languages, published in the local press and used as a handbill for the campaign.

2) All committees should translate the signature appeal at once into their local languages and print or cyclostyle signature forms, without waiting for their Provincial Committees to prepare copies.

3) At all the meetings already planned for the *Quit Taiwan Day* the resolutions should highlight the threats being used by U.S. spokesmen to unleash an atomic war against China.

During the preparations for the meetings and during the meetings themselves, signatures to the appeal should be collected in as large numbers as possible.

4) All mass organisations must be approached at all levels to issue statements, circulars and directives calling for mass collection of signatures.

5) Immediately during and after the *Quit Taiwan* campaign, important personalities — M.P.s, members of Legislative Assemblies, members of Municipal Committees and District Boards, leaders and office-bearers of mass organisations, leading figures in the educational, legal, cultural, medical and other fields — should be approached and their signatures obtained.

All Peace Committees should send the names of these first signatories to the All India Peace Council by February 20, in order to enable the preparation of a consolidated list for use all over the country.

6) As a culmination of this preparatory work and in order to start the intensive collection of signatures, the Secretariat of the All India Peace Council has decided to call for the observance of Sunday, March 6 as STOP PREPARATIONS FOR ATOMIC WAR DAY.

On this day, the Appeal must be popularised widely through meetings, demonstrations, etc.

Switzerland

The Peace Committee of the Canton of Vaud decided at a special meeting to open the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal immediately. In a statement the Committee says:

'Signing the Appeal of the World Council of Peace against the preparations for atomic war means helping to safeguard the very existence of our country, our people and our children, without supporting any particular organisation or movement . . .'

The Committee meeting was very successful. It was attended by representatives of many organisations, particularly the trade unions, and by a number of individuals in the capacity of observers. The Peace Committees of Montreux, Monge, Nyon, Vevey and Yverdon sent delegates. The campaign has also been launched in the cantons of Geneva and Lausanne.

Further, the workers of the Similer factory at Carouge endorsed the Vienna Appeal at a general meeting.

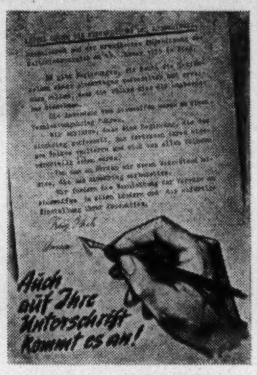
It should also be noted that the parliaments of the cantons of Vaud, Geneva and Neuchatel have unanimously passed resolutions demanding the banning of atomic weapons.

On this point, the Swiss Federal Council stated on February 4 that it is 'aware of the danger to the peoples involved in the prospect of repeated atomic explosions. It is also convinced that a general limitation of armaments would serve the cause of peace'.

Austria

At an extended meeting on January 29 at which many public figures, representatives of political parties and trade union leaders from all over Austria were present, the Austrian Peace Council opened the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal.

For the campaign the Austrian Council has issued signature forms of three different kinds. One of these is for individual signature; another is in the form of little card with the text of the Vienna Appeal and the words 'You have signed the Vienna Appeal' on one side and a photograph of a young mother playing with her child with the caption 'May it always be so' on the other. The card is given to every person who signs the Appeal. In addition, a poster in different sizes is already on the hoardings all over Austria, and a pamphlet answering twenty of the arguments most frequently met with by collectors has been published. A special, richly illustrated number of the *Österreichische Friedenszeitung*, organ of the Austrian Peace Council, has been published for the launching of the signature campaign. The number printed was very much higher than usual.



A poster published by the Austrian Peace Council

It should be pointed out that the collection of signatures began spontaneously all over Austria immediately after the publication of the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace. Without waiting for signature forms to be printed, active peace workers cut out the Appeal as printed in the newspapers, stuck it on a sheet of paper and asked their neighbours and workmates to sign. Every day the Austrian Peace Council is receiving signature forms of this type bearing many signatures. Mrs. Gisela Draskovic, a Viennese old age pensioner, collected 41 signatures in this way and Mrs. Augustinovic, also of Vienna, collected 128 in two days. Mrs. Gramsamer of Salzburg collected 25 signatures in a tiny village in one hour and a half. Many of those who signed asked for signature forms.

The card given to everyone who signs the Appeal.

In many factories, too, the campaign started as soon as the Appeal was published. During the first day 350 signatures were collected in the Leobersdorf engineering factory, 150 in the Traiskirchen wax-cloth factory and 350 in the Floridsdorf locomotive works. In the Siemens-Schuckert factory 600 out of 900 workers have already signed.

The Austrian Peace Council has announced that by February 19th 101,187 signatures had been collected in Austria.

Hungary

On the day following the extended meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, the Hungarian Peace Council issued an appeal to all defenders of peace in Hungary. It says:

'The Appeal of the World Council of Peace asks all sincere people throughout the world to oppose those who are preparing for an atomic war . . .

'Go from house to house, collect signatures all over the country!'

The workers, peasants, intellectuals and young people have begun to collect signatures enthusiastically. A few examples will show how successfully the campaign has begun. In the Hoves combine 10,000 signatures were collected in two days, in the Matra-Videk factory 1,200 workers and office staff signed the Appeal and 50,000 signatures were collected by several hundred people in the Borsod combine in the first two days of the campaign.

Along with the new world campaign the Hungarian people are continuing their struggle against German rearmament. Thus 40,000 signatures against the remilitarisation of Germany were collected at Borsod and 4,000 peace meetings were held in Baranya district during the month of January.

The National Peace Committees of Rumania and Albania held special sessions at which the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace was warmly approved. The signature-collecting campaign began immediately in these two countries.

At a plenary session of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee it was decided to launch the campaign on February 28 at a series of district conferences.

Indonesia

The Indonesian Peace Committee has published a statement emphasising that atomic war would have disastrous consequences for the whole of mankind.

'We call on the whole Indonesian people', the statement says, 'to sign the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war issued by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.'

Mexico

The launching of the signature campaign in Mexico was marked by a meeting of the National Peace Council on January 26. The collection of signatures began immediately.

The Appeal has been communicated to the press and to many public figures and organisations with a request for their support.

Finland

The Finnish Peace Committee has met in Helsinki, approved the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace and opened the signature campaign in Finland. Those who took part in the meeting were the first to sign.

Mongolia

At a meeting of the Mongolian Peace Committee Mr. Chirendyb, its Chairman, gave a report on the international situation and the peoples' struggle for peace. It was decided to begin the collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal immediately and the members of the Committee were the first to sign.

Poland

A joint session of the Presiding Committee of the Committee of the National Front and the National Peace Committee was held in Warsaw on January 31. It was attended by important public figures, workers, peasants, intellectuals and Catholic dignitaries.

The participants made a unanimous call to the Polish people to sign the Vienna Appeal against the preparations for atomic war.

As the signature campaign gets under way throughout the country many organisations are giving their support to the aims enunciated in the Appeal. For example, the Association of physicists and physics institutes of Warsaw University recently held a General Assembly at which they adopted a resolution supporting the Vienna Appeal and asking all physicists throughout the world to go on record in favour of banning the manufacture of atomic weapons and destroying existing stocks.

The plenary session of the Biochemists' Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences has also passed a resolution approving the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

It should be noted that the Czechoslovak and Bulgarian academies of sciences have also gone on record to this effect.

Korea

Mr. Han Sul Ya, President of the Korean Peace Committee, has stated that 'the determination of millions of men and women who desire peace and progress finds further confirmation in the recent decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

'Those who want war', he said, 'wish to hurl the whole world into an atomic war. But we know from past experience that the combined efforts of millions of men and women can foil the intrigues of the enemies of peace, just as the United States' plans to use the atomic bomb in Korea were checked. There is no doubt that the peace forces, which have grown enormously in strength in these last years, will bring the new plans for aggression to naught.''

Japan

A special session of the Japanese Peace Committee was held in Tokyo on January 14 and 15. About two hundred delegates and guests from all the prefectures of Japan attended this meeting.

The agenda was as follows:

1) Report on the international situation and the tasks of the Japanese Peace Movement.

2) The present state of the Japanese Peace Movement.

3) Important campaigns: the Conference of Asian Countries, the World Assembly for Peace and the World Conference for the Banning of the A and H bombs.

In his report on the point on the agenda, Mr. Hirano, General Secretary of the Japanese Peace Committee, said:

'Since the cease-fires in Korea and Indo-China the forces for peace have made great progress against which the protagonists of the "policy of strength" are making desperate attacks. These include the formation of S.E.A.T.O., the forthcoming Bangkok conference, the London and Paris Agreements and above all the N.A.T.O. decision to use atomic weapons.'

He then summed up the tasks of the Japanese Peace Movement as follows:

a) To enlarge the movement against the A and H bombs.

b) To develop the movement for the restoration of normal relations with China and the Soviet Union.

c) To oppose the plan for the revision of the Constitution as it would legalise rearmament, conscription and the expansion of the armed forces and of the programme of military bases.

d) To win public opinion for the idea of collective security in Asia, based on the Five Principles.

The session approved the resolutions and resommendations of the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace and adopted the following texts:

— Demands to the Japanese Government and political parties;

— An Appeal to the Japanese People;

— and resolutions on the N.A.T.O. decisions, on the London and Paris Agreements, on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, on the United States-Chiang Kai-shek mutual aid pact, etc.

In the course of the discussion on the atomic and hydrogen bombs the Hiroshima delegates stated: 'We cannot achieve the banning of atomic weapons without co-ordinated international action. Hiroshima will make every effort to prepare for the World Conference for the Prohibition of the A and H bombs.'

The session stressed the need to continue the campaign against atomic and hydrogen bombs and to collect the signatures of every man and woman in Japan. It pointed out that the most important thing is to enlarge the movement into a campaign on a world scale.

'It was in the hope of broadening and strengthening our campaign on a world scale that I came to the January meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, and I shall be particularly pleased if the experience of Japan can be of some help in the World Council's international campaign against the preparations for atomic war . . .

'The launching of a world signature campaign fully accords with the hopes of the Japanese people and with my own wishes. I know what will be the joy of my compatriots on learning that the Bureau of the World Council of Peace has launched this campaign.'

Extracts from an interview with Mr. Kaoru Yasui, General Secretary of the Japanese Council against the A and H Bombs

*

A meeting of Japanese fishing industry directors was held in Tokyo on January 10. The participants adopted a resolution demanding that atomic and hydrogen bomb tests should be stopped and demanded that Japan should receive full compensation for the damage caused by those that had already taken place.

At a formal meeting in Vienna on February 14, the Secretariat staff of the World Council of Peace signed the Vienna Appeal.

Sweden

The *Fredsbulletin*, a Swedish Peace Committee publication, gives the plan for the organisation of the signature campaign in Sweden. The campaign will open on March 1 and the Swedish Peace Committee will give leaflets, posters and postcards bearing the text of the Vienna Appeal to any organisation or person who wishes to collect signatures. The local peace committees are called upon to draw up plans for their respective districts, and to set up initiating committees to organise the campaign in other districts where no local Committee exists.

These initiating committees should be set up on the widest possible basis and should represent all sections of the people. The young people and the women will play an active part in the collection of signatures in the localities. As part of the campaign there will be public meetings on the themes of the atomic danger and German rearmament. Encouragement will be given to the launching of local appeals and statements by public figures announcing their support for the Vienna Appeal.

The Swedish Peace Committee will publish a regular bulletin during the campaign.

Fredsbulletin points out in conclusion that conditions are much better at the present time for obtaining an excellent result than they were at the time of the Stockholm Appeal. The public outcry last year against the H bomb tests in the Pacific (statement by Mr. Gustav Möller, former government minister; statement by Mr. Einar Norrman, Vice-Chairman of the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions; the questions asked in Parliament, statements by the leaderships of the Social Democratic and Popular parties and by various youth and other organisations) clearly showed that the great majority of the Swedish people want the banning of atomic weapons. The strength with which public opinion will express itself now depends on the individual contribution of each friend of peace.

French Delegation to Visit Soviet Atomic Factory

The President of the French Economic Council announced at a press conference that a French delegation will go to the Soviet Union in March. It will be composed of members of the Economic Council's Industrial Production Committee.

The delegation will visit a Soviet atomic factory. Mr. Roche made it clear that the Soviet authorities had declared themselves favourable to such a visit.

At the Vienna meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, Mr. Ilya Ehrenburg stated:

'We know those whom it is intended to put at the head of the new German army: There is General Crüwell, former inspirer of the "black Reichswehr", one of those who took part in the invasion of Yugoslavia . . .'

Our photo shows the September 10, 1941 number of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, organ of the Nazi Party. The photo shows General Crüwell (*right*) being congratulated by Hitler who has just confered on him 'oak leaves' to his Iron Cross.

After the European Conference in Paris (December 11—12, 1954)

Warsaw Meeting for Negotiation on the German Question

The following communique was published in Warsaw on February 6:

On February 6 the delegation from the European Conference for the peaceful solution of the German problem, which was held in Paris last December, met in Warsaw the delegations from Eastern Europe who had been refused entry visas into France.

This second meeting was attended by 51 delegates, a majority of whom are Members of Parliament, representing the following countries: Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Soviet Union, Switzerland.

They first of all unanimously and formally opposed any rearmament which could give rise to the revival of German militarism. The delegates from the Eastern powers categorically stated that as a result of the human and material losses suffered by their countries none of their fellow-countrymen could accept such a possibility.

Furthermore, the participants became convinced, particularly after listening to the Soviet delegates, that the spirit of negotiation and mutual understanding would infallibly be ruined by the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements. On the other hand, they were unanimous in noting that at the present time an agreement between the powers could be concluded on the following points:

1) The simultaneous evacuation of all occupation troops from Germany. If this were to be done the Soviet Union would withdraw its troops to its own territory and would at the same time withdraw the Soviet military contingents stationed in Poland to protect the communication lines of the Soviet occupation troops in Germany.

Such reciprocal measures would help to relax tension in Europe.

2) The unification of Germany through free, supervised elections to be carried through on the basis of an electoral law guaranteeing all democratic freedoms as envisaged in the proposal made by Sir Anthony Eden in Berlin.

3) Observance of the pledges made at Potsdam. Germany would hold aloof from all military coalitions and the integrity of her frontiers would be guaranteed by the other European powers and the United States.

Only the settlement of the German problem, by bringing security to Europe, will enable the Austrian State Treaty to be signed.

The German delegates from both East and West described the extent of the movement for unification and against rearmament in their country. It is the imperative duty of all the powers to encourage this movement.

In this way the prerequisites for general disarmament — desired by the people the world over — will be fulfilled.

U.S.A.: North California Peace Council Issues Leaflet

The North California Peace Council has put out a leaflet stressing the dangers of the London and Paris Agreements which are being submitted for ratification by the United States Senate. If they are ratified, says the leaflet, 'the German army will march again — equipped with atomic weapons'.

'Just as the peoples' desire for peace resulted in stopping war in Korea and Indo-China', it goes on, 'we, the people, can stop German rearmament'.

In conclusion, the North California Peace Council calls on the people to let the senators know of their opposition to German rearmament and to support 'Senator Ralph Flanders' call for a reunited, neutral unarmed Germany with its neutrality "guaranteed by both the Soviet Government and the Western powers" '. (Senator Flanders' position was given in issue No. 20 of this Bulletin published on October 15, 1954.)

15,000 Canadian Electrical Workers

The trade union co-ordinating committee of the Canadian General Electric Co., one of the biggest concerns in the Canadian electrical industry and employing 15,000 workers, has unanimously condemned German rearmament.

Dr. James Endicott, Chairman of the Canadian Peace Congress, has urged the Canadian Government to hold a national referendum on rearming West Germany.

At a meeting of Congress delegates he stated that a referendum would show how few Canadians, 100,000 of whom lost their lives in the two wars, want to see West Germany rearmed.

Meetings and Rallies in Israel

On January 25 in Tel Aviv the Peace Movement held a big protest meeting against the Paris Agreements for the creation of a new Wehrmacht, this time equipped with atomic weapons, and against the Turkey-Iraq pact which is a grave threat to peace in the Middle East.

At the beginning of February the Peace Movement held ten mass rallies in different parts of the country to protest against German rearmament and the Turkey-Iraq pact.

A National Conference was called on February 18 in Tel Aviv to study the results of the peace referendum in Israel and to examine the plan of work for the future.

IN THE NORDIC COUNTRIES

• Sweden

At a trade union meeting of the unskilled workers of Stockholm a resolution was adopted which says:

'We note with satisfaction that the German working class is opposing the policy of reviving the Wehrmacht whose crimes during the Second World War are still present in everyone's memory... We consider that all friends of peace have the important task of supporting the workers of Germany in their opposition to the resurgence of the forces of aggression in that country.'

• Norway

After the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements by the Norwegian Parliament protests began to flow in from all sides. The Bjorkasen miners' lodge sent a protest to Parliament together with a declaration of support for the German trade unions and for the forces that are opposing German rearmament in all countries.

The Trondheim railwaymens' trade union branch sent a protest and demanded a national referendum. The Larvik branch of the Federation of Chemical Workers, the Bergen branches of the Gasworkers and Bricklayers, the Oslo Plumbers' branch, the Mo Engineers' branch, the Baerum Building Workers, the Grorud Women's Association, the workers constructing the Nordland railway line and the Oslo Bricklayers' Federation have all made public protests. The Woodworkers' Union stressed that it is the responsibility of Norwegian workers 'to see that this does not happen'.

• Denmark

The wave of protest against German rearmament continues to rise and even members of the different parties that are favourable to the remilitarisation of West Germany demand that a national referendum be held on this question.

In a number of localities and streets there have been ballots on the referendum. In Istegade Street in Aalborg, 108 people voted against rearmament and for the referendum, while only five voted for rearmament. A similar ballot in a street in Valby gave the following result: 306 for a referendum and 26 against.

The protests against German rearmament and the demands for a national referendum continue to flow in; we may mention those of the workers of Slosturp, Kolding and Naestved, the trade union leaders of Villingebaeck, university students and students of the Polytechnic and scientific institutes.

The newspaper *Information* writes that in the last period there has been an increase of more than 100,000 in the number of protests sent to Parliament.

Thirty well-known Social Democrats have asked the Social Democratic Parliamentary party to re-examine the appeal of the West German Social Democratic party.

The German Manifesto

A Manifesto was adopted in Frankfurt on January 29 after a meeting in St. Paul's Church where Germany's first Parliament met in 1848.

Here are some extracts from the Manifesto:

'The setting up of German armed forces in the Federal Republic and in the Soviet zone would kill all chances of reunification for an indefinite period and would increase East-West tension... The terrible fate which would bring brothers and sisters of one family face to face in two different armies with guns in their hands would become a reality.

'At this time, faced with the danger of such a situation, every voice that is free to speak out must give a warning that cannot be ignored. Those who do not see that the ratification of the Paris agreements would involve a great danger, that of closing the door to four power negotiations on the reunification of Germany in freedom, would bear an unparalleled responsibility.

'Agreement between the Four Great Powers on the need to conclude an agreement on reunification must come before the formation of military blocs. It is both possible and necessary to find the conditions, acceptable both to Germany and her neighbours, which will ensure the peaceful co-existence of the nations of Europe through the reunification of Germany. The German people has a right to reunification.'

This Manifesto was signed by

— the entire Presiding Committee of the German Social Democratic Party including the President and the Vice-President.

— a large number of Social Democratic members of the Federal Parliament and the provincial parliaments.

— many trade union leaders, including the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the D.G.B. (Confederation of West German Trade Unions), Walter Freitag and George Reuter, along with almost all the provincial chairmen of the D.G.B. and the chairmen of various industrial unions.

The collection of signatures to the Manifesto has been started.

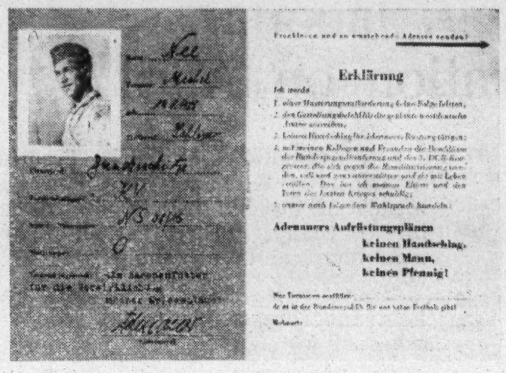
*

The President of the Federal Parliament in Bonn, Mr. Gerstenmaier, member of Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democrat Union, stated to the students of the Evangelical Academy at Bad Boll that the Paris agreements are in no way as favourable as some M.P.s of his party think. Gerstenmaier added that if a speaker was to declare from the rostrum of the Federal Parliament that the young people are enthusiastic at the idea of setting up an army, he would refute the statement, even if he had to give up his position as President to do so.

Mr. Sieveking, Mayor of Hamburg and also a member of the Christian Democrat Union, stated that the Federal Republic must open talks with the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic.

Mr. Helmut Kater, Secretary of the Confederation of West German Trade Unions, representing the young people on the Presiding Committee of the Engineers' Trade Union, told 1,500 young people at Dortmund that young trade unionists are opposed to any form of rearmament.

NOT A MAN! NOT A PENNY!



A leaflet in the form of a soldiers' paybook is being circulated in Germany.

The left-hand inside page gives an imaginary identity and makes allusions to conscription which threatens the young people, while the right-hand inside page contains a statement including these sentences:

'I will not give the slightest help to German rearmament.

'I, and my colleagues and friends, fully support the resolutions of the Federal Youth Conference and of the third Congress of the Confederation of West German Trade Unions, which are directed against remilitarisation, and I will strive to make them effective. I owe this to my parents and to the dead of the last war.

'I will always abide by the motto:
Don't lift a finger,
Not a man and not a penny
For the plans to rearm Germany!'

The back page is in the form of a postcard which is intended for posting to

Herr Hasso von Manteuffel,
Nordkanal-Allee 68,
Neuss.

France's Role in General Negotiations

At the time of the governmental crisis in France, the Bureau of the National Council of the French Peace Movement issued the following statement:

'The recent Soviet notes on German reunification, free elections under international surveillance and the evacuation of the occupied territories have opened new prospects of agreement between the great powers which opposed each other at the Berlin Conference. If all the interested parties make a sincere effort, such an agreement could soon be achieved...

'It is the duty of France to take this decisive step towards general negotiation.

'The government France needs is a government capable of taking this step in the interests of our country's security and of peace.'

The week of action against German rearmament, February 14—20, was marked by many and varied demonstrations, particularly by deputations to the senators who have yet to take a decision on the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements.

The previous fortnight had seen intensive preparatory work at all levels.

The Peace Movement recommended that representations should be made to the town and county councillors who, in the main, compose the electoral colleges which elect the senators. Following on these deputations, many of them went on record against the London and Paris Agreements.

In the Rhone Department, for example, an appeal to the senators by town and county councillors has already been signed by 10 county councillors, 50 mayors and 232 deputy mayors. In the Gard Department 33 municipal councils and 65 mayors have made known their opposition to the agreements. In the Cambrai region 210 elected representatives, including 44 Socialists and 41 members of the M.R.P., have made a stand. So have 373 elected representatives in the Haute-Vienne Department, including the Socialist mayor of Oradour-sur-Glane.

At the same time the people were informed of the content and consequences of the agreements, and of the position of the senators, at many meetings in the factories and localities and at district and departmental rallies of which we may mention those held at Vimy, Marguion (Nord), Toulouse and Saint-Nazaire. Memorial ceremonies were held at the war memorials and at the plaques in honour of those shot by the Nazis and of the martyrs of the Resistance.

Appeals for unity were issued and special mention should be made of the great number of such appeals made by workers of all political standpoints and trade union affiliations in the factories.

The French Delegation at the Warsaw Meeting

We give on another page the final communique of the Warsaw meeting between a delegation of the European Conference for the Peaceful Solution of the German Problem and the delegates who were refused visas to enter France.

At this meeting France was represented by Mr. Paul Bastid, member of the Institute; Mr. Pierre Lebon, the late Georges Loustanau-Lacau, Mr. Michel Maurice-Bokanowski, Mr. Pierre Villon, M.P.s of the Social Republican, Peasant, Gaullist and Communist parties respectively; Mr. Jacques Debû-Bridel, Gaullist Senator for the Seine Department; Mr. Michel Brugier and Mr. Etienne Nouveau, barristers; Mr. Elie Rouby, Chairman of the Corrèze County Council; and Mrs. Maurice-Bokanowski.

On their return, the French representatives expressed their satisfaction. Here, for example, is what Mr. Jacques Debû-Bridel wrote in *Le Monde:*

'To understand properly the importance of the final statement of our last meeting, it is essential to bear in mind the status of the delegates from the Eastern countries.

'The delegations were received at the Polish Diet by its President; the first meeting was presided over by Mr. George Michalowski, former ambassador and today Secretary of State for Education. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Polish Foreign Affairs Commission, Mr. O. Dluski and Mr. Kulczynski, led the Polish delegation; Mr. Johannes Dieckmann, Chairman of the People's Chamber, the East German delegation, etc. It was before a gathering of this importance that Mr. Alexander Korneichuk, member of the Supreme Soviet, read his reply to the questions we had asked him. They are summed up in the communique; to be quite frank, they go further than I had hoped.'

Preparing the World Assemb

France

National Demonstration on April 3

The French Peace Movement is preparing to hold, on April 3, a national demonstration which will bring together all the peaceful forces in the country. The French people's activity in their struggle against German rearmament, as reported in the press, is proof that the French Movement is preparing for the national demonstration through action.

The themes of the demonstration are, of course, those imposed by the present international situation: opposition to German rearmament and to the atomic threat, and the demand for negotiation, independence and peace.

Between 1,500 and 1,800 delegates will bring with them the French people's unshakeable determination to see peaceful solutions prevail over attempted solutions by force.

The demonstration will be the occasion for the solemn inauguration of the great campaign against the preparations for atomic war launched by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

To prepare for the demonstration and also for sending a French delegation to the World Assembly in Helsinki, the French Peace Movement has put out cards which will not only help in the collection of the necessary funds but will also be so many mandates given by millions of French people to the delegates to these gatherings.

In order to achieve the best possible preparation for all this activity, the Departmental secretaries of the Peace Movement have designated February 27 as a day to be devoted to organisational problems.

Appeal of the French Peace Movement for a National Assembly of Peace Forces

The appeal for the national demonstration of April 3, adopted by the National Council of the French Peace Movement at its meeting on January 29 and 30, says:

'The year 1954 gave the people reasons for hope, but there is now a danger that all that has been achieved will be jeopardised.

'The London and Paris Treaties would give German militarism the means of crushing the peace forces in Germany, of threatening her neighbours and unleashing war.

'Tension is growing in the Far East and threatening to rekindle the ashes of war.

'The N.A.T.O. decisions seek to regularise the use of atomic weapons and they give governments and general staffs the power to use them regardless of the rights of parliaments and the demands of mankind.

'Only the peoples' will to peace can raise an effective barrier against these resurgent dangers.

The peoples demanded and obtained the armistices in Korea and Indo-China and the rejection of E.D.C.; they have the power to prevent the remilitarisation of Germany and to halt the atomic threat.

'This double danger must be averted. The French people will summon all their strength and will take their place in the front line of the common struggle.

'The National Peace Council calls on all forces for peace in the country to unite their efforts and send their representatives to the great assembly against German rearmament and the atomic danger, for the independence and security of France and for negotiation, disarmament and peace.

'This national demonstration will help to send a French delegation to the World Assembly for Peace which will open in Helsinki on May 22.'

Union of South Africa

On March 4 the South African Peace Council will hold a session specially devoted to the preparations for the World Assembly. It will study reports on the political tasks of the Movement and on organisational questions in relation to the preparation of the Assembly.

The importance of the proposed World Peace
those countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and the
or be annihilated in a world conflict in which
The imperialists wanted at first to make Asians
easy, they now wish to make Europeans fight

All nations that want to live and let live, th
man or of nation by nation, must therefore me
imperialist game. They should further insist up
destruction. This is the programme that lies b
make a fervent appeal that nations that want to
of others should regard it as a sacred duty to

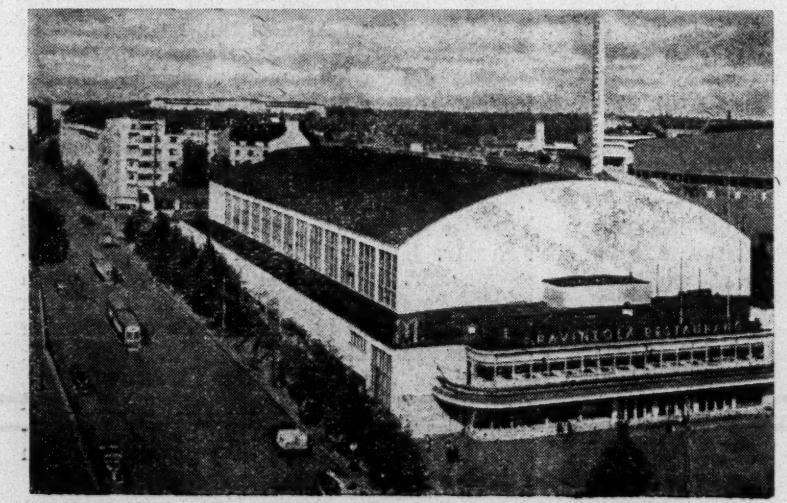
Spanish Peace Commis

The Spanish Peace Commission's present plan of work is based on the preparations for the World Assembly which are being linked up with the concrete objectives of the Spanish Peace Movement, mainly the struggle against the military pact signed between Washington and Madrid.

The Commission proposes to develop a wide campaign to publicise the decisions of the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace, and particularly the decision to hold the World Assembly. It is preparing broadly representative meetings which will promote the participation of the peace forces of Spain in the Assembly and these will culminate in a great assembly representative of the whole Spanish Peace Movement at which the delegates to the World Assembly will be elected.

Furthermore, the Spanish Peace Commission's statement was widely distributed during a special day of protest and struggle against the Washington-Madrid military pact and the Commission received many letters from individuals and groups of various political standpoints and walks of life showing the growing trend of opposition to the military pact. These letters came from a number of Spanish cities.

Of the documents demonstrating the wide support for the Assembly among the most diverse circles we may mention the following: a notebook from Barcelona containing the signatures of more than 200 industrialists, merchants, intellectuals, students and workers; resolutions signed by the workers of two factories in Catalonia, letters signed by whole families, and statements by young students, women, intellectuals, workers and peasants.



The exhibition hall in Helsinki where the World Assembly for Peace will be held.

HELSINKI the wh

Professor Felix Iversen, Vice-President of the World Federati
of United Nations Associations, stated in an interview given
the editorial board of the Bulletin:

We Finnish people are happy that the World Assembly for Pe
is being held in our country and we will joyfully receive the b
representatives of the forces of peace of all countries. We hope t
we shall acquit ourselves successfully of the honourable task of act
as host to this most important international meeting, in co-operat
with all those who want peace in our country.

Our capital, Helsinki, with its 450,000 inhabitants, is assure
not a huge city, but it is both modern and beautiful. It is cal
the white city of the North and this will not be the first time tha
has acted as host to an international meeting. It was the scene of

sembly (Helsinki, May 22, 1955)

sed World Peace Congress in May next is very great for all Africa and the world which do not want to annihilate others onflict in which weapons of mass destruction may be used. to make Asians fight and annihilate Asians. Not finding it so Europeans fight Europeans or Europeans fight Asians.

and let live, that want to stop the exploitation of man by ust therefore meet and make up their minds not to play the further insist upon an absolute ban on all weapons of mass mme that lies before the proposed May Congress and I do ions that want to preserve their freedom and also the freedom sacred duty to join it.

Pandit Sunderlal (India)

National Assembly in Brazil

Opinion alarmed by H bomb tests at South Pole

The Brazilian Peace Movement has called a national assembly of representatives of the forces of peace, the main object of which is to prepare for Brazil's participation in the World Assembly in Helsinki. The following agenda has been proposed:

1) The world situation and the threat of a new war: the armaments race and weapons of mass destruction.

2) The situation in Latin Amreica and the threat of a new world war.

At the same time the Brazilian Peace Movement has drawn public attention to the danger of the H bomb tests which the United States is proposing to hold at the South Pole. The announcement of these plans and the warning issued by the Peace Movement are arousing a great deal of interest. An official spokesman, Major Rangel, member of the National Council for Scientific Research, has said that if the United States really intends to carry out tests on the hydrogen bomb at the South Pole precautionary measures will be necessary.

In its January 20th number, the big Sao Paulo daily *Ultima Hora* published a report on the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace signed by the Brazilian writer Alfonso Schmidt who took part in the session.

e Commission's Plan of Work

's present eparations are being jectives of nainly the act signed id.

o develop e decisions the World ularly the sembly. It e meetings tion of the embly and assembly nish Peace tes to the l.

eace Com- distributed nd struggle d military ived many groups of d walks of opposition came from

ng the wide g the most e following: taining the dustrialists, s and wor- workers of s signed by by young vorkers and

Of the activities carried on by Spaniards in their countries of exile in connection with the day of protest and struggle against the Madrid-Washington military pact, those of the Spanish defenders of peace resident in France merit particular mention. Twenty important demonstrations were held in the main cities and more than a hundred meetings in other localities. Among the thousands of people who took part were many who had never before been present at a demonstration of the Peace Movement.

In preparation for the day of action, 25,000 signatures against the military pact were collected among Spanish people resident in France.

Important public demonstrations were held in other countries, particularly in London, Montevideo and Mexico City.

In a joint resolution adopted by the Presidiums of the Polish Committee for the Defence of Peace and the Polish Committee of the National Front, it is stated:

'The forces of peace are more powerful than the forces of war. The peoples will come to the great Assembly in Helsinki in May 1955 of the representatives of the forces of peace of all the countries of the world, having won new successes in carrying out the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

The Assembly will mark out the way to be followed in the victorious struggle of all the peoples for peace, security, independence and well-being.'

Chinese People Support Resolutions of World Council of Peace

In order to popularise widely and effectively the important results of the Stockholm session and show how to put its decisions into practice, the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace organised a great discussion meeting on the return of the Chinese delegation from Stockholm. Dr. Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the Committee, presided and the meeting was attended by more than 900 people.

A general report on the Stockholm session was given by Mr. Wu Yao-tsung, a member of the Chinese delegation.

Then Mr. Jose Cueto M. P., member of the Chilean Labour Party, and Mr. Togo Kameda from Japan, addressed the meeting.

The meeting adopted unanimously and with great enthusiasm a resolution of support for the decisions of the Stockholm session.

Here are some extracts from this important resolution:

'The participants in this meeting express their unanimous and enthusiastic support for the resolutions adopted by the World Council of Peace at its Stockholm session.

'The Address to the Peoples issued by the Stockholm session stresses that the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements would inevitably lead to the resurgence of militarism in West Germany and would incorporate it in the N.A.T.O. aggressive military bloc, thereby giving rise to a new crisis for peace in Europe and throughout the world.

'That is why the peoples of all countries were called upon resolutely to oppose the London and Paris Agreements and to demand the immediate calling of a Four Power Conference to settle the German question and safeguard European security.

'We unanimously support the resolution on the situation created in various parts of Asia by foreign pressure and by the system of military blocs and coalitions adopted by the Stockholm session of the World Council of Peace.

'Together with all the other peoples of Asia, we shall continue our struggle to foil the new aggressive plot the circles that want war, to strengthen and extend the zone of peace in Asia and establish collective peace and security in Asia on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

'We fully support the resolutions of the Stockholm session in favour of disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction and condemning foreign interference in the internal affairs of nations. We warmly welcome the appeal for a World Assembly for Peace in May 1955.'

he white City of the North

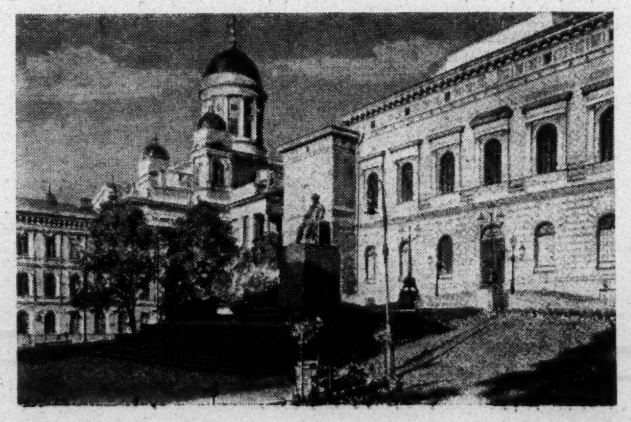
e World Federation interview given to

Assembly for Peace ully receive the best ntries. We hope that urable task of acting eting, in co-operation y.

bitants, is assuredly eautiful. It is called the first time that it was the scene of the Olympic Games in 1952 and many other international meetings have been held there.

Finland is a bridge between East and West; with both we have extensive economic and cultural relations. This co-operation between our people and all its neighbours is a tangible proof of the possibility of peaceful co-existence between countries with different political and social systems. From this point of view also Finland is peculiarly suited to receive a World Assembly in a spirit of peace, understanding and co-operation between the peoples of the world.

We are happy that at the end of May, the time when the Spring comes to Helsinki with its first light nights, chasing the frost and darkness, we shall also be welcoming the messengers of the forces of peace in all countries — forces that bring springtime and light to the whole of mankind.



A corner of the old city in the centre of Helsinki, with its great church.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Soviet Public Opinion Welcomes the Bureau's Appeal

Mr. Mikhail Kotov, Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee, has made the following statement to the press:

'The Appeal to the Peoples of the World and the other documents of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace mark an important stage in the powerful movement of the peoples against the danger of a new war. The struggle for peace, for the right of the peoples to live in peace, is growing in strength on every continent.

'Along with all friends of peace in every part of the world, the Soviet people demand the banning of atomic weapons and the use of atomic energy exclusively for peaceful purposes. And the Soviet people express their demands in their actions. The Soviet government has decided to make its scientific and technical experience in the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes available to other countries. Thus the necessary help will be given to China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the German Democratic Republic. The Soviet government has declared itself ready to divulge the experience it has gained in the construction and working of the first atomic power station at the forthcoming international conference. Is this not a clear proof of the Soviet Union's great concern for peace and the progress of mankind?

'Ordinary people from every corner of our enormous country are sending their views on the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace to the Soviet Peace Committee. In their letters and telegrams the Soviet people greet these decisions and pillory those who want to unleash an atomic war and re-establish the German army.'

Mr. Kotov said that the Soviet Peace Committee would hold a general discussion on the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace in the near future. 'The Soviet people', he said, 'will be glad to sign the appeal for the banning of atomic weapons and in this way they will demonstrate their devotion to the cause of peace, their determination to work for the happiness of mankind, for progress and peaceful co-existence between all the peoples.'

Many Meetings . . .

After the decisions of the World Council of Peace designed to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons, big meetings have been organised by the local peace committees in the republics, territories and regions. Recently such meetings have been held at Ordjonikidze, Sverdlovsk, Stalingrad, Penza, Stavropol, Makhatchkala, Ivanovo, Kaluga, Kaliningrad, Ulianovsk and elsewhere.

In a big meeting held at Grozny, Professor Sukharev, Chairman of the Regional Committee for the Defence of Peace, stated: 'The will of the peoples can and must bring about the banning and the destruction of atomic weapons.'

Mr. Volchukhin, foreman bricklayer, stated on behalf of all the town's building workers that they fully supported the decisions of the World Council of Peace.

'The Soviet people do not want war', he said. 'The facts bear witness to this. Look at our Grozny. We are going ahead with great construction jobs and we do not want these houses, factories and power stations to be destroyed by an atomic bomb'.

'The sole desire of our people', said a collective farm chairman, 'is to live in peace with all the peoples of the world, who, like the entire Soviet people, approve of the decisions of the World Council of Peace against the attempts to use atomic energy for military purposes'.

At scientific meetings and sessions, Academicians and professors have stigmatised the use of mankind's great discoveries for war as crime and called on the scientists of every country to declare themselves in favour of the banning of weapons of mass destruction.

At a meeting in Kaliningrad, Mrs. Aksenova, mother of several children, stated:

'The world is big and beautiful. There is room enough for all peoples, big and small. But can the mothers sleep peacefully when they know that the stocks of A and H bombs are being increased? I am certain that millions of people in every corner of the world will arise to defend peace and protect their children.'

At an extended meeting of the Presidium of the Soviet Peace Committee it was decided to hold a plenary session of the Soviet Committee attended by representatives of the local Peace Committees. This session will discuss the measures to be taken to organise the collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal.

70 to 80 per cent of People of Iceland demand: 'End foreign occupation'

The Icelandic Committee against the American occupation has published a general picture of the first results of the signature campaign for the abrogation of the treaty giving the United States the right to maintain military bases in Iceland. Although some signature forms have not yet been returned, the committee has estimated that about seventy to eighty per cent of the population has signed.

Many well-known figures in public life have supported the campaign.

Asian Lawyers' Conference in Calcutta

The Asian Lawyers' Conference, held under the auspices of the All-India Association of Democratic Lawyers, ended on January 30, after six days of debates. The lawyers discussed vitally important problems such as the legal aspect of the sovereignty of the peoples and the outlawing of all means of mass extermination.

The conference was attended by delegates and observers from Australia, Burma, China, Celyon, Egypt, Indonesia, Japan, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, Pakistan, the U.S.S.R., Thailand, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and other countries.

In his opening speech, Dr. Radhabinod Pal, member of the conference presiding committee and member of the International Law Commission of the United Nations Organisation, stressed the awakening of the peoples of Asia and pointed out the important role of Asia in the world political situation.

Mr. D. N. Pritt Q. C., Great Britain, President of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, pointed out the serious menace to world peace of the rearming of Western Germany and the formation of the Manila pact bloc.

Mr. Kaoru Yasui, member of the Japanese delegation and professor of international law at Hosei and Kanagawa Universities, reported on the banning of all atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction. He pointed out that the American experiments in the Bikini area are a manifest violation of international law as this territory is not American. By appropriating an area of the high seas in this manner the United States are guilty of a flagrant violation of the freedom of the high seas.

By the provisions of international law the United States are obliged to pay compensation for all the damage caused by these tests, he said, and went on to call for the banning of all weapons of mass destruction.

After Mr. Yasui's report, a Japanese delegate read a message from Mrs. Suzu Kuboyama, the widow of Aikichi Kuboyama, the first victim of the American hydrogen bomb test at Bikini, in which she asked the lawyers to work unrelentingly for the abolition of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

At the January 29 session, the leader of the Chinese delegation, Chang Chih-jang, showed that the question of Taiwan (Formosa), historically part of China, is an internal matter. Referring to the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference, Chang Chih-jang stated that the decision of the Prime Ministers of the Colombo countries to call this conference was in harmony with the earnest desire of the people of all Asian countries.

The resolutions adopted at the closing session dealt mainly with the five principles of peaceful co-existence; national sovereignty; and the banning of all atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction.

NORTH AFRICA

Mr. Abdul Rahman Bouchama, President of the Algerian Peace Movement, sums up the work for peace in North Africa in the following interview given to the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace.

'The incidents and dangers threatening peace in North Africa have grown in number, especially since the French National Assembly voted in favour of the London and Paris Agreements.

'Plans are mooted for the construction of factories to make atomic bombers and for the creation of an atomic industry in the Sahara. It should be noted that there already exist in Morocco an atomic weapons dump and runways for atomic bombers.

'So the peoples of North Africa welcome all moves for peace and the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons.

'They gave a particularly favourable reception to the calling of the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference which will not only be a valuable contribution to peace in the Far East and in the world as a whole, but will also encourage the peoples of North Africa in their profound desire for independence.

'Obviously, in this situation there is a need for a broader and more powerful Peace Movement, so in both Algeria and Tunisia measures are being taken as part of the campaign against the preparations for atomic war to widen and strengthen the existing Movement and to elect a very representative delegation to the World Assembly for Peace.'

Important Japanese Organisations

Support the Conference of Asian Countries

In Japan, the preparations for the Conference of Asian Countries, which will be held in New Delhi, April 6—10, are going forward in close relationship to the preparations for the World Assembly for Peace. Important organisations of many kinds and tendencies are supporting the conference, including the following: the General Council of Trade Unions (SOHYO); the All Japan Association of Buddhists; the National Council of Young People's Associations, which are semi-official organisations formerly under the aegis of the central and local governments and to be found in all parts of Japan, particularly in all the villages; the All Japan Federation of Women's Organisations; the Congress of Japanese Intellectuals; the Christian Women's Temperance Society; the National Council against the A and H Bombs; the National Council for Restoring Relations with the Soviet Union and China; the Japanese Peace Committee; and the Association of Members of Parliament for the Promotion of Trade with China.

Meeting in Tokyo on January 17, the Japanese Preparatory Committee for the Conference of Asian Countries decided that Japan will suggest adding the following items to the agenda proposed by the Indian Preparatory Committee:

1) The restoration of diplomatic relations between Asian countries.

2) Co-operation between religious people in the countries of Asia.

3) The promotion of scientific and technological exchanges between the countries of Asia.

On January 18, Mr. Nagano, lawyer and member of the Presiding Committee of the Japanese Preparatory Committee, and Mr. M. Ikeda, General Secretary of the Committee and deputy General Secretary of the Democratic Party, the party in power, visited Mr. Shigemitsu, the Foreign Minister, and asked that the Japanese Government afford facilities for the delegation to attend the Conference of Asian Countries and that it send representatives to the forthcoming Afro-Asian Conference.

Peoples of Asia Support Afro-Asian Conference

On the initiative of the Indonesian Government, the governments of the Colombo countries decided at Bogor to call a conference of Asian and African countries at Jakarta on April 5. Twenty-five countries from the two continents have already been invited, including the People's Republic of China.

Burma

The calling of the Afro-Asian Conference will be beneficial to the Peace Movement in Asia and the world, declared the Burmese Peace Committee in a statement on January 17.

The Committee appealed to the sponsoring nations to invite more Asian and African countries to take part in the conference.

Pakistan

Commenting on the Afro-Asian Conference, Maulana Bhasani, President of the East Bengal Awami People's League and delegate of the Pakistan Peace Movement to the recent session of the World Council of Peace in Stockholm, told newsmen in Calcutta:

'We'll support any efforts which go to safeguard peace in Asia.'

Indonesia

In a statement to the press, Professor Prijono, winner of the Stalin International Prize for the Consolidation of Peace, said that he was optimistic about the future of the Afro-Asian Conference. He added that the five principles for peaceful co-existence should be a basic question to be discussed at the conference and that, unlike N.A.T.O. or S.E.A.T.O., these principles were not based on armed force but on moral strength and real ideals of peace.

India: Regional Conference in Bangalore

Four hundred delegates and guests attended a conference for peace and Asian solidarity held in Bangalore with Mr. J. Kumarappa, member of the World Council of Peace, in the chair.

The Conference adopted a resolution condemning the United States—Chiang Kai-shek pact as interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China. In another resolution, the Conference welcomed the calling of the Afro-Asian Conference and expressed the hope that this meeting will establish solidarity between the countries of Asia and Africa.

The Conference stated that the five principles enunciated by the Prime Ministers of India, China and Burma are a powerful force for peace.

All India Peace Council Sends Message to Mr. Nehru

'The Indian people are angered by the statements of certain American representatives saying that atomic and thermonuclear weapons may be used against China. The United States Government must be informed that the Indian people resolutely condemn the plans for unleashing an atomic war . . .'

This is the text of a telegram which the All India Peace Council sent to Mr. Nehru while he was in London.

The All India Peace Council assures Mr. Nehru that the Indian Peace Movement will support any moves he may make for the withdrawal of American troops from the Chinese territory of Taiwan (Formosa) and from Chinese territorial waters.

*

Formosa and Viet Nam

At its special session in January the Japanese Peace Committee adopted a resolution on the Mutual Security Treaty between the United States and Formosa which states in part:

'We regard the U.S.—Formosa Mutual Security Treaty and S.E.A.T.O. as a serious menace to the safety and independence of the Asian countries and we are therefore opposed to these treaties.

'We maintain that a fundamental condition for easing world tension is the reinstatement of China in its proper position in the United Nations, at the same time giving all non-member countries the opportunity of joining that body.'

Another resolution on the situation in Viet Nam denounces the foreign pressure being exerted to reinforce the military strength of South Viet Nam and states: 'We demand strict observance of the cease-fire agreement and non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries concerned.'

*

The Kuweit Democratic League has issued an appeal protesting at the arrival of an American fleet in the port of Kuweit. The appeal is also directed against the new influx of British troops and asks the people to actively oppose foreign military occupation.

Lebanese Peace Congress

Calls on the People to Oppose the Atomic Danger and the Setting Up of Military Blocs

The Second Congress of the Lebanese Peace Movement opened on January 22 in the International Club in Beirut. It was attended by 350 delegates and guests from every part of the country and had been carefully prepared by five regional conferences held during the last few months.

The opening speech was delivered by Sheikh A.A. Zein who called on all men of goodwill in the world 'to support the humanitarian activities of the Peace Movement'.

Dr. George Hanna, member of the World Council of Peace, then gave a political report. He enumerated the tasks of the Peace Movement, spoke of their lofty nature and stressed the need for the people of the Lebanon to actively oppose the Turkey-Pakistan-Iraq military pact.

'This pact', he said, 'creates grave danger for the peoples of the Middle East especially after the N.A.T.O. Council decisions on the use of atomic weapons, for Turkey is a member of N.A.T.O.'

Mr. Salem Dablis then gave a detailed report on economic problems. He showed the importance of economic exchanges based on respect for national sovereignty for the maintenance of peace in the world.

The next speaker was Mr. Antoine Tabet who dealt with the World Peace Movement and stressed that the main present task was the intensification of the struggle for the banning of atomic and hydrogen weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

The Congress unanimously adopted three resolutions: on military alliances; on the campaign for the banning of weapons of mass destruction; and on organisational problems.

The Congress enthusiastically welcomed the decision of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace to launch a signature-collecting campaign and the delegates were the first to sign the Appeal in the Lebanon. (*See photo.*)

The delegates to the Congress sign the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war

RESOLUTIONS

On the Campaign for the Banning of Weapons of Mass Destruction

'This Second Congress of the Lebanese Peace Movement disapproves and condemns any attempt to use these criminal and devastating weapons and calls on the Lebanese people to fulfil their duty to their country and to mankind by taking part in the world campaign which says that any government that lets loose atomic war will forfeit the trust of its people and find itself condemned by every people of the world. It invites the people to oppose the preparations for atomic war and to demand the destruction of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the stopping of their manufacture.'

On Military Alliances

'Great efforts are openly being made to incorporate the Lebanon and the other Arab countries in war alliances and military blocs.

'These efforts are being accompanied by strong foreign pressure on the Arab countries with a view to dividing them and bringing back the occupation troops.

'To date, the Lebanese people in all walks of life and in all national organisations have rejected the imperialist projects for military alliances in whatever form and under whatever name. The Peace Movement has taken part in the resistance to these projects.

'This Second National Congress of the Lebanese Peace Movement declares that the Peace Movement is ready to support any move by any person, organisation, Member of Parliament or official figure, if it is aimed at preserving our country from the danger of military alliances and from devastation by atom and hydrogen bombs, and is ready to help in the defence of peace and in furthering the relaxation of international tension.'

RECOMMENDATIONS

on Organisational Questions

'This Second National Congress of the Lebanese Peace Movement expresses its satisfaction that the Peace Movement has actively participated in the Lebanese people's resistance to war plans and has co-operated in action for the defence of peace and to promote the easing of international tension together with the peoples of the entire world.

'This National Congress considers it necessary to stress that the Peace Movement is a democratic mass movement independent of the various parties and sections of society represented in it, and that it continually strives to bring together all who accept the principle of peaceful co-existence between countries with different social systems and the negotiated settlement of international differences, and those who reject the plans of imperialism and war.

14,000 Miles across Australia for Peace

Four hundred and sixty peace meetings in 12 months — 260 of them in the past six months — 14,000 miles covered in a motor-drawn caravan — these figures tell something of the activity for peace by 63 year old, white haired, vigorous former Labour Senator, William Morrow, member of the World Council of Peace.

Mr. Morrow was a guest at the June, 1953 meeting of the World Council of Peace in Budapest and on his return to Australia he plunged into a campaign of meetings organised by the Peace Councils of Victoria and New South Wales.

Then in May 1954, along with Mrs. Morrow, he started out with his car and caravan for the north, driving often over bad roads as he made the 1,000 mile journey along the coast to Cairns in Northern Queensland.

In the many centres strung out along the way he stopped to contact known peace supporters, worked out a date for a meeting on the return trip and delivered publicity material.

In the Cairns district, he stayed for over a month, doing up to four and five meetings a day. He would go to a ship before breakfast, speak to the crew, have breakfast with them, spend the morning making future arrangements, speak at a mill or other workplace in the lunch hour, to a group of women in the afternoon, and to a street or house meeting at night. He addressed the Trades Hall Council, spoke three times at the waterside workers' 'pick-up' centre in the early morning, and drove out to many meetings in the surrounding district.

Everywhere he was well received.

In Yungaburra. for example, the local farmers' organisation postponed the start of its scheduled meeting in a hall, so as to hear Mr. Morrow finish his speech to an attentive audience in the street outside. He also spoke in the streets and halls of other Northern towns, Mareena, Atherton, Malanda, and elsewhere.

Then he started out to return to the south. At all the coastal centres such as Gordonvale, Innisfail and Ingham, there were meetings with waterside workers, railwaymen and the workers of sugar mills, sawmills and meatworks, as well as a film show and meeting in a public hall. A thousand waterside workers came to hear him at Townsville and a thousand meatworkers at Alligator Creek. He spoke to the miners in Collinsville and Scottsville before going on to Mackay to hold the biggest street meeting seen in the town for years.

After Mackay, Rockhampton was the scene of another great success.

After failing to win the co-operation of the Trades Hall officials, Mr. Morrow invited two delegates from every individual trade union to a special private screening of the two films he was using — 'The Atom and You' and 'Hwai River Must Be Harnessed'. The enthusiastic delegates then became his best publicity workers for the big meeting and film show and 500 people came, while the local press printed an extensive interview with him.

At Lake's Creek he was given a great reception by 2,000 workers at one of Australia's biggest meatworks.

From there he continued southwards to speak to ever more fresh audiences: gold and copper miners at Mt. Morgan, farmers at Biloela, labourers at a camp in the bush, religious leaders at Gympie and the townsfolk of Bundaberg and Maryborough.

Finally, at the end of October, he was back at Brisbane where for several weeks he spoke at meetings in and around the city.

Altogether tens of thousands of people had heard him speak of the World Peace Movement's struggle against atomic war, of the need for friendly contact and trade with China and other Asian countries, of the danger of rearming Japan and of linking Australia with military blocs against Asian countries.

Argentine: National Conference

Draws Up Plan for Campaign against Atomic Weapons

The National Committee of the Argentine Peace Movement has held a meeting attended by leaders of the Movement in Buenos Aires and in the different parts of the country. The meeting was specially called to discuss the campaign against the preparations for atomic war and to ensure the best possible organisation of the various activities that will be launched.

Among those who have recently supported the campaign for the banning of atomic weapons are Mr. Alfredo Ferrer and Mr. Alende, both members of parliament. Mr. Alende is president of the Radical group in parliament.

Great Support for Campaign to Defend Argentina's Oil

The campaign to prevent Argentina's oil from falling into the hands of foreign monopolies and being made to serve warlike ends and to ensure that it is used for the country's economic development is being carried on with success.

Many well-known persons have supported the campaign, including the following: Mr. Jose V. Liceaga, Radical M. P.; Father Amendola de Tebaldi, a Catholic priest; Mr. Carlos Fernandez Ordonez, former Democratic member of the Cordoba provincial parliament; Mr. Carlos Becerra, member of the Cordoba provincial parliament; Mr. Ferrer Zanchi, Radical M. P.; Mr. Virgilio Yanzon, president of the Mining Association of San Juan; Mr. Alfonso Plan, president of the Legal Committee of the Radical Civic Union, a political party; Mr. Romeo Bonazzola, former M.P.; Mr. Juan Jose Diaz Arana, leader of the Progressive Democratic Party; Mr. Ismael Marcon, Mr. Norberto Valdes, Mr. Armando Genovese and Mr. Telmo Alvarez, all members of the National Convention of the Radical Civic Union; Mr. Antonio Tonelli, a university leader; Professor Miguel Derito, former counsellor at the Faculty of Medicine; Mr. Emilio Garcia Iturraspe, President of the Argentine Peace Council; Mr. Alberto Torres, leader of the Chemical Workers' Union; Mr. Rodolfo Lopez, member of the Buenos Aires provincial parliament; Mr. Nicolas Besio Moreno, former Dean of the Engineers' Training Institute; Mr. Robert F. Giusti, writer; Mr. Demetrio Urruchua, painter; Mr. Avelino Sellares, former Progressive Democratic Party M. P.; Mr. Gregorio Berman, psychiatrist; Mr. Juan M. Calvo, former M. P., director of the daily *El Eco de Tandil.*

URUGUAY

In a statement published at the time of the events in Costa Rica in January, the Uruguayan Peace Council recalls that these events have their source in foreign interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America.

The Uruguayan Peace Councils calls on the people to take action and demands of the Government that, in these circumstances, it make no move towards military intervention; that, on the contrary, it make representations, particularly to the United Nations, for the restoration of peace. The Council also repeats its demand that the Uruguay-United States military treaty be rendered null and void.

The Work of the Cuban Peace Movement

The Cuban Peace Committee devoted a special meeting to the question of German rearmament. At the end of the meeting a statement was issued from which we take the following extracts:

'German rearmament is a brutal contradiction of the people's desire . . .

'We cannot look upon German rearmament as being a question far away and foreign to us. All peoples will suffer the disastrous consequences of a third world war should it break out . . .'

In conclusion, the National Committee calls on the people to unite and join all other peoples in their opposition to German rearmament.

Danger of Bahamas Islands Tests

The Committee also dealt with the danger involved in the war tests to be carried out in the neighbourhood of the Bahamas Islands.

In announcing their intention to hold these tests, the United States authorities explained that 'measures will be taken to safeguard the interests and security of the inhabitants of the territories concerned, as well as civil navigation and air traffic.' This fact alone, the Committee points out, is proof that the tests are 'a danger to the inhabitants of the Caribbean and to navigation in this area. The danger is certain as far as a part of Cuba's northern coast is concerned'.

For this reason, the Committee, which last year campaigned energetically against the bacteriological weapons tests carried out in the area of the Bahamas Islands, calls on the people to oppose these new tests.

Foreign Intervention against American Nations

The situation in Central America was also a subject of wide discussion. After recalling the incidents stirred up between Costa Rica and Nicaragua, the Cuban Peace Committee again denounced intervention against the sovereignty and peace of the nations of America. In conclusion, it called on the peoples of America 'to unite against their common enemies to defend their interests, their freedoms, their sovereignty and their free economic development, and to reject any attempt to provoke differences or conflicts from which only their enemies stood to benefit'.

Discussion of the 'Programme for a Peaceful Foreign Policy'

At the present time local and regional rallies are being held throughout the country to discuss the 'Programme for a Peaceful Foreign Policy' which has already been presented in the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace.

One of these was the Municipal Convention for National Progress and Peace held in Havana. Its agenda was a follows:

1) Report of the Havana Peace Council.

2) Discussion on the 'Programme for a Peaceful Foreign Policy'.

3) Discussion of a plan of work to develop activity for peace.

4) Election of delegates to the National Convention.

Mexico: Agenda of National Assembly for Peace and Security

March 18 is the date fixed for the great National Assembly for Peace and Security called by the Mexican Council for Peace and Security and which has already been mentioned in this Bulletin. It will go on for three days.

In a statement, the Mexican Council for Peace and Security puts forward a four-point agenda for discussion:

1) The problems that the war preparations raise for Mexico.

This point is subdivided into a series of subjects which are likely to lead to a wide exchange of views. For example:

— Foreign interference in Mexico's affairs and its effects on democratic freedoms and industrial and commercial development;

— The possibility of a United States—Mexico military pact;

— The defence of the national culture and the struggle against war propaganda;

— The causes of the growing poverty of the Mexican people; and so on.

2) The problems that Mexico has in common with the rest of Latin America.

This point contains the following subjects:

— The stirring up of artificial rivalries between the countries of Latin America;

— Mexico, a supplier of raw materials, food products and men for war;

— Mexico, a favourable field for foreign investment.

3) The precarious position of peace in the world.

This point includes the questions of German rearmament and the London and Paris Agreements, aggressive blocs, the N.A.T.O. decisions on the use of atomic weapons, and so on.

4) The organisation of the forces for peace in Mexico.

The Mexican Council's statement has the following to say on the character of the Assembly:

'We invite all Mexicans to take part, either individually or collectively, in the National Assembly for Peace and Security . . . and to make reports and speeches, or, if they prefer, to follow the discussion as observers. It should be clearly understood that the participants must not feel themselves bound by any pledge or obligation to subscribe to the conclusions that the Assembly will draw . . ."

The Brazilian film director Alberto Cavalcanti has made the following appeal to Brazilian film workers:

The cinema is the most popular and the most powerful of all arts, and the one that is best suited to enhance national culture and promote friendship among the peoples: That is why it is being attacked today by those who want the most atrocious of all wars — atomic war — a war the peoples do not want.

In Brazil as elsewhere these circles are attempting to substitute films of violence, hate and despair, films of preparation for war, in place of our national cinema depicting the life of our country, its customs and traditions, its sufferings, joys and struggles.

I appeal to all Brazilian film workers who love their country and their art, and I urge them to realise the gravity of the danger and join the great world movement of action against the threat of atomic war. By defending peace they are defending our national culture, our national cinema.

Alberto CAVALCANTI

Cultural Anniversaries for 1955

Andersen

In Denmark, preparations are continuing for the commemoration of the author of *Wild Swans* and so many other enchanting tales. Particular attention is being given to the proposal that children from a number of countries should visit Denmark to honour Andersen and mix with Danish children. Moreover, the Danish Women's Federation has issued interesting postcards bearing illustrations made by Andersen himself with coloured paper cuttings; they are being widely distributed.

In Hungary, the Peace Council will sponsor a great children's festival with the reading of tales by Andersen, puppet plays and the playing of Scandinavian music on its programme. The organising committee is composed of representatives of the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Education, the Children's Publishing House, the Puppet Theatre and other bodies.

Cervantes

In various Latin American countries preparations are going ahead for the events that will commemorate the great creator of *Don Quixote*.

In the Soviet Union a number of steps have already been taken. In January the Lenin Library in Moscow presented an exhibition on the life and work of Cervantes where there were more than a hundred editions of *Don Quixote* in the many languages of the Soviet Union and other countries on show. It also contained illustrations for the book signed by great Soviet and foreign artists. Similar exhibitions are being presented in the libraries of Leningrad, Kiev, Baku and other cities. The Society for the Diffusion of Scientific and Political Knowledge is preparing lectures in various parts of the country.

Professor Stein, the philologist, has given a talk on 'The Great Spanish Novelist Cervantes'. It is planned to hold other lectures and talks on *Don Quixote* and Spanish literature in clubs, schools, institutes and universities.

Montesquieu

The 200th anniversary of the death of the author of *L'Esprit des Lois* will be officially commemorated by U.N.E.S.C.O. in accordance with the decision of its Eighth General Conference in Montevideo. The proposal came from the Hungarian delegation.

On February 10, the anniversary day, the Montesquieu Academy of Bordeaux, the great sociologist's native town, held a memorial ceremony in Brede Castle. Preparations are being made to hold other events in France in the month of May. The Nagel publishing house in Paris announces the publication of the third and last volume of Montesquieu's collected works; it contains many hitherto unpublished texts, posthumous works and correspondence and is the official bicentenary edition.

In the Soviet Union a Montesquieu exhibition has already been inaugurated in Leningrad.

In Hungary, the Academy of Sciences is preparing a philosophical lecture and the national U.N.E.S.C.O. committee a sociological one. The Society for the popularisation of the natural and social sciences will organise in Budapest and other university towns a series of Montesquieu memorial evenings. The *Persian Letters* have been re-edited in a new translation.

Walt Whitman

In a number of countries it is proposed to include on the the programmes of ceremonies in honour of the author of *Leaves of Grass* the performance of some of the many pieces of music inspired by his poems. On this point we would recall that there exists a compilation of 294 of these compositions which was made by Mr. Henry S. Saunders in Canada. Such concerts would also include the famous cantata, *Dona Nobis Pacem*, composed in 1936 by the illustrious British composer Vaughan Williams on the theme of one of Whitman's poems, together with the *Sea Symphony* by the same composer.

Americans Speak Out for Cultural Exchanges

We give below two items of information from the United States, both relative to the demand for the development of cultural exchanges in that country.

Note by American Scientists

The Federation of American Scientists has informed many foreign scientific associations that it is studying the effects of the present visa policy on science. Their letter is addressed to:

1) People who wished to go to the United States for professional reasons but could not because they were refused visas or received them too late.

2) Persons who have received invitations to go to the United States in their professional capacity (e.g. to attend conferences or as a visiting lecturer) but have hesitated to ask for a visa because of the present regulations.

3) Visitors who, having arrived in the United States, had visa trouble.

4) Scientific conferences or congresses which could not be held in the United States because of the present visa policy.

The Federation of American Scientists would like to receive information on cases of this type which have occurred in the last two years and asks that the sender should indicate whether the information is to be regarded as confidential or not. All communications should be sent to the following address: The Federation of American Scientists, Committee on Visa Problems, P.O. Box 1191, Stanford, California, U.S.A.

University of California Considers Invitation to Soviet Students

At the University of California, Los Angeles, the U.C.L.A. *Bruin* reports that the Student Council is considering an invitation that would bring college newspaper editors from the Soviet Union to the U.S. during this year. Seven American college editors visited the Soviet Union early last year, but the Soviet students invited last summer were refused visas. Their American colleagues are making every effort to make the visit possible this time.

A statement by Martin Mc Reynolds, editor of the paper, notes: 'Anything we can do to relieve tension and establish a better relationship between the two nations is valuable.' And Joseph Adler, campus representative of the United States National Student Association, says that 'a free exchange of ideas between Russian and American students can bring about better understanding.'

In India, the All India Peace Council's Cultural Sub-Committee has decided to hold a great festival of dancing, drama and music to commemorate the 1,500th anniversary of the Ajanta frescoes. First of all there will be regional festivals which will culminate in the great all-India festival at the end of 1955 in which artists from all over India will take part.

It is also planned to present an exhibition of reproductions of the Ajanta paintings. In addition, the Indian Government Film Unit has made a film on 'India's Cave Temples' which is mainly devoted to the Ajanta frescoes.

Wide Cultural Movement in Japan:
'The Songs of Japan'
The whole country is singing
'We shall never allow the dropping of another atomic bomb'

We have pleasure in publishing an extract from an interesting article by Mr. Tokusaburo Dan, writer, member of the World Council of Peace. The cultural initiative in Japan described in this article will be a valuable example and an encouragement for friends of peace the world over.

The great movement called "The Songs of Japan", which is only six years old, underwent a magnificent development in 1954. From the factories, the villages and the schools arise songs extolling happiness, peace and independence. The voices of all these ordinary people sang in unison on the occasion of the third national concert of "The Songs of Japan" organisation which was held on November 27, 28 and 29, 1954. It was attended by more than 5,000 people of all professions and from all parts of Japan and there were more than 25,000 spectators. The first two evenings were held in a big hall which can hold 5,000 people and the last in a sports stadium with a seating capacity of 25,000. Before the concert started all the seats had been taken; even the corridors were blocked with people. A total of more than 35,000 people heard and saw the concerts.

Mrs. Akiko Seki, the founder of the powerful movement, 'Songs of Japan', the motto of which is 'Songs are forces for peace'.

'The first evening was devoted to choirs from eight regions of Japan; each was composed of from three to four hundred singers, both men and women. The second evening was given over to songs and dances of the Japanese countryside. On the last evening workers' and students' choirs took the stage.

'During the first two evenings the veterans of the "Central Choir", conducted by Mrs. Akiko Seki, sang the suite "Songs of Japan 1954" the principal theme of which is the song: "We shall never allow the dropping of another atomic bomb". On the last evening they sang the suite "Songs of Asia" with the collaboration of Chinese and Koreans residing in Japan. The theme of the suite is friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Asia. The audience listened to these songs with immense enthusiasm.

'At the end of the programme both singers and audience stood up and sang the favourite songs, "We shall never allow the dropping of another atomic bomb", "The mountains and rivers of the homeland", "For national independence", "Tokio-Peking", and others. After this moving piece of mass singing all went home with the joy of life and hope for the future in their hearts.'

Mr. Dan then goes on to say that this huge success is the result of six years of tireless work and devotion by Mrs. Seki and her pupils in the most difficult circumstances. In the beginning there were only 15 of them. After a year the number had risen to 300 and little musical groups had started round each one of them. During the time of the Korean war, when the Peace Movement was severely repressed, the choir's meetings were hindered by the authorities, but their promoters managed to overcome all obstacles by placing increasing reliance on the workers and the people. And so, through the gifts of ordinary people all over Japan, it was possible to construct a building for the 'Central Choir'.

The progress made was reflected in the great concert given before an audience of 3,000 at the end of 1952. For the first time a good number of representatives from the different regions sang in addition to the members of the 'Central Choir'. From that time on 'The Songs of Japan' developed on a great scale for, on going back home, the regional representatives did an enormous amount of work in organising powerful local movements round themselves. In the course of 1953 the results achieved were even more encouraging. A great number of singers, both men and women, went to Uchinada and Myogi to encourage the fishermen and peasants who were putting up a bitter struggle against the plans for military bases in the area. Through these demonstrations of solidarity 'The Songs of Japan' was able to become deeply rooted among the workers in the conditions favourable to the easing of international tension that followed on the armistice in Korea. Thus, regional concerts were organised in the main provinces of Japan. A great number of workers and peasants took part and helped to make the great national concert of 1953 a success.

The poster announcing the third national concert of 'The Songs of Japan'.

In 1954 "Songs of Japan" grew even more rapidly thanks mainly to the collaboration of the National Council of Trade Unions (S.O.H.Y.O.) which has a membership of 4,000,000. On the eve of May Day it launched the slogan: "We must have peace songs in every factory!" Workers' choirs were set up everywhere and regardless of political affiliation everyone came to sing arm in arm.

The horror of the hydrogen bomb, and the tests which brought new sufferings to the Japanese people, were also factors which brought more and more people into "The Songs of Japan". A song of anger and grief, "We shall never allow the dropping of another atomic bomb", rapidly spread throughout the country. In factory and on farm this song is heard rising up at any time, an expression of the people's hatred of war and their desire for peace.

We give below an English translation.

Our native town has turned to ashes;
On the burnt soil, where lay the bones of our beloved,
White flowers are now in bloom.
O! we shall not allow another atomic bomb!
We shall not allow it, a third time!
No! not on our town!

The sea is rough around our native place;
With dreary rain, there are no more days of joy,
And, on the boats, not a sign of man.
O! we will not allow another atomic bomb!
We shall not allow it, a third time!
No! not on our sea!

The sky is heavy over our native town;
Black clouds cover the Earth day after day,
And in the sunshine we rejoice no more.
O! we shall not allow another atomic bomb!
We shall not allow it, a third time!
No! not in our sky!

All the wealth and joy,
The fruits of our brethren's toil unceasing,
Have all now crumbled to naught.
O! we shall not allow another atomic bomb!
We shall not allow it, a third time!
No! not on our Earth!

GREAT BRITAIN:

National Deputations Day

National Deputations Day in Britain, which brought more than 10,000 people to the House of Commons on January 25 to demand "No Arms for Germany", was the biggest demonstration of its kind for many years. How was it organised?

The appeal for a mass lobbying of Members of Parliament was made by the British Peace Committee in the middle of December. This appeal was addressed not only to peace committees but also to all trade union, co-operative, political, religious and other organisations.

Several Weeks' Preparation

The campaign leading up to the day itself was very carefully prepared and detailed proposals were sent out by the British Peace Committee to local peace committees.

In the five weeks that followed, every conceivable means was used to ensure the widest publicity and the largest possible delegations. The British Peace Committee sent 8,000 letters to other organisations inviting them to take part. All over the country there were poster parades; distribution of leaflets (150,000 issued by the British Peace Committee itself as well as many produced locally); conferences in certain areas, sometimes called by the peace committees, sometimes by district committees of trade unions. Special materials were prepared by other organisations — regional peace committees, youth, workers in different industries. The London busmen issued their own leaflet in the form of an appeal to 'meet us outside the House of Commons', signed by 40 busmen and women. The British-Soviet Friendship Society produced a postcard which on one side urged people to lobby their M.P.s; on the other was a space to write the result of the interview, the postcard to be handed in after the lobbying.

Plan of Campaign

There was a special meeting of the General Council of the British Peace Committee on January 8—9 to which representatives of local peace committees and other organisations were invited. This meeting planned the campaign for the final two weeks and issued a statement which was widely distributed and was reproduced in a special issue of the *B.P.C. Newsletter* just before the National day. This statement said:

'Grave decisions are being taken today which, if not reversed, may drag this country faster than many realise towards World War III ... At this critical moment in the life of our country and of the world, we call on people of all organisations and in every walk of life, to insist on the settlement of disputes by negotiation, before it is too late ... By resolutions, deputations, demonstrations, insist that your M.P. and all authorities work to stop the rearmament of Germany. Demand that the government should resume Four-Power Talks at once to reach agreement on a peaceful settlement for Germany. Act now to save Britain and the world from the catastrophe of atomic war.'

Letters to M.P.s

As the weeks went by, the local peace committees succeeded in getting trade union branches, co-operative organisations, churches and others to elect official delegates. In Scotland, in Yorkshire, in Wales, coaches were booked and money for rail fares was raised. Many people wrote to their M.P.s to say that they were coming and this resulted in a number of M.P.s booking committee rooms in the House of Commons to receive their constituents. One M.P. arranged for a small room, and had to change to a bigger one when he found that 101 people had arrived to see him.

Two weeks beforehand, the British Peace Committee sent a letter to all peace committees giving details of the arrangements for the day itself. An advice centre was open during the afternoon and evening, complete with refreshments and with a creche for children. Posters were available with such slogans as 'German Rearmament threatens Britain', 'Tell your M.P. — No German Army', 'Start Four Power Talks'.

Subsequent Activities

Such was the campaign which led to the magnificent demonstration on January 25 which can have left the Members of Parliament in no doubt as to the opposition of the mass of the British people to the rearmament of Germany.

The National Deputations Day has been followed by further actions proposed by the Peace Committee:

1) All organisations and individuals who oppose German rearmament were asked to make February 8 Telegram and Telephone Day, on which all would either telegraph or telephone to their M.P. demanding opposition to the Paris agreements.

2) Deputations in ever increasing numbers to M.P.s in their constituencies.

3) Organisation of 5,000 public meetings.

4) Local and regional conferences on the widest basis throughout the country.

In addition, March 5 and 6 are to be national days of poster parades in every city and town in Great Britain. Carrying posters addressed directly to their M.P.s, these parades will visit the houses of the M.P.s to call on them to oppose German rearmament and to act against atomic war preparations.

Shadows over Austria

A Documentary Film made by the Austrian Peace Council

These stills of the film "Shadows over Austria" show:
— an ex-soldiers' meeting at Gmunden;
— a young peoples' demonstration against ex-soldiers' rallies in Vienna.
— a women's demonstration in Bad Ischl.

The Austrian Peace Council has recently made a short documentary film which shows in all clearness how Austria is already threatened by German rearmament.

The film opens with shots of the beautiful Austrian countryside. We then see the people of Austria, the adults at work, the children playing. We see them wearing their national costumes and performing their national dances, taking part in sport and tasting new wine. The wounds of war appear to be healed.

But behind this peaceful picture a new war is being prepared. The film shows war literature in the libraries, military installations on Austrian soil and above all the re-emergence of militarist activities. Military ceremonies at the war memorials and rallies of ex-soldiers are held including not only Austrians sporting their war decorations awarded by Hitler, but also undesirable individuals from West Germany, such as recently freed war criminals.

The film constrasts scenes of the 1930's with topical scenes, and thus throws into vivid relief the analogy between the situation which led up to the Anschluss and the situation today. But today there is a difference in that the Austrian people remember only too well the horrors of the war, which the film also conjures up with a few shots, and they are everywhere starting to resist the preparations for a new war. We are heartened to see the work of the Austrian defenders of peace, meeting together at large and small gatherings, discussing in the streets and on the doorsteps, talking with their neighbours, continually explaining the situation and initiating activities. Big demonstrations including people of all sections of the population show how much they are once again keenly concerned with the well-being of their country. The film ends with an appeal to encourage and actively support these efforts to prevent catastrophe.

Reproduction authorised. Please acknowledge source.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 6 (2nd. Year) MARCH 15, 1955

National Interests in the Campaign against Atomic War

When one studies, from a national point of view, the problems raised by the N.A.T.O. decision on the adoption of atomic weapons as the basis of its military organisation, one conclusion stands out very clearly. It is that this new stage of the policy of strength, the most scandalous yet, aggravates the dangers which every country has to face. This is so because the N.A.T.O. decision sets the international situation in a new light, politically, economically and from the military point of view.

This decision menaces the whole world with the immediate threat of the destruction of life and wealth on an incalculable scale. But, more than that, it is a mortgage on the sovereignty of every country, for it is an instrument of pressure and blackmail which can force them to grant bases, to sign pacts, to join blocs and to accept foreign control over their strategic raw materials. These things are opposed to their real national interests and help to increase international tension, which is every day becoming more dangerous. How much would a nation which does not possess atomic weapons retain of her sovereignty if the world knuckled under to the attempts being made to blackmail it?

These are only a few of the imperative reasons why the world campaign against the preparations for atomic war is correct and urgent. They oblige the National Peace Committees to explain clearly to public opinion how and to what extent the N.A.T.O. decision affects the national interests.

This is already being done in a number of countries. Let us take the example of Italy. In that country the campaign against the preparations for atomic war is based on specifically Italian interests. It is one of the most densely populated countries in Europe; there is the duty of defending constitutional freedom which is being jeopardised by the military treaties, and of preserving for mankind a particularly precious cultural heritage. These are reasons why the whole Italian people should act together against those who would prepare for atomic war.

This harmony that exists between national interests and the interests of all mankind as a result of the threat that is hanging over every country enables every National Peace Movement to bring public opinion into active opposition to atomic war on the basis of the problems peculiar to each nation and deeply felt by every man and woman, not only for their effects on the individual, but as vital national interests. Thus, for example, the nations contiguous to the German Federal Republic, which are conducting a courageous campaign against the rearming of that country, are redoubling their efforts now that there is a threat that atomic weapons will be put into the hands of former Nazi generals. In the same way, the peoples of the Near and Middle East have been actively opposing the military pacts which bind their countries to the United States, but they now find themselves confronted with greater responsibilities and dangers. For this reason they are welcoming the world campaign as an even more active and vigorous form of self-defence. The colonial countries which possess the raw materials necessary for the manufacture of atomic weapons, or on whose territory bases for atomic bombers and atomic weapons dumps have been set up, find themselves, against their will, at the very heart of any future thermonuclear war.

Already experience is showing that in those countries where the National Committees have been able to link the struggle against atomic war with the national interests, as in Japan, Italy, Argentina and many other countries, public opinion reacts immediately because it has been made to realise fully the dangers that are directly threatening it and the responsibility that each must assume if they are to be averted.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- Public figures support the Vienna Appeal 2
- The world signature campaign against the preparations for atomic war in Albania, Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Canada, the Central Congo, China, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Japan, Rumania, Switzerland, Syria, Uruguay and Viet Nam 3, 4, 5, 6
- American mothers do not want their sons to die on foreign soil. — Great Britain: people oppose decision to make H bomb 7
- The preparations for the World Assembly for Peace in Burma, Great Britain, Japan, South Africa and Tunisia. — The Spanish delegation's mandate . 8 & 9
- The peoples speak out against German rearmament: news from Belgium, Cameroons, Canada, France, Germany, Holland, Luxemburg, Rumania and Sweden ..... 10 & 11
- Initiative Committee for National Peace Movement set up in Gold Coast. — Letters from Soviet people: 'We are all for peace!' 12
- 'Quit Taiwan' Day in India. — Syrian public figures oppose nuclear weapons and military pacts. — National opposition to proposed 'Via Cuba' canal 13
- The 1955 anniversaries..... 14
- 26th Congress of Soviet Surgeons. — Young people prepare for the Fifth Festival of Youth and Students. — Declaration by the Brazilian composer, Claudio Santoro 15
- Two new pamphlets. — Objections and replies 16

The World Federation of Democratic Youth Supports

the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

The Executive Committee of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, which met in Berlin on February 25—28, issued an appeal to the young people of the entire world:

'On behalf of the millions of young men and women who are members of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Executive Committee of the W.F.D.Y. gives its support to the decision of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace to organise a broad campaign against the preparation of atomic war and the revival of German militarism.

'Young people and youth organisations in all countries, hear our appeal!

— Take an active part in collecting signatures for the Appeal from the peoples of the world!

— Expose the deceptions of the enemies of peace who would like to convince us that atomic war is inevitable! Demand that the great possibilities of atomic energy be used for peaceful purposes!

— Organise conferences, demonstrations, processions, assemblies, meetings, cultural and sports events, frontier rallies, develop all forms of activity and means of struggle, according to the conditions of each country, in support of the decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace!'

Australia: 119 Methodist Ministers

At a church conference in Melbourne, the Reverend Frank Hartley, joint Honorary Secretary of the Australian Peace Council, collected the signatures of 119 Methodist ministers.

Soviet Union

The Soviet Central Council of Trade Unions and the Soviet Writers' Union have issued statements supporting the Vienna Appeal.

*

Three Archbishops of the Russian Old Orthodox Christian Church have issued an appeal calling on the faithful to oppose the preparations for atomic war.

Fourth Hungarian Peace Congress

The Fourth Hungarian Peace Congress ended its work on February 27 with an appeal to the Hungarian people to intensify the signature campaign, which has already begun in Hungary.

Eminent Figures Support the Vienna Appeal

Among the eminent figures who have recently given their support to the Appeal against the Preparations for Atomic War are the following:

Mr. Josué de Castro (Brazil), President of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation;

Mr. Abbas (Indonesia), Minister of Health, chairman of the Masjumi parliamentary group;

Mr. Wiwoho (Indonesia), leader of the Masjumi (Moslem Party);

General Carlos Garcia Velez (Cuba), former ambassador;

Mr. Arthur Lundkvist (Sweden), author;

Professor Walther Friedrich (German Democratic Republic), President of the Academy of Sciences;

Mr. Vicente Lombardo Toledano (Mexico), President of the Confederation of Latin American workers;

Mr. Saverio Brigante (Italy), first honorary president of the Court of Appeal;

Mr. Enrico Mole (Italy), independent senator, Vice-President of the Senate;

Princess Rosita Lanza di Scalea (Italy);

Mrs. Rosaura Revueltas (Mexico), film actress;

Miss Vanja Orico (Brazil), film actress.

Messages to the World Council of Peace

The Secretariat of the World Council of Peace is receiving many messages hailing the opening of the great world campaign against the preparations for atomic war from peace committees, organisations, sport clubs, trade union branches, shop stewards' committees and others.

Here are a few extracts:

'On the occasion of their victories in Basle, the Budapest women's fencing team sends its best wishes for success to the World Council of Peace.'

'We portworkers of Genoa learned with enthusiasm of the resolution adopted by the World Council of Peace. Strong in the knowledge of the results obtained in the campaign for the Stockholm Appeal, the people of the port district pledge that they will do their utmost to get even better results and bring new sections of the people into the struggle against war.'

The workers in the unified agricultural co-operatives of the North Prague district of Czechoslovakia:

'We do not want our fertile fields to be turned into a battlefield; we do not want to exchange our tractors for tanks.'

A wood construction factory in Potsdam (German Democratic Republic):

'We firmly demand the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the immediate stopping of their manufacture.'

The Peace Council of Lower Austria:

'The province of Lower Austria suffered immense losses and damage during the last war. Confronted with the permanent danger of an atomic war, the people will be ready to support the Vienna Appeal.'

From Neusiedl-on-Zaya (Lower Austria):

'This joint conference of shop stewards' convenors, treasurers of the engineering, mining and chemical trade unions and representatives of the workers in the private oil companies, greets the decision of the World Council of Peace.'

There were also messages from the Peace Committee of the engineering factory of Sampierdarena and the Peace Committees of Genesestri and Riva sotto il Garda in Italy; the workers, foremen and technicians of the Torgau earthenware factory in the German Democratic Republic; and from the participants in a joint meeting of the Bulgarian Peace Committee and the National Council of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria.

Letter from 1000 French Teachers' Training College Students

The letter given below was written by a group of students in a French Teachers' Training College and sent to the French Prime Minister and members of parliament. It was signed by a thousand training college students, sixty engineering students and four college priests.

'Alarmed by the speed-up in the armaments race and the plans to use French atomic research for military purposes, we ask you most earnestly to prevent France from directing her nuclear research to the manufacture of atomic weapons, but rather to aim at putting France at the head of the nations in the peaceful use of atomic energy and in general disarmament.

'We are ready to give our fullest support to a policy of economic and social progress, and are thus all the more opposed to France's entry into the armaments race in any way whatsoever.'

Declaration by the French Movement 'Pax Christi'

The following resolution was adopted at the last meeting of the National Council of the 'Pax Christi' movement:

'We members of the National Executive Council of Pax Christi and regional delegates, meeting in Paris on December 18 and 19, 1954,

'convinced, on the basis of our Christian principles and of well-founded observations by French atomic scientists, that France which, up till now, has concerned itself with the peaceful industrial use of atomic energy, could not start the manufacture of A and H bombs without grievously repudiating its mission in the world,

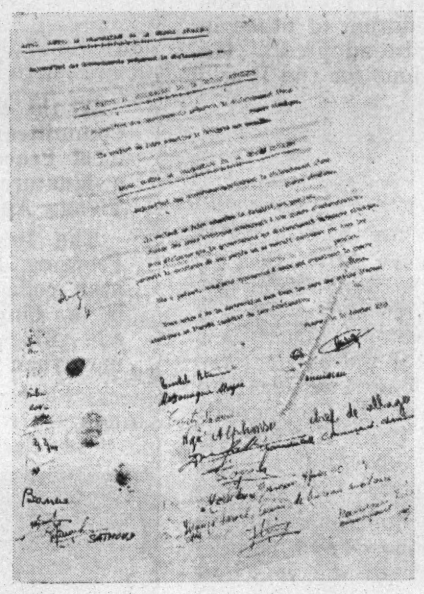
'express the hope that this orientation towards the peaceful use of atomic energy will be firmly maintained.

'In voicing this hope and making it public, we are sure that we are acting in conformity with the often expressed wishes of the Pope relative to the new methods of war, particularly the use of A.B.C. weapons by any power whatsoever.'

The World Campaign against the Preparations for Atomic War

The First Signatures in Dolisia

(Central Congo)



On February 9, in Dolisia in the Central Congo, a number of friends of peace met in the house of one of them to set up a Peace Committee. Those present were of different views and walks of life and the discussion dealt with two questions: German rearmament and the threat of atomic war. It was decided to open the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal immediately. The gathering also approved the World Council's decision to call a World Assembly for Peace.

Mr. Kikhunga-Ngot, a territorial councillor for the Central Congo, one of the secretaries of the new committee, writes that the setting up of the Peace Committee is the starting-point for many others in this area.

At the end of the meeting, the participants signed the Vienna Appeal and Mr. Kikhunga-Ngot sent a typed list of these first signatures to the World Council. They include a village chief, an official of the French Confederation of Christian Workers, African doctors, tradesmen, civil servants and workers. Some of those who gave their support to the Appeal put their thumbprint on the sheet, for this is the only way in which many people in the Central Congo can express in black and white their pledge to defend peace.

As we go to press, in addition to the countries mentioned on pages 3, 4, 5 and 6, the campaign was being carried on in Bulgaria, Chile, Finland, Holland, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Lebanon Mexico, Mongolia and Poland.

BRAZIL

How the Campaign is Being Organised

The signature campaign was officially opened on March 1st at big public meetings in Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, the State capitals and major towns of Brazil.

The National Council of the Peace Movement had decided to start the collection of signatures on that date so as to devote the whole of February to the preparation and thorough organisation of the campaign. It was at a meeting of the National Council on February 5 and 6 that the various stages of this preparation were decided on.

In order to warn public opinion of the dangers involved in the preparations for atomic war a series of lectures was arranged; they were given by Mr. Jacques Danon, an atomic physicist, and a former collaborator of Professor Joliot-Curie; Mr. Romulo Argentier, scientist; Mr. Evandro Lins e Silva, lawyer, and others. A press campaign was carried on simultaneously.

A national sponsoring committee, composed of eminent figures in the political, cultural, religious and economic spheres, was set up to make the opening of the signature campaign more effective. To make the contacts necessary for the formation of this committee a small sub-committee of the Brazilian Peace Movement was formed with the following members: Mr. Abel Chermont; Mr. Josue de Castro, President of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation; Monsignor Hipolito Costabile, Papal Protonotary; Bishop Cesar Dacorso, head of the Methodist Church; Mr. Frota Moreira M.P. and Mr. Abguar Bastos M.P.; and Mr. Jorge Amado, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

Similar sponsoring committees were set up on a local level.

At the same time there was a veritable mobilisation of the Peace Movement.

The National Council also decided to call a National Assembly for Peace on April 1st, 2nd and 3rd in preparation for the World Assembly. The signature campaign will then have been going on for a month and it will be possible to give a first report on how it is proceeding.

They Signed while Crossing the Alps

Returning from Vienna to Japan by air after the extended January meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, Mr. Kaoru Yasui, General Secretary of the Japanese National Council against A and H bombs, collected a number of signatures for the Vienna Appeal as the plane in which he was travelling crossed the Alps on the way to Zurich.

He was reading a newspaper when he found the text of the Appeal on one of its pages. Immediately, Mr. Yasui, a citizen of the country which has already experienced atomic death and devastation, Japan, showed the Appeal to his fellow passengers, asking them to sign on the newspaper. They did so without exception.

Thousands of Signatures in Italy

There were mass rallies and demonstrations throughout Italy on Sunday, February 13, the day on which the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal was opened.

By the following day 24,000 signatures had been collected in the province of Ragusa, 21,000 in the province of Catania and 3,000 at Gela. At Legnano, 550 of the 600 employees at a textile factory signed the Appeal, while at Sesto San Giovanni 5,000 signatures were collected in a few hours.

The owner of a textile factory in Novara signed the Appeal along with the workers; half the population signed.

The Italian Peace Movement is becoming stronger and wider in the course of the campaign. A Milan priest, Father Faustino Denti, who attended the meeting of the provincial Peace Council, said:

'I look upon it as my duty to be with you. I see that here alonside me are men and women who do not want war and are prepared to fight against it.'

At Montepulciano there was a mass demonstration in which more than 600 peasants and agricultural labourers took part. The resolution adopted demands 'that the Italian Senate reject the London and Paris Agreements, which would lead to the revival of German militarism and the launching of atomic war'. There have been many demonstrations in Liguria, Lombardy, Le Marche and Calabria.

There is a continual flow of workers' deputations from every part of the country to the Senate, demanding that the Senators reject the London and Paris Agreements.

The municipal councils of Civita Vecchia, San Geminiano Calcinaia, Cerleone, Pietra Santa and Campofranco have adopted resolutions demanding the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons and a ban on their manufacture.

The Ferrara and Forli county councils, and the municipal councils of Segrate, Genzano, Rombiolo, Fiorenzuola d'Arda, and San Severo have adopted the Vienna Appeal.

THE CAMPAIGN OPENS

Viet Nam

A meeting of the Viet Nam Peace Committee was held in Hanoi on February 4. It was attended by several hundred delegates from North and South Viet Nam, representing the different sections of the population: intellectual circles, artists, industrialists and merchants.

The decisions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace were warmly welcomed and the session decided to open the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal.

A programme of activity for 1955 has been drawn up for the consolidation of peace in Indo-China. The session also adopted a plan of work for the preparations for the World Assembly for Peace.

Argentine

The Argentine Peace Council has decided to begin the collection of signatures to the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war immediately throughout the whole country. This campaign will follow up the many actions for the banning of atomic weapons which have been organised in Argentine these last months, not only by the Peace Movement but by wide sections of opinion.

The Council emphasises that this campaign must obtain better results than any previous campaign and that there must, in particular, be a big increase in the number of signatures collected. Signature-collecting forms bearing the text of the Vienna Appeal were immediately printed.

In Buenos Aires, January 28 — that is, before the National Peace Council's decision — was observed as 'Action Day for the Banning of Atomic Weapons'. The main thoroughfares of the capital and particularly busy spots were literally flooded with leaflets put out by the Buenos Aires Peace Council: for example, Florida and Corrientes streets, Once, Constitucion and Flores squares, and the districts of Belgrano and Boca.

At the termini of the bus routes to the suburbs leaflets were distributed and banners displayed. In Liniers, one of the working-class districts, and in Primera Junta Square, leaflets were rained down on people waiting for buses. Leaflets were also distributed during the rush hours on the platforms of the underground and main line railway stations.

Syria

At an extended meeting in Damascus, the Syrian Peace Committee approved the decision of the World Council of Peace to launch a world signature campaign against the preparations for atomic war. The campaign was opened immediately and the Committee called on all friends of peace to carry it through on a vast scale in the towns and villages and amoung all sections of the people, so as to show the whole world that the Syrian people demand the banning of weapons of mass destruction with the greatest firmness.

*

The Argentine Peace Council also issued a political statement on the situation in the Far East, demanding an end to the provocation of China over Formosa. The statement asks the Argentine people to demonstrate their support for the Chinese people.

Telegrams demanding the rejection of the London and Paris Agreements were sent to the Council of the Republic in France.

Lastly, the Council decided to hold demonstrations in opposition to the arrival of a United States military mission in Argentine.

Uruguay

On February 14, the Uruguayan Peace Council declared open the campaign for the collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal, and a national peace conference to discuss the tasks of the Peace Movement in the present international situation was called for the month of April. The Uruguayan delegates to the World Assembly for Peace will be elected at this conference.

Mr. Ricardo Sanguinetti, president of the General Union of Workers, stated: 'I, and every worker, consider that the use of atomic bombs would be a crime against mankind . . . We workers hate war, which nobody wants, we must join our voices to the Appeal of the World Council of Peace and support the signature campaign launched by the National Peace Council.'

Mr. Rosario Pietraroia, secretary of the Engineers' Union, stated that his trade union would go into action to ensure success for the aims of the National Peace Council.

*

The Uruguayan Peace Council also sent a telegram to the Council of the Republic in France asking it to reject the Paris Agreements. At the same time it called on the people to demonstrate their opposition to the revival of German militarism. Twice a week, open air metings with loudspeaker vans are held in the various districts of Montevideo. The speakers denounce the Paris Agreements and the Uruguay-United States pact and explain the need to send a very representative Uruguayan delegation to the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki.

600,000 Signatures in Albania

By February 24, more than 600,000 signatures had been collected in Albania.

In several parts of the country the whole adult population approved the Vienna Appeal.

Rumania

At the call of the Rumanian Peace Committee a great many members of local Peace Committees have started a signature-collecting campaign for the Vienna Appeal.

The first check showed that by February 13, 418,000 signatures had been collected in Bucharest, 133,000 in the Cluj area, 86,000 in the towns and villages of the Jassy district and more than 280,000 in the Craiova area.

*

Before the Austrian Peace Council had signature forms printed and distributed, the Peace Committee of the Rehberg shoe factory, near Krems, started collecting signatures on flags bearing the text of the Vienna Appeal — the 630 workers and office staff of the factory signed. The flags were then tied together in the form of a sheaf and were handed, together with a peace flag, to the Austrian Peace Council at a little ceremony.

*

A Shadow that Gives Food for Thought

'About 500 yards from the centre of the explosion is a bank; its steps have been enclosed with a simple fence. If you look inside this fence you will see the dark shadow of a man. A man had obviously been sitting on the steps of the premises meditating, resting his hand on his cheek, his elbow on his knee. The blast of the explosion had come in this direction, throwing the shadow of this man on to the steps: of course he had died on the spot from the intense radioactivity. The dark shadow is still sitting there meditating . . .'

Extracts from the preface to *Children of the Atom Bomb* by Dr. Arata Osada, Professor at Hiroshima University.

A Quarter of the World's Population in the Campaign against Atomic Weapons

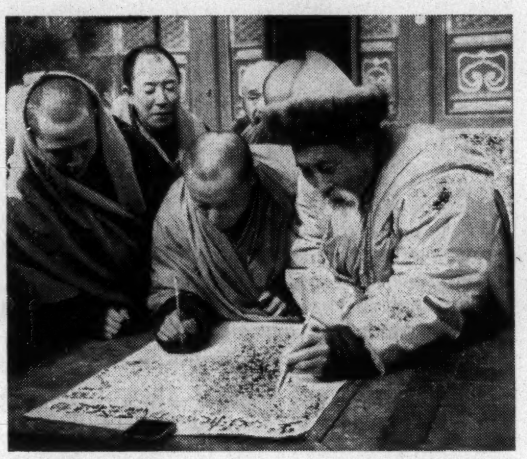
'The Chinese People wholeheartedly support the resolutions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace and will make them a reality through active and concrete work.'

By February 26, more than 21 million Chinese had signed the Appeal. In Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai the whole adult population had signed; in Anshan, the centre of Chinese heavy industry, 600,000 signatures had been collected; in Fushun the figure was 150,000 and in Inner Mongolia more than 100,000.

The campaign was officially launched throughout China on February 14, although the collection had actually begun on the 13th in such big cities as Shanghai and Wuhan. There was a meeting in the former city on the morning of the 13th, at which 2,301 people representing all sections of the population studied the decisions of the Standing Committee of the Chinese Peace Movement and inaugurated the campaign by signing the Vienna Appeal. At the first check on February 21, 5,108,698 signatures had been collected.

The campaign went off to a flying start in Wuhan when the workers of the cotton mill lined up to sign at the numerous booths and tables specially set up for the campaign. In the queue were mothers with babies in their arms and a 73-year-old grandmother whose son and daughter both work at the mill. Out of ten children born to her, eight died before the liberation, some in war, others because of poverty.

'I have known enough sorrow,' she said, 'nothing must stop our present joyful progress.'



People signing in Tibet. The Dalai Lama, the Panchem Lama and a number of members of the Tibetan Government signed the Appeal and gave their support to the world campaign against the preparations for atomic war.

Among the National Minorities

The campaign was opened in the multinational province of Yunnan on February 14 at a meeting attended by representatives of 28 national minorities.

Students from 48 different nationalities studying in the Central Institute for National Minorities signed the appeal to ban the use of atomic weapons at a gathering in Peking.

Dressed in their colourful national costumes, the 2,000 students, including Hans, Uighurs, Tibetans, Koreans, Mongolians, Miaos and Kaoshans, packed the hall to pledge their support for the world-wide campaign against weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. Abduupul Imin, an Uighur student, told the gathering:

'We all wish to build our country into a beautiful land. We want to live a peaceful and ever fuller live. We hate war because it will bring only bloodshed and suffering.'

Survivor of Atomic Bombing Urges Ban on A Bomb

Scarcely two days after the campaign was launched, 526,000 signatures had been collected in Peking.

University staff and students queued up in thousands to sign. In one such queue stood physics lecturer Mr. Yu Ming-cheh, who survived the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

He spoke of his terrible memories:

'I was studying at the University of Arts and Sciences in Hiroshima in 1945. I had been caught in the war and was not able to get back to China.'

He was working in a dark room of the university's laboratory, which was in a ferro-concrete building, on the morning of that fateful day when the atom bomb went off.

'I ran out into the street after the violent gust created by the bomb blast had knocked me down. The city was an inferno. All round were dead or dying, their clothes burnt to ash, their skin charred by the 2,000 degrees of heat generated by the bomb. Fires raged for five days and nights. The once beautiful city became rubble.'

Workers in the iron and steel, engineering and textile industries, miners and 1,300 railwaymen organised meetings to rally new forces for the campaign. The campaign was also launched at many construction sites. Signing his name, Mr. Li Shih-fu, a civil engineer, said:

'We are building a great theatre in the capital, the pride of the people of Peking. We shall put up many more magnificent buildings. We'll never allow the aggressors to destroy mankind's happy life.'

By February 21, only a week after the launching of the campaign in Peking, 2,750,000 people, including, 1,100,000 women, had signed the Appeal.

Mrs. Tang Ven-tseng, mother of 13 children, said as she signed:

'It is the natural duty of mothers to protect their children and to bring them up in peace.'

On February 14:

— A mass rally was held in the port of Foochow. 1,300 representatives from all parts of Fukien signed their names on the spot. The campaign, headed by a former Kuomintang admiral, quickly developed throughout the city following the rally.

— The Second Trade Union Congress in Canton passed a resolution supporting the Appeal on behalf of the 250,000 workers of the city. The 400 delegates attending the Congress signed the Appeal. Six days later, on February 20, 800,000 people had signed in the city.

— In Chengteh, the capital of Jehol province, more than half the population signed in a single day. The total number of signatures reached 62,580.

— Lamas of eight big temples in Huhehot, capital of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, also joined the signature campaign on February 14.

Eminent Public Figures in the Campaign

In addition to mass activity, eminent public figures of different walks of life are stating their support for the campaign. Mr. Chen Shu-tung, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace wrote in the *People's Daily* of February 15:

'The Chinese people will struggle resolutely alongside all other peace-loving peoples against atomic war and the use of atomic weapons . . .

'The Chinese people wholeheartedly support the resolutions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace and will make them a reality through active and concrete work.'

Mr. Kao Shi-chi, a bacteriologist and a victim of paralysis, attended a meeting of one thousand scientific workers in Peking to make his contribution to the campaign against weapons of mass destruction. He lost his health 30 years ago while working in the United States on ways of conquering the germs of fatal diseases. A 72-year-old botanist, Mr. Chien Chung-shu, was also there to register his support for the Appeal. Chi Pai-shih, the 95-year-old painter, said at a meeting of literary and art circles, on February 17:

'All old people throughout the world love peace and serenity, their homes, their children and grandchildren. Therefore they oppose the evil atomic bomb. That is why I have signed the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war.'

At one of the 600 meetings to collect signatures held in Peking, a 105-year-old woman, who had insisted on being taken there, said: 'I too am against the bomb.'

THE CAMPAIGN OPENS

Canada

At a ceremony in the Banquet Room in the historic Walker House, members of the National Council of the Canadian Peace Congress signed the World Appeal against the preparations for atomic war. The ceremony symbolised the launching in Canada of an intensive effort in all sections of the country to solicit signatures to the Appeal.

Dr. Endicott, who attended the meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace in Vienna, was the first Canadian to sign the Appeal. At a meeting of the National Council of the Peace Congress, held on February 5 and 6, Dr. Endicott pointed out that the Appeal 'can be signed with a clear conscience by supporters of every political party and religious faith in Canada and any other country'.

After a very full discussion, Mrs. Eva Sanderson of Toronto, member of the World Council of Peace, was the second Canadian to sign the Appeal and it was then signed by 24 more peace spokesmen of various views and faiths from Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto.

The meeting decided that the opening of the mass soliciting of signatures from the public would be marked by a national distribution of several hundred thousand copies of the text of the Appeal on Saturday, March 5. Many personalities and organisations will be invited to endorse it.

The bulk of the signatures will be collected by several thousand volunteer canvassers who will knock on doors in all parts of Canada. The petition will also be circulated in factories and on farms and the public is being invited to finance this vast campaign through donations.

The National Council adopted a statement which says that 'the policy founded on the division of the world into blocs, of seeking solutions through force or threat of force, has now reached the point

— where full-scale preparations are being made for the catastrophe of atomic war, which we are being asked to accept as inevitable, with the use of atomic weapons to be regarded as legitimate and normal;

— where the attempt is being made to remilitarise Germany against its will, despite the clear opposition of majority opinion in Canada and every other country that would be a victim . . .

'Under these circumstances

1) Each person of goodwill may most effectively act against the nuclear destruction of our cities by signing the World Appeal against the preparations for atomic war, issued in Vienna on January 19, 1955. This Appeal is being circulated in all countries in order to allow mankind to speak with one voice.

2) All views and tendencies in Canada should be represented by qualified spokesmen at the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki commencing May 22. In this way Canada will share in shaping a mightier effort of the peoples to banish war.'

Switzerland

The National Conference of the Swiss Peace Movement was held in Lausanne on February 13. Sixty delegates from the factories, villages and localities of the districts of Basle, Zurich, La Chaux de Fonds, Locle, Yverdon, Locarno, Berne, Geneva and Lausanne were present, as also was Mrs. Isabelle Blume, secretary of the World Council of Peace.

After listening to the report, which was given by Professor A. Bonnard, the delegates took part in a lively discussion on how to rally the democratic forces of the country on a large scale and took steps to launch the signature campaign throughout the country. The Conference pledged that twice as many signatures would be gathered as for the Stockholm Appeal.

Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak Peace Committee met in Prague on February 10, together with representatives of the branches of the National Front and cultural and public figures.

Academician Jan Mukarovsky, member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, gave a report on the meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace in Vienna, January 17-19. The Secretary of the Committee then presented a report on the organisation of the signature campaign against atomic war.

A thorough discussion followed, at the end of which Mrs. Fucikova presented an appeal of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee for the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal.

The appeal says in part:

'The hordes who destroyed Lidice, and who tried to destroy and set on fire our city of Prague during the very last days of the war, are now to be given atomic weapons . . .

'The Czechoslovak Peace Committee fully approves the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war issued by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace. It announces the opening of a national signature campaign for this Appeal — which will go on from February 28 to March 27, 1955 — and asks all the citizens of the Republic to sign it in the interests of maintaining peace.'

The Central Committee of the National Front and the Central Trade Union Council join in this appeal.

In accordance with the decisions of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, the national signature campaign will prepare the ground for the National Peace Congress which is to be held in Prague in April. It will also help in the preparation of the World Assembly for Peace.

• *So that All Japanese Shall Sign*

The Standing Committee of the Japanese Peace Committee met on February 12, heard a report from Mr. Kaoru Yasui, who took part in the meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, and decided to take the following measures:

1. To make the Vienna Appeal known and to explain to the people the pressing danger of atomic war.

2. To approach organisations and personalities to get their support for the Vienna Appeal.

3. To collect for the appeal against the preparation for atomic war the signatures of those who have not yet signed the national petition against atomic and hydrogen bombs, so that there will not be a single Japanese who has not given his signature.

4. To hold meetings of all active peace workers at the beginning of March, that is, after the general election on February 27, in order to strengthen the movement against atomic war and for the World Assembly.

• *Why Spaniards Should Take Part in the Campaign*

In a resolution, the Spanish Peace Commission has approved the Vienna Appeal and called for support for the signature campaign against the preparations for atomic war. The resolution contains interesting details on the reasons why Spaniards should take part in this campaign.

'The Spanish people are directly interested in the success of this important campaign, for the danger of an atomic war is a very real threat to Spain.

'The use of our country as a base for atomic aggression has been put on the agenda . . .'

The bases which have been constructed in Spain 'are destined for the launching of atomic projectiles against other countries; this would inevitably result in terrible reprisals . . .

'Every signature to the World Council's Appeal against atomic war is an act which has positive results, for it is but one of millions and millions of signatures, which together form an irresistible force . . .

'Moreover, for Spaniards, every signature is a demonstration against the pact (*the Washington-Madrid bilateral pact Ed.*) which permits the organisation of atomic war on our territory.'

The Spanish Peace Commission had signature forms printed and the collection of signatures was immediately begun.

Denmark

Statement on N.A.T.O. Decision

The Executive Committee of the Danish National Peace Association handed to the press and to M.P.s a statement on the N.A.T.O. Council decision. The statement points out that the decision, which was taken with Denmark's agreement, has evil consequences for the peoples of Europe — consequences which have been hidden from the people of Denmark.

It also notes that the N.A.T.O. decision is opposed to the efforts to bring about a reduction of armaments and for international control. It concludes by calling on the people and politicians to study attentively the grave danger of a new Wehrmacht with atomic weapons at its disposal.

Great meetings are to be held in Copenhagen at the time of the debate in Parliament on the Paris Agreements.

American Mothers do not Want their Sons to Die on Foreign Soil

Foreign intervention in the territorial waters of the People's Republic of China and in the Chinese island of Taiwan, has met with a strong reaction from the people of the United States.

Republican Congressman Eugene Siler of Kentucky, who voted against the Government's proposal for intervention in China's internal affairs, said he did so because he had promised the mothers of his district he would not **'vote to engage their boys in war on foreign soil'.**

In Washington, fifty pickets representing the Catholic Workers, the Peacemakers, the War Resisters' League and the Philadelphia section of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, marched in front of the White House carrying placards saying **'Stop the drift toward war'.**

According to the **San Francisco** People's World of February 2, the workers of the General Motors, Chrysler and other automobile factories in the United States have voiced their opposition to American intervention in Taiwan and other Chinese islands.

In response to a call of the **Los Angeles** Labour Youth League, American workers and their trade unions are writing to President Eisenhower demanding **'No more Koreas!'**

In Chicago, house meetings have been held from which hundreds of telegrams were sent to Congressmen and to the Executive Committee meeting of an important trade union local.

In Los Angeles, the Southern California Peace Crusade called on all organisations and individuals to attend an Emergency Action Conference on January 29.

In Kalispell, Montana, a number of peace workers' letters to Senators Mansfeld and Murray received a telegram reply: **'Appreciate having your views regarding Eisenhower Formosa proposal.'**

In New York, thousands of people were urged through chain telephone calls to send letters to the President and to Congressmen. There were also deputations to Congressmen and postcards were sent to the President and to the Senators. A leaflet, calling on the people to take action in view of the danger created by intervention in China's territorial waters, was widely distributed.

Similar actions have taken place in **Palo Alto,** California and in **Philadelphia, Detroit and New Jersey.**

The American Peace Crusade issued a statement calling for:

1. Deputations and individual visits to Congressmen.

2. The continued sending of postcards and letters.

3. The distribution of the Crusade's leaflets.

4. The sending of letters to the local papers.

5. The placing of advertisements in the local papers.

GREAT BRITAIN: People Oppose Decision to make H Bomb

On February 18, the British Government announced its intention to manufacture hydrogen bombs — only two days after it had published a White Paper outlining its proposals for the peaceful use of atomic energy in Britain.

The immediate reaction of the British people to the news was one of horror and determination to stop the manufacture of these bombs. Many public figures at once announced their opposition to the Government's decision and demanded the banning of all atomic weapons.

For example the Rev. Dr. Donald Soper, president of the Methodist Conference for 1954: 'I am more than disturbed that our country is contemplating manufacture of the H bomb. All peace-loving nations should seize the first proposal for banning nuclear weapons.'

The Lord Mayor of Coventry, Aldermann J. Fennell, stated: 'I stand for the abolition of these weapons by international agreement.'

The Ayrshire County Council in Scotland has protested against the decision to manufacture H bombs. More than 100 Labour Members of Parliament have tabled a motion in the House of Commons calling for Four Power talks on the H bomb and on German rearmament, and are pressing for a debate. This is a direct reflection of the activity which has been organised throughout the country on the initiative of the peace movement.

The campaign against atomic weapons and the decisions of N.A.T.O. is being closely linked with the campaign against German rearmament. Following up the magnificent demonstration on January 25 when thousands of people from all over Britain lobbied their M.P.s on the question of German rearmament, an all-London conference was organised by the London Peace Federation on February 20 to discuss German rearmament and the peaceful alternative, the banning of weapons of mass destruction and preparations for the World Assembly for Peace.

Direct pressure has been put on Labour M.P.s to stand out against the rearming of Germany, by letters, telegrams, deputations and petitions. In three Sheffield factories 175 people signed a petition, in Leeds 400, in Exeter 800, in West Hartlepool 1,600 and in Glasgow 1,370. In West Ham, 400 people signed a giant postcard which was taken to Churchill by their Labour M.P., Mr. Arthur Lewis, and a similar postcard is being signed in Hampstead, London.

The Midlands Regional Committee of the Labour Party (one of the biggest area Labour Party organisations in the country) has called on all its branches to oppose German rearmament, and the Midlands district committee of the National Union of Furniture Trade Operatives has asked its branches to send resolutions on the question to the Labour Party, the Trade Union Congress and the executive committee of the trade union.

The Sheffield district committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union has called for support for the M.P.s who oppose the rearming of Germany, and the Edinburgh district committee of the Union of Post Office Workers has condemned the support of its executive committee for German rearmament, and demanded a plebiscite of the union's members on the subject.

At the end of January the British Peace Committee called for local and regional conferences to be organised in all parts of the country. An all-Scotland conference against German rearmament has been called by the Scottish District of the Fire Brigades Union and the Union for Democratic Control, and similar conferences are being held by two trades councils and two trade union branches in Scotland. A highly successful 'No Arms for Germany' conference was held in Edmonton, North London, called by the Brimsdown Power Station shop stewards' committee and attended by Labour Party councillors and delegates from trade unions and other organisations. The deputy mayor of Edmonton was in the chair and the conference was addressed by a Labour M.P.

February 9 was observed as 'Telegram and Telephone Day'. On that day, hundreds of telegrams poured in to Members of Parliament and the telephone lines to the House of Commons were so jammed with callers wanting to speak to their M.P.s to demand that they oppose German rearmament that for the whole day normal telephone communication with the House became impossible.

At the same time as the British people are conducting the joint fight against atomic war and German rearmament, they are also actively opposing any attempts to start a war in the Far East. Many trade union branches and other organisations have passed resolutions demanding that Britain should not be dragged into war over Formosa, and the General Secretary of the National Association of Stevedores and Dockers has announced that 'in the event of hostilities involving China breaking out, his members would not load ships going to that area.'

Preparing the World Assem

A view of the Parliament (centre) with the National Museum on the right and the Sibelius Academy of Music in the left background.

GREAT BRITAIN:

Invitation Sent out to

The preparations for the World Assembly for P basis in Britain. An invitation to take part has country in a letter which says:

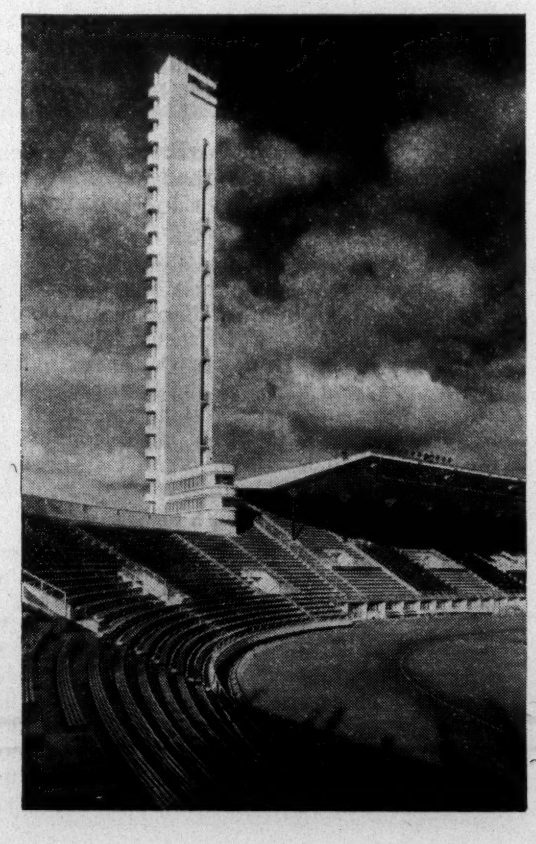
'A meeting of this character, we belive, is ver of all... Preparations for atomic war are being Wehrmacht in West Germany. The policy of di situations which could become detonators of a w world scale, by a powerful movement of the peopl governments back to the conference table, and e other's welfare and security.'

The arrangements for the Assembly, including been announced, and various materials have bee including a leaflet giving details both of the Asse on Germany and the threat of atomic war, wh notebooks in which messages to the Assembly ma collecting tins, and attractively produced books towards the costs of the local campaign.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Secretariat of the South African Peace Council has issued a call to peace committees to hold hundreds of small meetings and to get branches of trade unions and political organisations to have discussions on the World Assembly to be held in Helsinki on May 22.

The Council has also approached various prominent persons and important organisations such as the African National Congress, the Labour and Liberal parties and the National Council of Women.



The Spanish Delegation's Mandate

The last number of the Bulletin contained an article on the Spanish Peace Commission's plan of work in preparation for the World Assembly.

We give in this issue an extract from an appeal in which the Commission explains how and in what spirit the Spanish delegation to the World Assembly will be mandated. The Appeal is addressed to the men and women of Spain and to those who are living in exile. The Commission first analyses the international situation and shows the danger of a conflict for Spain. If then goes on:

'The contribution to be made by the Spanish delegation at the World Assembly in Helsinki, where they will explain our country's situation and the way to solve it, must correspond to the national character of the problem. The Spanish representatives will be the delegates of the forces for peace in Spain, both those in the Peace Movement and those who share its aims without being members of it. The important thing is that they should make our people's voice heard — our people who are suffering from the consequences of the war preparations and want to save themselves from destruction.

'If these representatives are to express the real desires of the men and women of Spain, their mandate must obviously come from the heart of the Spanish nation. The call for the World Assembly must reach every man and woman in Spain, on every morsel of land, at every factory bench, at every office desk, at every laboratory table and in every university lecture room.

'The united voice of the Spanish people must be heard at family meetings, at small gatherings in blocks of flats and at street and locality meetings in the towns and villages, as circumstances permit. Thus will the voice of Spain, through the medium of the resolutions adopted at these meetings, find powerful expression at the World Assembly for Peace.'

'The Peace Movement has extended its roots during these last two years. We have great hopes that forces which have not yet worked effectively with us will be present and that we shall there be able to find a common road to follow in the struggle for peace.

'In my opinion, the campaign against weapons of mass destruction is the best preparation for the World Assembly.'

Mr. Antoine Tabet (Lebanon), Member of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace

embly: Helsinki, May 22, 1955

out to 30,000 Organisations

nbly for Peace are being carried through on a very wide part has been sent to 30,000 organisations throughout the

ve, is very necessary at this time, and merits the support are being pressed ahead; so are the plans to rebuild the licy of dividing the world into opposing blocs is creating ors of a war fought with nuclear weapons . . . Action on a the people, can avert these dangers, bring the leaders of the le, and ensure that all nations co-operate to promote each

including the cost of sending delegates from Britain, have have been produced to help in the campaign for delegates, the Assembly and of the World Council of Peace; a leaflet war, which refers to the Assembly; labels for fixing to embly may be collected and donations recorded; labels for ed books of receipts to be given in return for donations gn.

Conference in Burma

The All Burma Peace Committee has called an extended conference of the Burmese Peace Movement for March 18, 19 and 20 in Rangoon. One of the points on the agenda is the preparation of the World Assembly for Peace.

It is estimated that there will be 500 delegates at the conference, including 40 from the All Burma Peace Committee, 60 from the District Peace Committees, 100 from the township Peace Committees, 200 from the village Peace Committees and 100 guests.

Three reports will be presented:

1) The objectives, principles and forms of organisation of the Peace Movement in Burma.

2) The development of the Peace Movement throughout the world and the work of the World Council of Peace.

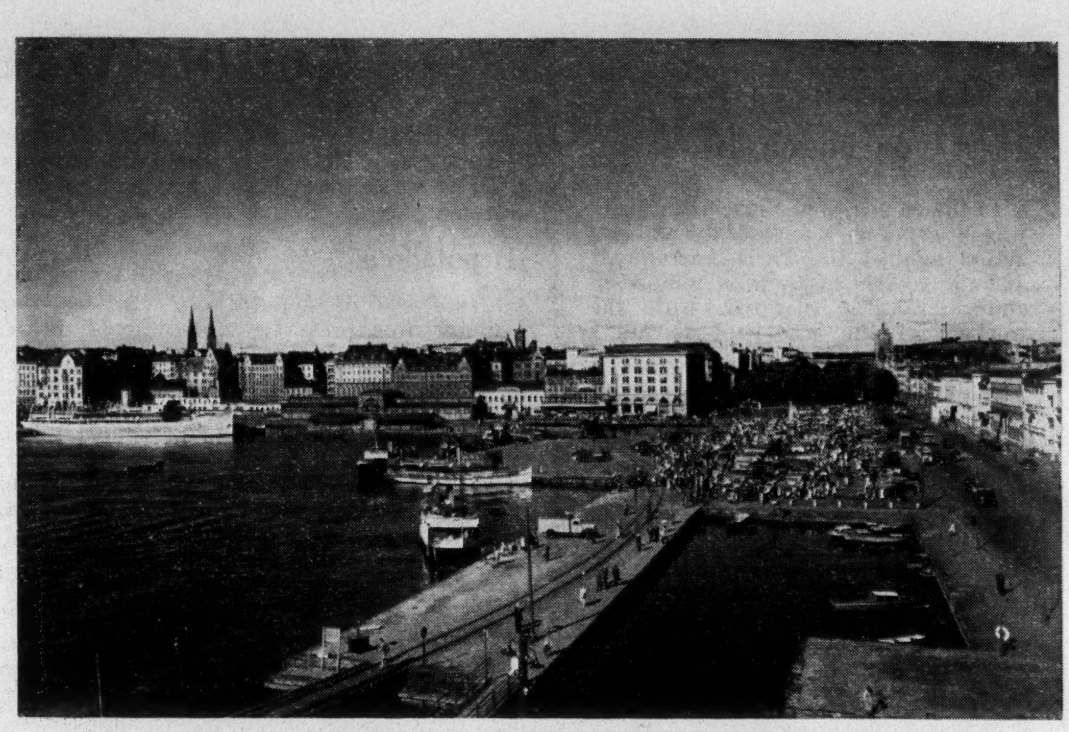
3) The present situation in Asia and South-East Asia and the tasks of the Peace Movement in Burma.

These reports were printed at the beginning of February and distributed to all peace committees and mass organisations for discussion before the conference.

The All Burma Committee is also publishing a *Peace Gazette* in preparation for this National Conference.

The Olympic Stadium in Helsinki where the sportmen of the whole world competed in a spirit of brotherhood and friendship at the last Olympic Games.

Helsinki will soon see the arrival of the delegates to the World Assembly for Peace, coming from every corner of the world to defend peace.



A view of the port and market of Helsinki, where fish, vegetables, flowers and fruit are sold.

The Japanese People Will Elect their Representatives on May 7—9

The Japanese Peace Committee has published the following appeal for the National Assembly for Peace which will be held on May 7—9:

'A World Assembly for Peace will be held on May 22—29 in Helsinki, called by the World Council of Peace.

'We hope that many delegates from Japan will participate in this Assembly where peace-loving people from all over the world will gather together.

'Today, world peace is in danger and the risk of an atomic war exists both in Europe and in Asia, as a result of the remilitarisation of West Germany, the decision of the N.A.T.O. Council to prepare for atomic war, the formation of S.E.A.T.O. and the military measures taken by the U.S.A. to "defend" Formosa. In such a situation, the World Assembly is of great importance . . .

'Men and women of Japan! Let us participate in the World Assembly, to ban the A and H bombs and to win the world for peaceful co-existence.

'Everywhere and in every organisation, meet together and discuss how we can defend peace and what problems we should discuss with the other peoples of the world. From these meetings aim to send representatives.

'A Japanese National Assembly for Peace will be held on May 7—9.'

TUNISIA

In order to lay the foundations for a big Tunisian delegation to the World Assembly for Peace, the Tunisian Peace Committee has organised a series of meetings in factories and localities throughout the country. These meetings elect delegates to a National Assembly which, in turn, will elect the delegates to the World Assembly.

Recently, the Committee held an information meeting on the World Assembly which was attended by more than 50 people. A number of newspapers have published the resolutions of the Stockholm session of the World Council and of the extended meeting of the Bureau in Vienna, particularly the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war. A plenary meeting of the Tunisian Peace Committee was called to launch the signature campaign officially.

'Never has the highest body of the universal movement for peace borne such a high responsibility as it does at the present time. This is the most critical moment for the fate of mankind. The rearming of the German Nazis and the N.A.T.O. decision to use atomic weapons from the beginning of a war — and these two facts constitute one single problem — represent the greatest threat that mankind has ever had to face. So today more than ever, the peoples of the world without exception are waiting for a lead from the highest body of the greatest crusade that history has ever known in order to stay the hand of these who want war. I am fully convinced that the Assembly will be the decisive step, made necessary by the decisive nature of the danger, which will bring into action the great and all-powerful force for peace that exists in the conscience of mankind, thus bringing to naught the most evil intentions that history has ever witnessed.'

Professor Luis Vidales (Colombia), writer and university professor

International Day on March 10

In the countries of Europe March 10 was observed as 'a day of international action against the Paris Agreements and the revival of German militarism and of active solidarity with the workers of the whole of Germany and among the workers of all Europe'.

In its appeal to the workers of Europe, the World Federation of Trade Unions asked 'the men and women workers of Europe' to mark March 10 by meetings, petitions, mass demonstrations and 'to ensure the success of this International Day which will be an effective contribution to the strengthening of the World Peace Movement by ensuring the success of the campaign against those who are preparing atomic war, for collective security, disarmament and peace'.

Action Week in France

In France, the action week from February 14 to 20 gave a new stimulus to the French people's struggle against the Paris agreements.

Here we can only give a brief outline of the many and varied forms of action which were carried through in the course of this week.

Deputations

Hundreds of deputations went to the senators to express their constituents' desire for peace. A few examples:

In Warrennes, in the north of France, a deputation took 2,000 signatures to one of the senators. The workers of the Marchal factory in the Seine Department stopped work for an hour and sent a petition to the senators for the Department. Ninety-five per cent of the workers of the central repair depot of the Paris buses and underground trains showed, in a ballot, their determination that German militarism should not be revived.

Many senators have stated that they would refuse to ratify the Paris treaties, and the countless declarations of opposition by members of the electoral colleges of the Council of the Republic were determining factors in this decision. The following is an incomplete list of the departmental and local elected representatives who have stated their opposition to German rearmament to date: 221 county councillors, 2,745 mayors and 13,070 municipal councillors of all political parties. In certain departments, this movement of local elected representatives is very powerful; for example, in Dordogne, 154 mayors have stated their opposition to the Paris agreements. One can therefore understand why senators are responding favourably.

Demonstrations

There have been ceremonies in front of the war memorials and the plaques in commemoration of the victims of war and fascism. At Vitry, in the Seine Department, for example, 116 local personalities issued a call, as a result of which many people marched to the war memorial with the Ex-servicemen at their head. Big rallies and meetings were also held. In Paris, the students' peace committees organised a meeting and at a big rally in the Renault factory (37,000 workers) in Boulogne-Billancourt, m litant workers belonging to all the trade union centres gave a report-back of a trip to West Germany to meet German trade unionists.

Peace caravans were also organised. In the Gironde Department, for example, 33 cars bearing the names of local peace committees lined up and drove to the residences of the senators.

Atomic War

Meanwhile, the recent N.A.T.O. decisions to give the Atlantic army nuclear weapons and the alarmist campaign of certain newspaper are giving rise to a growing number of actions against the preparations for atomic war. During and since the action week, many meetings, conferences, and assemblies have been held for the banning and destruction of atomic weapons.

An example of initiative in the Bouches du Rhone Department should be mentioned. A series of 50 meetings is being organised at which the film 'Children of Hiroshima' will be shown, together with a talk on the preparations for atomic war.

Scientific workers and doctors have taken steps to bring research workers, scientists and members of the medical profession into action against atomic weapons and for the peaceful use of atomic energy.

New Opportunities

The many demonstrations during and after the action week enabled many contacts to be made and have thus created new opportunities. For example, in a number of factories in tne north and east of France, appeals demanding that an international worker's conference against German rearmament should be held, are being signed by workers belonging to all the trade union centres.

At the same time, the National Assembly of Organisations and Tendencies for Peace, to be held on April 2 and 3, is being actively prepared at a large number of meetings and through the mass sale of a card by the artist Jean Effel, specially published for this purpose.

Petitions to the Senate in Belgium

Belgian opposition to the rearming of Germany continues to show itself in the most varied forms. The miners of Boussoit sent a letter of support to the General Secretary of the German Federation of Trade Unions. It says:

'We are writing to you on behalf of miners' families in three districts of Boussoit, 85, 90 and 100 per cent of whom respectively signed our petitions. Now we know that our German comrades are at our side . . . we are sure that we shall win the day . . .'

The Young Socialist Guard of Forest near Brussels held a meeting at which they reaffirmed their 'absolute hostility to German rearmament in any shape or form'.

The 'Stop War' organisation, directed by Baron Allard, put out a leaflet addressed to scientists and industrialists.

The National Committee of the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace, meeting in Brussels on February 13, 1955, asked all Belgians to demonstrate 'their solidarity with the German people in their bitter struggle' and 'to prevent the ratification of the Paris agreements by the Senate'.

The resolution states that the Belgian Union will join with all organisations and tendencies for peace in ensuring the success of the campaign against the preparations for atomic war.

In a message to the German people, the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace states:

'The vote in favour of the Paris agreements in the Belgian Lower House does not reflect the will of the majority of the Belgian people . . .

'We cannot allow this vote to be exploited in order to weaken our resistance . . .'

The campaign of petitions to the senators goes on.

A conference was organised in Brussels with the participation of Mr. Edward Dixon, Labour member of Coventry City Council.

Our photo shows a poster of the Belgian Union for the Defence of Peace which says "Rearm them? Give them the H bomb? NO!"

*

The Luxemburg Peace Movement held its national conference on January 30. Resolutions against German rearmament were adopted.

Another resolution demands a policy of disarmament from the Luxemburg Government. 'As an immediate measure', says the resolution, 'the people of Luxemburg demand a considerable decrease in the length of military service . . . a reduction in the stocks of weapons and the use of the money thus liberated for social and cultural purposes.'

Sweden

A leaflet put out by the National Peace Committee against the rearmament of Western Germany bears the title 'Is this to happen again?' and a photo of Hitler in the company of his generals.

The leaflet shows that Sweden must give active support to proposals for Four Power negotiations to ensure European security.

Cameroons

In a resolution, the Cameroons Peace Committee stresses that 'if the Paris Agreements were put into operation, it would mean a new armaments race and a definite danger of another war . . . Africa and the Cameroons would not be spared . . .

'Therefore the people of the Cameroons ask the French Parliament not to finally ratify these agreements.'

Canada

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of Canada has expressed its solidarity with the German workers' struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany and has called on the Canadian Government to stop supporting rearmament and contribute instead to the peaceful reunification of Germany.

The German People against the Paris Agreements

In the course of the world campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact the Peace Movement in the German Federal Republic organised a referendum in which 9,000,000 Germans demanded the conclusion of a peace treaty and the withdrawal of the occupation troops. The wave of opposition to the Paris Agreements which is traversing Germany at the present time clearly shows that the German people's determination to prevent another war, an atomic war, has greatly increased since then.

Among the young people, in particular, the opposition to recruitment has grown and has found expression in the resolutions of the young trade unionists' congress which firmly rejected remilitarisation.

Similar decisions have been taken by many local and national trade union organisations in the various branches of industry, such as the Bavarian Trade Union Congress and the Third Congress of the Confederation of Trade Unions. When the German Social Democratic Party and the German Communist Party simultaneously decided to conduct a great public campaign against the ratification of the Paris Agreements and for the resumption of four power negotiations, it became clear that the whole German working class was taking its stand on the side of peace.

The demonstration in St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt-on-Main and the signing of the German Manifesto showed that this is not only a working class movement, for representatives of important sections of opinion in the church and intellectual, economic and public spheres took part.

Lastly, the debate on the ratification of the Paris Agreements in the Bundestag showed that, in spite of the vote in favour, the people's opposition is being reflected in the Government coalition and even in the Government itself.

It is impossible to enumerate here the demonstrations and rallies that have taken place and the statements that have been made. In almost every town and in many rural localities there have been big demonstrations attended by a large part of the population. It is particularly interesting to note that a wide range of activities were carried on simultaneously by the trade unions, working class parties, the Peace Movement, youth and women's organisations and public figures.

We shall merely mention a few of these many activities:

- A conference of 500 ministers of the Protestant Church in Hesse sent a letter of protest against the ratification of the Paris Agreements to the members of the Federal Parliament.
- The Bremen provincial parliament rejected the Paris Agreements.
- Erich Ollenhauer, the President of the Social Democratic Party, spoke against the Paris Agreements in Berlin and in various other cities. He addressed 20,000 people in the Westphalia Hall in Dortmund, the biggest hall in the Federal Republic.
- Thousands in many cities have taken part in the collection of signatures to the German Manifesto. In many cases between 70 and 80 per cent of the people have signed; in Hamburg-Nettelnburg the figure was 84.4 per cent.
- In Hanover, Mr. Albertz, Mr. Kubel, Mr. Voigt und Mr. Borowski, all ministers in the government of Lower Saxony, distributed leaflets opposing the Paris Agreements at factory gates.
- The Duisburg port Peace Committee held discussion meetings on board 73 ships and in 10 cafes in the port.
- Mr. Westphal, President of the Social Democratic youth association, the 'Falcons', stated that the struggle against the agreements will go on even though they have been ratified.
- In Herne, Westphalia, young Protestants and trade unionists, the Peace Committee, the Falcons and the War Resisters jointly organised a march with posters and banners to protest against the rearming of the Federal Republic.
- In the course of their propaganda tour in favour of the Paris Agreements, Chancellor Adenauer and Herr Blank were almost prevented from speaking at Frankfurt, Osnabruck and Friburg-in-Brisgau, so hostile were the crowds.
- The president of the Federal Youth Association, to which almost all youth organisations in the Federal Republic are affiliated, stated that the association was ready to have talks with a delegation from the Free German Youth in the German Democratic Republic.
- By February 15, 5,500,000 signatures against the Paris Agreements has been collcted in the German Democratic Republic and more than 760,000 letters hald been sent to the members of the West German parliament.
- In the course of the plenary session of the German Peace Council in Dresden on February 13, tenth anniversary of the destruction of the city by American bombers, the famous poet and fighter for peace, Bertolt Brecht, handed over 176,203 signatures of intellectuals approving a statement against the Paris Agreements, which he had issued in December 1954.
- A joint appeal against rearmament has been issued by 87 former high officers and generals of the German army.
- Professor Hans Iwand, the eminent Protestant theologian of Bonn University, spoke at a great demonstration against the Paris Agreements.

Netherlands

Here is the text of the Appeal to which 160,000 signatures against the Paris Agreements have already been collected in Holland:

'We condemn the Paris Agreements, for they offer no real guarantee against the revival of an aggressive German army.

'We consider that in the interests of European security these agreements must be rejected and East-West negotiations must be resumed for the peaceful settlement of the German question.'

Every day deputations go to the parliament at The Hague to ask the M.P.s not to ratify the agreements.

The 'Church and Peace' movement has sent a letter to the members of both houses of parliament asking them to reject the agreements, and the 'Third Way' movement has adopted and published an appeal demanding that Germany be disarmed and that a conference take place between the Four Great Powers.

On February 13 in Amsterdam, more than 10,000 people took part in a demonstration against the threat of atomic war and for the peaceful settlement of the German question (*see photo*). Thousands of people cheered the demonstrators.

All the speakers called for an active struggle against the N.A.T.O. Council decision on the preparations for atomic war.

In his closing speech, Mr. Luirink, member of the Bureau of the Dutch Peace Council, called on the participants to redouble their efforts in the collections of signatures against the London and Paris Agreements and to prepare for the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki.

The demonstration of February 13 in Amsterdam

Rumania

Great actions against German rearmament are being carried through in Rumania.

In the capital, the towns and the countryside many institutions, factories, schools and cultural clubs are organising lectures and meetings with a total attendance of many thousands.

Women and young people are playing an active part in the campaign against the Paris Agreements. For example, hundreds of women workers and peasants attended an important meeting in the Galati and Bujour districts which were devastated in the Second World War.

At a meeting of intellectuals in Bucharest, a thorough discussion was followed by the adoption of a message to the artists and writers of the countries which have signed the agreements.

The Regional Peace Committee organised a meeting in the town of Tirgu-Mures in the course of which the conductor of the town's State Philharmonic Orchestra stated:

'We have a great love for the creations of the German people, the works of Beethoven and Bach, and it is for this reason that we protest at the revival of the Wehrmacht, which destroyed Germany's age-old culture.'

Ministers of religion of different denominations have protested at the new war threats in press statements and inter-church conferences.

Initiative Committee for National Peace Movement set up in Gold Coast

An initiative committee to set up a national peace movement has just been created in the Gold Coast (West Africa). It includes representatives of youth organisations of Takoradi and Essikadu, the students' association of Sekoudi-Takoradi, the Togo Youth Movement, trade unionists, ministers of religion and intellectuals. Mr. Christian, general secretary of the Gold Coast Oil Workers' trade unions, was elected chairman. In a first document, the Initiative Committee called on the people to protest against the threats of atomic war and to form a national Peace Front.

The committee sent more than 5,000 letters to public figures of all sections of the population. The Prime Minister, members of the government and more than 200 local leaders were invited to join the national peace movement which is now being formed.

Many favourable replies have already been received, from which we take the following extracts:

Mr. N. A. Welbeck, Minister of Works: 'I wish to thank you for the way in which you intend to help establish peace and, further, to urge you on to success . . . We are entitled to hope that this conception of bringing peace will spread to all parts of the country . . .'

Nana Kwamina Anaisie IV, Omanhene of Dutch Seondi: 'I am very much interested and support you wholeheartedly . . .'

Councillor E. A. Addo, Accra Municipal Council: 'I support the movement wholeheartedly . . .'

The Rev. W. E. Angmortey, principal, Volta College: 'I support this movement and shall be ready to serve whenever you require my services . . .'

Councillor E. A. Anteh, Accra municipal council: 'I shall not hesitate to enrol as a member of this movement, since it aims at world peace . . .'

Bishop Ezra Douglas Martinson, of the Anglican Church, Goald Coast: I quite agree with your object . . .'

Dr. Y. D. Agyeman-Dickson, principal of the Ashanti-Akim state college: 'This is an opportune time for the progressive elements of our country to join forces with millions of peace-loving peoples of other lands to bring pressure to bear on the major powers about the use of hydrogen bombs. This is the century of action. I therefore beg you and your brethren to work even faster than you had intended to . . .'

Soviet Union Prepares for Conference of Asian Countries

Large scale preparations for the Conference of Asian Countries for the Relaxation of International Tension are being carried out in the Soviet Union and many Asian countries.

The Soviet preparatory committee was set up in Moscow. It includes eminent Soviet public figures: Mr. Tikhonov, writer, who is chairman of the committee; Mr. Alexander Korneichuk, writer; Mr. D. Khodjaev, president of the trade union council of the republic of Uzbekistan; Mrs. N. Bazanova, professor in the Kazakhstan University; Mr. Tursun-Zade, writer, Tadjikistan; Mr. B. Jamgyrchinov, rector of the University of the Republic of Kirghizia; Mr. Veli Mukhatov, chairman of the Union of Composers of Turkmenistan; Mr. Nesterov, president of the Soviet Chamber of Commerce; Ishan Babakhan Ibn Abdul Medjidkhan, mufti, chairman of the Moslem Religious Administration for Central Asie and Kazakhstan; Mr. E. Zhukov, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union; Mr. A. Sofronov, editor of the review *Ogonyok*.

Mr. Sofronov was designated as the Soviet Preparatory Committee's representative on the Secretariat for convening the Conference.

Letters from Soviet Citizens:

'We Are All for Peace'

Every morning the postman delivers a pile of letters to the Soviet Peace Committee — letters from people of all ages, all professions and all opinions, but all alike in their desire for peace. These letters come from Moscow and the Far East, from Baku and from Murmansk, from the steppes of Kazakhstan and the vineyards of Georgia.

Here are a few extracts:

Mr. Bessonov, an ex-serviceman and now an engineer, writes: 'It is now nine and a half years since the news of the unconditional capitulation of Germany came over the radio. On that day, we believed that we had seen the end of the horrors of war.

'I speak to the ordinary people of France, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Italy and America. Together we bore the burden of the Second World War; let us together prevent the creation of a new Wehrmacht.'

Letters to Mrs. Tidzuko Tomidzava.

Many letters come from mothers. Mrs. A. Rogovik of Kiev, who has a large family, writes:

'I want my children, like all other children in the world, to live in peace, to study and to grow up not for the horrors of war, but to live in peace and happiness.'

Many letters, too, pay tribute to the World Peace Movement.

'We Soviet people', says a letter from Mr. Ivanov of Vyshni Volochek, 'love our foreign brothers who are valiantly defending the great cause of peace.'

'Ordinary Soviet people', Mr. Perlia of Stalinabad points out in his letter, 'follow the activity of the World Council of Peace and give it their full approval.'

All these letters express the profound conviction that ordinary people can prevent war. 'The peoples are an enormous force', writes Mr. Ivanov of the Ukraine. 'There are hundreds of millions of us ordinary people in the world, and we all stand for peace.'

On December 27, 1954, the Moscow journal *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published a letter sent to the Soviet Peace Committee by a Japanese primary school teacher, Mrs. Tidzuko Tomidzava.

This letter, which reflects the thoughts and feelings of the whole Japanese people, met with a big response from the Soviet people.

From every part of the Soviet Union, letters flowed in addressed to Mrs. Tidzuko Tomidzava.

Two Soviet teachers, Alexander and Margarita Kuzovkin, of Kamensk-Uralski, in the district of Sverdlovsk, write:

'Dear colleague and friend, you are very far away, but you are at the same time very near to us. We approve your appeal to all honest people in the world and support your demand for the banning of the atomic and hydrogen bombs.

'We know that all Soviet people think the same. More than once already they have spoken up against war and against weapons of mass destruction. But the enemy must constantly be reminded of the strength and unity of the peace-loving peoples.

'We wish you every success in your struggle.'

Mrs. Nadezhda Akilova, a worker in the cotton factory of Orekhovo-Zuevo, writes:

'Tell the women of your country that we Soviet mothers stretch out a hand of friendship to Japanese mothers who are struggling for their children's happiness and the happiness of all progressive mankind.'

The following passage is from a letter from Mrs. O. Semeyonova of Rostov-on-Don:

'The peoples of the world will say a categorical "No" to war. The whole world will take part in the campaign for the banning of weapons of mass destruction.'

Finally, Mr. Sorokin of Ape, in Latvia, says:

'August 6, 1945, the date on which atomic energy was used for mass murder for the first time, will remain engraved in the memory of all ordinary people for ever. They will remember it so that this barbarous act may never be repeated . . .

'We are sure that the people will win, that they will not allow an atomic massacre. It is you, it is me, it is your people and my people and millions of people throughout the world, who will obtain this. We believe that the day will come when your pupils will meet mine. They will come together, all of them, in a very beautiful city, the city of Peace. They will remember with gratitude our courageous struggle for the happiness of mankind and for the triumph of peace.'

India: 'Quit Taiwan' Day

The Indian people gave an exceptional welcome to the appeal of the All India Congress for Peace and Asian Solidarity to make February 6, 1955 a national protest day against foreign intervention in the Chinese island of Taiwan. On this 'Quit Taiwan' Day, demonstrations and meetings were held throughout the country.

Madras

The Madras Peace Committee called an important meeting which was held in the Memorial Hall with Dr. V.K. Joh, an eminent Madras barrister, in the chair.

The speakers included Mr. T.M. Krishnaswamy Iyer, president of the Madras Advocates' Association; Dr. P. Varadarajulu Naidu, member of the Legislative Assembly and member of the Congress Party; and a number of others.

The following extracts are taken from the resolution adopted at the meeting:

'This meeting of the citizens of Madras views with grave concern the recent developments in the Far East, particularly the situation that has developed in regard to Taiwan and other related positions . . .

'In order to ease the situation in the Far East, eliminate the threat of war against China and safeguard peace in Asia and the world, this meeting demands that the U.S. Government must immediately withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu islands and Taiwan Straits, leaving the People's Republic of China free to solve its own internal problems . . .'

Delhi

Similar demonstrations took place in Delhi, where Pandit Sunderlal demanded an end to foreign intervention on the territory of the People's Republic of China. A poster parade was then held in the streets of the capital. Demonstrations were also held in Agra; in Meerut, where a meeting unanimously demanded that the United States Government 'withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan, leaving the Chinese authorities to settle their own internal affairs'; in Bhopal, Ahmedabad, Gwalior, Banaraa, Rewari, etc. Everywhere, the Peace Movement was the organiser and inspirer of 'Quit Taiwan' Day.

As part of the activities being carried out in India in response to the appeal of the All India Congress, we may mention an important statement by the All India Trade Union Congress which says:

'The presence of foreign forces on Taiwan is a menace to the People's Republic of China and a threat to the peace of all South-East Asia.'

The statement calls on the Indian people to unite, on the basis of the Five Principles, to maintain security and peace in Asia and the world.

National Opposition to Proposed 'Via Cuba' Canal

An energetic campaign involving the whole nation is growing in opposition to the plan to construct the 'Via Cuba' Canal, which was decided on by a decree last year. According to this decree, the strip of land bordering on the canal would be, for ninety-nine years, the property of a company which would exercise full authority over it. A body of police would be set up to protect the canal and would be responsible only to the company, and the workers in the canal zone would be subjected to military rule.

The most authoritative voices have spoken out against this project, including Mr. Jorge Mañach, former senator and government minister, who has written a number of articles in the review *Bohemia;* Mr. José Pardo Llada, former M.P. and director of one of the most important radio publications in the country; the Federation of University Students; the Free Latin American Association; Dr. Andres Valdespino, a Catholic leader; the leaderships of the Port Workers' Union and the Sugar Workers' Union; and the Executive Committees of the People's Party and the Socialist Revolutionary Party. Public meetings held in Havana and Oriente universities, with eminent public figures present, condemned the project.

The National Peace Committee is playing an active part in this national opposition. We take the following passage from one of the statements it has issued and which was widely distributed in the form of a leaflet:

'The carrying through of the "Via Cuba" canal project would create in our country a situation similar to that from which the people of Panama are suffering. A "canal zone" would be created and would be a source of discrimination, of attacks on our national sovereignty and of corruption . . .

'At bottom, the "Via Cuba" canal is to be built for strategic ends. The decree which decided its construction admits as much in two places . . .

'With the construction of the canal, our country would automatically be dragged into any armed conflict decided upon by the state to which the company belonged.'

✶

Syrian Public Figures Oppose Nuclear Weapons and Military Pacts

A number of Syrian political figures have just made some interesting statements from which we take the following extracts:

Mr. Ali Buzu, M.P., former Government minister and one of the leaders of the People's Party, of which the President of the Republic is a member, stated:

'Syria has no interest in war, the more so as any future war would be an atomic war . . .' Mr. Buzu added that the Syrian Government should do its utmost to prevent war and the use of weapons of mass destruction. He criticised military alliances as being serious blows at the sovereignty and security of nations and stressed that the Syrian people would oppose any military pact.

Mr. Salah Bitar, M.P., one of the leaders of the Arab Socialist Party, emphasised the danger of military pacts:

'We must ask our Government to denounce the Turkey-Iraq alliance and to oppose any other military pact.'

Referring to the N.A.T.O. decision, Mr. Abdel Karim Zhur, M.P., one of the leaders of the Arab Socialist Renaissance Party, stressed:

'We are opposed to the use of conventional weapons, and are therefore even more opposed to weapons of mass destruction. We are against any act which endangers civilisation and the security of the peoples. Industry and science must help mankind to build a happy life.'

Mr. Hussein Moreiwed and Mr. Abdelatif Yunes, both independent M.P.s, made similar statements.

Uruguay: Expand Foreign Trade
says public opinion

There is a growing tendency in a number of sectors of the Uruguayan economy in favour of opening up trade with countries with which Uruguay has hitherto had no normal trading relations.

An important meeting was held recently in the Stella de Italia Theatre on the initiative of the Woolworkers' Federation. The Executive Committee of the Federal League for Rural Action, industrialists and bankers, organisations from Montevideo and from the interior of the country, the leather workers' union and the trade union branch of the S.U.M.M.A. concern, were represented at the meeting. The President of the Chamber of Commerce sent a message of support to the organisers.

In a press statement, Mr. Petit de la Villeon, representative of the Materprin import business, stated: 'Quite obviously, it is not only an advantage for Uruguay to trade with the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe; it is also, today, an imperative necessity . . .' This being so, he added, Uruguay should have a diplomatic representative in Moscow.

Then Dr. Olaso, president and director of the national refrigerating company, stated that he supports trade without discrimination and that the organisation of which he is president is prepared to sell meat to any country.

The 1955 Anniversaries

Andersen in Japan

The cultural anniversaries proposed by the World Council of Peace will be commemorated at great demonstrations in Japan. The events in memory of Hans Christian Andersen which are to take place in the near future will be particularly important. On the initiative of Mr. Tokutaro Kitamura, former Minister of Finance, a committee has been set up. It is composed of university professors, writers, teachers and representatives of the Peace Movement and various libraries and other organisations. This committee has already received many important declarations of support and is preparing for an Andersen festival and a number of other events.

The Six Anniversaries in China

In the People's Republic of China, the commemoration of the anniversaries will be on a grand scale. From May to July there will be events in honour of Montesquieu, Andersen, Mickiewicz and Schiller. Then, drom July to October, the anniversaries of the first publication of *Don Quixote* and *Leaves of Grass* by Walt Whitman will be celebrated. In November comes the celebration of the fifteen hundredth anniversary of the famous frescoes of the Ajanta caves in India. French, Danish, Polish, German, Spanish, Indian and American intellectuals will be invited to these ceremonies. Moreover, the review *I Wen* (World Literature) publishes in its February number a selection from the *Persian Letters* of Montesquieu, together with studies on the famous French sociologist.

Brazil

The Brazilian Peace Council has decided to approach the Brazilian Writers' Association to draw up a joint programme for the celebration of the anniversaries recommended by the World Council. It has further decided to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the Brazilian writer, Artur Azevedo.

Soviet Union

In the Soviet Union, the Leningrad Artistic Film Studio is preparing a film on *Don Quixote* and another studio is working on cartoons based on tales by Andersen: *The Queen of the Snows, The Emperor's New Coat, The Wild Swans*, etc. A number of Republic, regional and district peace committees in the Soviet Union have drawn up plans for the celebration of the anniversaries. These include a series of conferences, exhibitions and the publication of books and pamphlets.

Schiller in Hungary

In Hungary, there will be two events in honour of Schiller. The first of these will be organised by the Academy of Sciences and the Eotvos Lorand University, and the second by the Peace Council and the Writers' Association. The latter will include the reading of extracts from Schiller's works, some of them translated into Hungarian for the first time. There will also be a performance of musical compositions of Schiller's time, and a German cultural figure will be invited to take part.

The National Theatre will present *Intrique and Love*, then *Don Carlos* by the great German playwright. The second of these plays will be presented at the Opera. The People's Army Theatre is planning to put *Wilhelm Tell* on its repertoire. In those parts of the country where the people speak German, the plays will be given in the original language. Lastly, there will be a two-volume edition of a selection of Schiller's prose, poetry and plays.

Albania

In Albania, the anniversary of Aristophanes in 1954 was commemorated by the translation and publication of plays by the great Greek dramatist, *Lysistrata* in particular. Memorial meetings were held in a vumber of towns. At Tirana, the writer Mr. Kole Jakova, gave a lecture on the life and work of Aristophanes to a big audience.

Mickiewicz Year in Poland

The hundredth anniversary of the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz will be celebrated on a great scale in his own country. The programme of activity was drawn up by the Mickiewicz Year Celebrations Committee at a meeting in Warsaw on February 21; the committee is composed of eminent students of Mickiewicz and his period, scientists, writers, artists and others. It stressed the need to intensify research on his works and to make the poet and his time as widely known as possible. The research work that will be done this year will deal with the work of Mickiewicz and romantic art and ideas in general. The results will be made public at a special session of the Polish Academy of Sciences which will be attended by scientists from all over Europe. The congresses of Polish students of language and literature and the annual congresses of scientific associations will be devoted to Mickiewicz and the main problems of his time.

This centenary year will see the publication of 250 works by Polish and foreign writers of the romatic period. An important special centenary edition of Mickiewicz will appear in the autumn.

Polish theatres will put on many plays by Polish and foreign dramatists of the romantic period, particularly Slowacki, Schiller and Hugo. The Polish National Theatre in Warsaw will put on *The Forefathers* (Dziade) by Mickiewicz.

Exhibitions, memorial meetings and assemblies, artistic events and lectures will be held throughout the country.

November 26, the day of the poet's death, will be the culminating point of Mickiewicz Year. On that day, in addition to the premiere of *The Forefathers* and the plenary session of the Polish Writer's Union, the Mickiewicz monument, which was destroyed during the war and has been rebuilt on its old site, will be inaugurated in the Market Square in Krakow. On the same day, the first stone of a new monument to the great poet will be laid in Freedom Square in Poznan. The plan of this monument will be chosen from the entries in a great competition which will open shortly. A Mickiewicz Museum, which is now being founded in Warsaw, will in the future be the main centre for research on the poet.

The Mickiewicz Year Celebrations Committee, whose chairman is Mr. Alexander Zawadski, President of the Council of State, has designated a Standing Committee to carry through the execution of this programme. Its members are: Mr. Wlodimierz Sokorski, Minister for Culture and Art (Chairman); Professor Stefan Zolkiewski; Professor Kazimierz Wika; Mr. Mieczyslaw Jastrun, President of the Committee for Education; Mrs. Zifia Dembinska, Vice-Minister for Education and President of the Committee for Literature and Art; Mr. Jan Wilcek, Vice-Minister for Culture and Art, and others.

Exhibitions and Messages of Friendship

In Jakarta, the Chinese Arts and Crafts Exhibition was attended by over 80,000 visitors in the course of its three week run. These included President Soekarno and Vice-President Mohammed Hata. The exhibition was then taken on a three week tour of the main towns of Indonesia.

A similar exhibition, including over 1,400 articles of porcelain, pottery, metalware, sculpture, lacquerware and embroidery, was warmly welcomed in India, where it was on show in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

In Michigan, in the United States, an exhibition of the arts and crafts of the people of China and the other countries of South-East Asia, has been held.

In Amsterdam, the sculptor, Mr. J. Havermans and the musician, Mr. Haakon Stotijn inaugurated an exhibition entitled 'The Theatre in the Republic of Rumania'. Its beginnings and development are shown in a series of photos and engravings.

The great Italian painter, Renato Guttuso, has exhibited his paintings and engravings in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, with great success.

26th Congress of Soviet Surgeons

The 26th Congress of Soviet Surgeons, which was held in Moscow at the end of January, gave striking evidence of the conquests of modern medical science, particularly in the treatment of infections of the thorax.

The Congress was attended by 2,123 delegates and by nearly 500 foreign guests, including doctors and surgeons from 19 countries: Argentine, Belgium, China, France, the German Democratic Republic, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy and others.

The atmosphere was very cordial and relations were established to ensure the continued progress of science and international co-operation.

The Soviet surgeons and their guests together examined the major problems of modern surgery, made a synthesis of the experience gained, approved the new methods of operating for certain cases and outlined the methods to be followed for the continuous perfecting of surgery. For the first time a great deal of light was thrown on the problem of heart surgery.

Professor Dejardin of Belgium, General Secretary of the International Surgical Society, congratulated his Soviet colleagues on their remarkable achievements on behalf of the surgeons of 56 countries. Professor Valdoni of Italy described the reports made by the Soviet specialists as being 'very full and interesting'.

Soviet doctors are not limiting themselves to curative medecine, but are paying more and more attention to ways of preventing illness.

The work of the 26th Congress of Soviet Surgeons made a big contribution to the development of medical science and to the protection of health.

In his closing speech, Mr. N. Bakulev, President of the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences, stated:

'Friendly co-operation is growing and there are more contacts between Soviet medical specialists and scientists from other countries. This is useful and rich in results. The foreign progressive scientists who are our guests and friends have spoken words of encouragement and friendship and have, together with us, spoken out for life and against death and the dark forces who want to hurl the peoples into the abyss of another war.'

*

The 42nd session of the Indian Science Congress was recently held in Baroda, Bombay State. It was attended by more than 4,000 delegates from all parts of India, by representatives of the scientists of China, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., the United States, Japan, Switzerland and other countries and by delegates from international organisations.

Young People Prepare for Fifth Festival of Youth and Students

The preparations for the Fifth World Festival of Youth and students are eliciting great enthusiasm.

The Festival programme will be very rich and varied and will include fetes, theatrical performances, concerts, balls, a carnival, visits and excursions, not to speak of sports competitions, friendly meetings between delegations and between young people who follow the same profession. Moreover, the participants will be able to attend the Second Friendly International Sports Meeting which will be held in Warsaw at the same time. The Fifth Festival will be greater than any previous one and will be a contribution of the whole of the world's young people to the struggle for peace and friendship.

In every country, the young people are getting ready.

● In Great Britain, 45 youth organisations of many kinds — cultural, sports, student and trade union organisations and young people from the colonial countries — were represented at a meeting of the British Youth Festival Committee. The Reverend Kenyon Wright stated that perhaps there were young people who thought that the rearmament of West Germany was necessary, but he hoped they would come to Warsaw and see what young Germans, Poles and Czechs thought about it. There was no doubt that wherever young people met they understood each other.

● There were also 45 organisations represented at the meeting called by the Danish National Committee. These included the university section of the 'No More War' organisation; student, sports and folklore societies; such persons as the secretary of the Jutland Small Farmers' Association; and journalists and others. In Denmark, the preparations will take the form of cultural evenings, sports competitions and a national cultural programme based on the works of Andersen.

● The Latin American Youth Festival was held in Sao Paulo from February 6 to 13. The Sponsoring Committee was composed of eminent figures in the spheres of culture, science and politics from all over Latin America.

● In Canada, there will be a Youth Festival with a cultural and sports programme during the month of July.

● In Czechoslovakia, the great Prague Youth Festival will be held with the motto: 'Forward to the Fifth World Youth Festival!'

● The Egyptian Amateur Athletic Federation has decided to send a full team to the Second Friendly International Sports Meeting.

● Active preparations for the Fifth World Youth Festival are going on in the German Federal Republic, India, Japan and Italy.

Composer Claudio Santoro says:

'The World Assembly will give artists new opportunities'

The Brazilian composer and conductor Claudio Santoro has just completed a tour of Europe which took him to Czechoslovakia and Poland. He is the author of the 'Song of Love and Peace' which won him an International Peace Prize in 1953 and has won many national and international prizes. On his way through Vienna he was kind enough to give the following statement for the Bulletin:

'For this tour I included Brazilian music on my concert repertoire: Villa Lobos, Camargo, Garnieri and others, and brought with me a collection of Brazilian musical instruments, together with documents and material on popular Brazilian art. I believe that such exchanges are an excellent way of cultivating friendship and understanding between the peoples.

'That is one of the reasons why I attach the greatest importance to the World Assembly for Peace which the World Council of Peace is calling in Helsinki this year. I am sure that this Assembly will make a major contribution both to the struggle for peace and to the development of cultural exchanges.

'But exchanges can only grow freely if art and national culture are defended. As far as Latin America is concerned, this preoccupation was voiced at the Continental Cultural Congress held in Santiago de Chile and the Congress of Brazilian Intellectuals. On this point, I should like to mention the example of the musicians of Sao Paulo who have just founded an association for the defence of Brazilian music.

'From this point of view, too, many artists are interested in the World Assembly which will give them new opportunities for popularising and defending their national culture. They know that there can be no development in cultural activities and exchanges unless there is peace between the peoples.'

Questions and Answers

We give below a few explanations which can used in replies to objections made to the Vienna Appeal; this feature will be continued in future numbers of the Bulletin. It would be useful if all our friends, committees and organisations taking part in the collection of signatures would inform us of the arguments met with and the replies given to them.

The Appeal launched by the World Council opens with a very serious statement: 'Today, certain governments are preparing to let loose atomic war.'

1 What led the World Council of Peace to make this statement?

In formulating the first sentence of the Appeal to the peoples in this way, the Bureau was above all referring to the decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council at its last session in Paris on December 17 and 18, 1954.

These decisions, signed by the ministers of the member countries of N.A.T.O. — that is, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, Norway, Portugal, and Turkey — approve the report presented by the N.A.T.O. Military Committee and decide to adopt atomic weapons and proceed with the strategical, tactical and logistic reorganisation of the N.A.T.O. army made necessary by the use of atomic weapons.

2 Is the N.A.T.O. decision really so serious as to demand immediate action by the peoples?

It is extremely serious, because the intention is to regularise atomic weapons and to make the people accept their use as inevitable, and because this decision is being immediately translated into concrete preparations for atomic war.

Once the N.A.T.O. army has been adapted to meet the needs created by the adoption of these weapons, any war would be an atomic war.

The full gravity of this decision is seen when we consider that

a) It was taken at a time when the international situation revealed signs, feeble perhaps, but unmistakable, of a relaxation of tension. The most important of these signs, which had given the peoples renewed hope, were: the Berlin Conference, the ending of the war in Indo-China, the unanimous agreement on a common basis for the discussion of the grave problems of disarmament, the banning of atomic weapons and the peaceful use of atomic energy.

b) It was taken at the same time as frantic efforts were being made to force on the peoples of Europe the rearming of West Germany whose army would be equipped with atomic weapons; and just as a dangerous situation was on the point of being created in the Formosa Straits in the Far East, through the intervention of foreign naval and air forces in the internal affairs of China.

The gravity of the N.A.T.O. decision has been confirmed by the events that have followed: the British Government's decision to proceed with the manufacture of thermonuclear weapons, and France's determination to take part in the atomic arms race, to mention only two.

3 But in denouncing the fact that certain governments are preparing to unleash an atomic war, is not in the World Council of Peace taking up a partisan position vis-a-vis these governments?

The World Council of Peace is not opposing these governments, but rather the decisions taken by responsible ministers of these governments at the N.A.T.O. Council meeting.

These decisions, as has just been shown, represent an extremely serious danger to the peace of the world, to the lives of millions of men and women and even to future generations. It is the World Council's duty to denounce them and to call on the peoples to take action to prevent them from being implemented.

It has this right and duty because its role is to act to defend peace, to support any act aimed at strengthening the cause of peace and openly to oppose and denounce any act which represents a war danger; and this independently of any considerations as to which government or official figure is responsible for these acts.

TWO NEW PAMPHLETS

Mankind Must Choose

by Dr. E. H. S. Burhop

With the title 'Mankind Must Choose', the eminent physicist, Dr. E.H.S. Burhop, has just written a pamphlet on 'What the atomic war plans mean to you'. Starting off with a telling exposure of the dangerous decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council last December, Dr. Burhop exposes the dishonesty of some of the main arguments put forward by those who defend the use of atomic weapons. He shows how close the powers have come to a possible basis of agreement for disarmament, and how the possibilites of agreement is wrecked by the N.A.T.O. decisions; he shows clearly what the peoples have to expect if these weapons are used in war, and he shows how they have it in their power to change these decisions and to ensure that atomic war is not allowed to start.

Dr. Burhop is a scientist of great knowledge and experience. In this pamphlet he has put that knowledge and experience at the service of ordinary people, writing in the simplest terms, placing important political and scientific truths at the disposal of every ordinary person.

The central idea of the pamphlet is contained in the following passage:

'With his growing mastery of the unimagined forces contained in the tiny world of the atom, man faces a choice: the development of unlimited, perhaps undreamed of resources for the health, happiness and security of every human being, or a race to mass destruction.'

The pamphlet will help many men to see this choice clearly and to enter into the struggle. It is issued by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace and is now available.

An Immediate Threat to Europe

by Mrs. Isabelle Blume-Gregoire

Secretary of the World Council of Peace

'An Immediate Threat to Europe' is a pamphlet by Mrs. Isabelle Blume-Gregoire, Secretary of the World Council of Peace, which explains, in a lively style, the dangers that would result for Europe and the world from the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements.

Mrs. Blume analyses the agreements and shows that they set the seal on the division of Germany by recognising the Bonn Government as the only one competent to speak for the whole of Germany and that they divide Europe into two military blocs.

The Paris Agreements hide the truth and deceive the peoples.

They speak of sovereignty, but, as Mrs. Blume points out, this sovereignty does not exist, either for the German people or the other peoples of Europe. In fact, 'the armies and whole economy of these countries . . . are placed under a supranational organisation which is itself under American command'.

Like E.D.C., the Paris Agreements envisage the setting up of 12 German divisions and claim that this new Wehrmacht will be purely defensive. But, Mrs. Blume-Gregoire points out, 'even before they (the agreements) are ratified, the N.A.T.O. General Staff has decided to transform the European army, including the German army, into an army whose strategy will be based on atomic weapons'.

The agreements speak of the control over armaments exercised by the Council of the West European Union, but Mrs. Blume gives concrete examples showing that this control is an illusion. Already after the First World War, she says, every trick was used to rebuild a powerfully organised German army equipped with modern weapons.

Industry and high finance gave effective help in reviving German military might.

The Paris Agreements favour 'the armaments manufacturers to the detriment of light industry . . . Never have their rights been written so clearly into a treaty'.

And, Mrs. Blume adds, 'when the armaments manufacturers win the day, the possibilities of war are not far away, and it is time that the peoples rose up against them'.

Mrs. Blume concludes by calling on the peace-loving peoples to take action. 'Let them remember the appeal made by the World Council of Peace at Stockholm on November 23, 1954:

'It is not within the power of any government, of any Parliament, to settle the fate of a people against their will.

'The people will not let the irreparable happen.'

Reproduction authorised. Please acknowledge source.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

Preparing the World Assembly for Peace

SUPPLEMENT TO THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 1 April 1, 1955

REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL ORGANISATIONS AND TENDENCIES FOR PEACE TO MEET IN HELSINKI, MAY 22–29

APPEAL FOR THE CALLING OF A WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE

In a world in which there are still great chances of Peace, new dangers appear which may destroy them all.

Only a powerful movement of the peoples can prevent the division of the world into opposing blocs, prevent the rebirth of the armies that have been the source of so much misery and mourning, and free mankind from the crushing cost of arms budgets. Only such a powerful movement can ensure the co-operation of all nations for their welfare, their independence and the security of all.

The World Council of Peace calls to all those whose activities make for Peace, to every man and woman who longs to live free from fear, mistrust, and hate for other peoples. It calls on them to get together before it is too late.

It resolves that a great World Assembly shall be held, including representatives of all the forces and tendencies that make for Peace, to meet in the second half of May 1955.

Stockholm, November 23, 1954

FOR A WORLD ASSEMBLY FOR PEACE

The open threat of an atomic war from now on hangs over every country, every home, every man, woman and child.

Instead of atomic energy being made to serve mankind, terrible weapons are being piled up. Instead of disarmament, fresh military blocs are being put together. Instead of negotiation and agreement, there are threats and hate-propaganda.

But threats and force are the road to war, not to peace.

The rearmament of Germany, the Taiwan (Formosa) situation, interference with the independence of peoples, are multiplying discord and anxiety. If mankind should go further along this path, there will be no safety anywhere.

Mankind will not allow this to go on. Its conscience is revolted by the idea of atomic slaughter.

The abolition of nuclear weapons, general disarmament, the security of all, respect for the sovereignty and rights of every nation, these must be pursued by the peoples with the energy needed where life itself is at stake.

It is in this spirit and with these aims that the World Council of Peace invites supporters of peace from every country to come together in Helsinki on May 22, 1955 in a World Assembly, there to discuss freely questions of the action urgent to preserve peace.

Vienna, March 13, 1955

How the World Assembl

Millions of Men and Women will be Represented at Helsinki

In every country, the preparations for the World Assembly are giving rise to various activities with the aim of associating the greatest possible number of men and women with the Assembly.

In particular, many National Assemblies are taking place. They are called by the National Peace Committees, with the participation of well-known people and representatives of organisations and groupings which do not belong to the Peace Movement. They follow similar assemblies on a regional and provincial level, themselves preceded by local assemblies.

Another form of action consists in sending the World Council's proposals directly to all organisations and personalities working for peace, who are kept regularly informed of all points relating to the preparation and aims of the World Assembly. They are invited to take part in it or to send representatives. This method is being used in countries like Australia, Sweden, Canada and Great Britain, where 30,000 national and local organisations have been invited to join in the preparations for the World Assembly.

There is also the method of joint organisation by the Peace Movement and other groupings of the preparatory work for the Helsinki Assembly. To do this, preparatory committees are set up, as in Costa Rica and the Union of South Africa.

In every country, the preparations for the Assembly are being carried out in close relation to the development of the campaign against atomic war and all the national actions which bring in the most organisations and tendencies for peace.

All these preparatory activities give rise to exchanges of views and further contacts. They have the aim of ensuring that all organisations and tendencies for peace are really represented at Helsinki.

Proposals for the Agenda

On the basis of the suggestions that had come from various countries and the exchanges of views that had been held, the Bureau of the World Council of Peace proposed the following agenda for the World Assembly:

1) Atomic weapons and disarmament.
2) Military blocs. General security. Co-operation between the nations.
3) The independence of the nations and the maintenance of peace.

It is, of course, the World Assembly itself which will establish the final agenda.

61 COUNTRIES HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED THIER PARTICIPATION

The following countries have announced that they are sending delegations to the World Assembly in Helsinki:

Albania
Algeria
Argentine
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Cameroons
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Cyprus
Czechoslovakia
Eire
Finland
France
German Democratic Republic
German Federal Republic
Gold Coast
Great Britain
Holland
Guatemala
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Irak
Iran
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea
Lebanon
Luxemburg
Mexico
Middle Congo
Mongolia
New Zealand
Norway
Paraguay
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Senegal
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Tunisia
Union of South Africa
United States
Uruguay
U.S.S.R.
Viet Nam

Certain of these countries have already decided on the number of delegates they will send: Iceland and Jordan will send 11 delegates each, Lebanon 20, Syria 25, Belgium 30, Poland 35, Canada 50, Japan 60, Great Britain, India and Sweden 100 each. Five countries of Latin America will send a total of more than 110 delegates, France announces 150 and Finland 200.

In addition to the delegates from the different countries there will be representatives of organisations and personalities who will come to Helsinki as guests or observers. We may therefore anticipate a total of more than 2,000 participants in the World Assembly for Peace.

*

What the Peoples Are Doing to Finance the World Assembly

All the expenses of the World Assembly must be met by the participants. Each delegation will have to pay its own travelling expenses, its board and lodging and a contribution to the general expenses based on the size of the delegation.

At the present time, therefore, a great effort is being made to collect money in every country. This is being done in different ways: subscription lists are being put out in connection with the current campaign against the preparations for atomic war; collections are being taken at preparatory meetings in the workplaces and localities; publications, badges and so on are being sold at regional and provincial demonstrations and assemblies; fêtes and bazars are being organised to raise money; supporters' cards are being sold, etc.

This last method is being used in countries like Belgium where coupons representing different distances have been put out, so that every subscriber, in proportion to his means, pays for part of a delegate's journey.

In France, a folding card is being sold containing the World Council's Appeal against the preparations for atomic war and the aims of the Peace Movement. By buying it people give their support to the World Assembly.

In every case the result is that millions of people give both financial support and their approval to the Helsinki Assembly.

The decision to hold a World
by the World Council of Peace
November 18—23, 1954.
More than 200 personalities
tions, present at the session as
of the World Council of Peace
Assembly.
The proposal met with a dee
The favourable welcome it h
exchanges of view to which it ha
at its last meeting in Vienna, M
peoples of the aims of the Wor

**This poster
artist Hans E
be on every wal**

Timetable of Nat

In preparation for the World Asse
have been held in a number of coun
the coming weeks, as follows:

18th, 19th & 20th	Burm
25th	Colom
29th, 30th & 31st	Mexic
2nd & 3rd	Franc
3rd	Polan
12th	Icelan
17th	Czech
17th	Germ
23rd & 24th	Germ
24th & 25th	Bulga
7th, 8th & 9th	Japa
10th	Sovie
10th, 11th & 12th	Italy
15th	Belgi

Reports on the proceedings and d
given in this supplement as the inf

mbly is Being Prepared . . .

to hold a World Assembly for Peace was taken
ouncil of Peace at its last session in Stockholm,
23, 1954.
)0 personalities and representatives of organisa-
; the session as guests, joined with the members
ouncil of Peace in issuing the appeal calling the

met with a deep response in every country.
le welcome it has everywhere received and the
w to which it has given rise enabled the Bureau,
ng in Vienna, March 11—13, 1955, to inform the
ims of the World Assembly.

This poster by the great artist Hans Erni will soon be on every wall in the world.

ble of National Assemblies

r the World Assembly for Peace, national assemblies
a number of countries and others are announced for
as follows:

March

9th & 20th	Burma
	Colombia
0th & 31st	Mexico

April

3rd	France
	Poland
	Iceland
	Czechoslovakia
	German Federal Republic
24th	German Democratic Republic
25th	Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Cuba, Tunisia

May

h & 9th	Japan
	Soviet Union
1th & 12th	Italy
	Belgium, Spain

proceedings and decisions of these assemblies will be
lement as the information comes in.

PUBLIC FIGURES STATE...

'The Bureau meeting of the World Council of Peace held in January in Vienna decided to launch a world signature campaign against the preparation of atomic war. This campaign is now developing in many countries of the world. The World Assembly in Helsinki will be held in the middle of this mobilisation of world public opinion against an atomic war.

'Men and women of Japan! We Japanese people, who were the first to rise up against the A and H bombs, should actively participate in the World Assembly to demand the prohibition of the manufacture and stockpiling of atomic weapons and experiments with them and to achieve the aim of peaceful co-existence.'

Extract from an appeal signed by Japanese public figures including the following:

Mr. Tetsu Katayama, former Prime Minister, member of the Right Wing Socialist Party;

Mr. Jiichiro Matsumoto, Senator, former Vice-president of the Senate, member of the Left Wing Socialist Party;

Mr. Minoru Takano, General Secretary of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (S.O.H.Y.O.).

*

'I consider that the decision of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace to call a World Assembly for Peace in May is of great human and social interest.

'Never was it more indispensable than now that the conscience of the peoples should accuse those who want to let loose atomic war. Only the firm determination of the peoples will put an end to the war threat.

'In Chile at the present time, the righteous anger and protest of all patriots are aroused by the intention to carry out atomic tests on our territory in the Antarctic. Thousands and thousands of men and women clearly understand what this can mean for us. It is not only a threat to our independence and sovereignty; our very lives and happiness are in danger.

'I am sure that the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace will meet with warm support in all circles, whatever their outlook or religious beliefs. Every day that passes sees the struggle for peace gaining more adherents.

'The Helsinki Assembly must reaffirm our faith that the peoples will defeat war.''

Mr. Salvador Allende,
Vice-President of the Chilean Senate

*

I consider that the London-Paris Agreements embody the suicidal policy of armed Peace, of rigid and dangerously poised hostile blocs . . . Such policies can only mean death and destruction . . .

'Why do not we, all lovers of Peace, resolve now that 1955 must be made the Year of Peace? Wherever we live, whatever our vocations, yes, and whatever be our political affiliations, let us raise our voices, let us agitate and organise persistently so that when the World Assembly of Peace meets next May a force of Peace will have been so developed that the inciters to wars will have been silenced, and reason, goodwill and friendship prevail among the peoples of the world.'

Mr. S. O. Davies
M. P. for Merthyr Tydfil

I welcome the Bureau's decision to call a great World Assembly of Representatives of All Organisations and Tendencies for Peace in Helsinki on May 22. This World Assembly will have to act as the conscience of the peoples. It should represent all humanist tendencies whatever their philosophical views or religious convictions. We in Germany shall do our utmost to extend the influence of the peace forces and win more and more men and women to join the World Council of Peace in its work. That is the lever of Archimedes that can topple the policy of strength and the plans for a blitzkrieg.

Mr. Otto Nuschke
Vice-Premier of the German Democratic Republic

*

'The World Assembly of Representatives of the Forces of Peace in 1955, the aim of which is to make unity prevail over division and peace over war, is in conformity with the interests of Vietnamese Catholics and of the people of Viet Nam. I shall not fail to publicise this Assembly in Catholic circles in our country.'

Father Ho Thanh Bien
Catholic priest from South Viet Nam

*

'"To be or not to be?" That question is more than ever appropriate today when we are all of us threatened with destruction by atomic weapons. It seems that the political leaders can find no solution. There are, however, mighty forces amongst mankind that will prevent war, but until now they have not been able to join together to demonstrate their demands.

'It is for this reason that the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki on May 22, 1955 will be an event of the greatest importance, since representatives from all the peoples of the world are invited to take part.

'The mighty voice of world public opinion must say to the statesmen: 'We want peace!', 'We demand negotiations!', 'We demand the banning of all atomic weapons now!'

'The will of God is that the world shall be a good home for the human family — that mankind shall live in peace, righteousness and brotherhood.

'I hope that the World Assembly for Peace in Helsinki will serve this aim, and that a vast number of representatives from churches and peace organisations will meet there.'

Rev. Ragnar Forbeck (Norway)
First Chaplain of Oslo Cathedral

*

'The importance of the proposed World Peace Congress in May next is very great for all those countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and the world which do not want to annihilate others or be annihilated in a world conflict in which weapons of mass destruction may be used . . .

'All nations that want to live and let live, that want to stop the exploitation of man by man or of nation by nation, must therefore meet and make up their minds not to play the imperialist game. They should further insist upon an absolute ban on all weapons of mass destruction. This is the programme that lies before the proposed May Congress and I do make a fervent appeal that nations that want to preserve their freedom and also the freedom of others should regard it as a sacred duty to join it.

Pandit Sunderlal (India)

HELSINKI GETS READY TO RECEIVE THE DELEGATES

The city of Helsinki, which was founded at the mouth of the Wanda in 1550 by King Gustav Vasa, for long remained a little town most of whose houses were made of wood as in almost all other Nordic towns. The great fire of 1808 resulted in the beginning of a vast amount of reconstruction which changed the face of the town. Our photo shows the market square in Helsinki.

The Exhibition Hall in Helsinki where the World Assembly will be held.

We Finnish people are happy that the World Assembly for Peace is being held in our country and we will joyfully receive the best representatives of the forces of peace of all countries. We hope that we shall acquit ourselves successfully of the honourable task of acting as host to this most important international meeting, in co-operation with all those who want peace in our country.

Our capital, Helsinki, with its 450,000 inhabitants, is assuredly not a huge city, but it is both modern and beautiful. It is called the white city of the North and this will not be the first time that it has acted as host to an international meeting. It was the scene of the Olympic Games in 1952 and many other international meetings have been held there.

Finland is a bridge between East and West; with both we have extensive economic and cultural relations. This co-operation between our people and all its neighbours is a tangible proof of the possibility of peaceful co-existence between countries with different political and social systems. From this point of view also Finland is peculiarly suited to receive a World Assembly in a spirit of peace, understanding and co-operation between the peoples of the world.

We are happy that at the end of May, the time when the Spring comes to Helsinki with its first light nights, chasing the frost and darkness, we shall also be welcoming the messengers of the forces of peace in all countries — forces that bring springtime and light to the whole of mankind.

Professor FELIX IVERSEN
Vice-President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations

Finland,
Country of a Thousand Lakes

● *Finland, the 'country of 1,000 lakes', offers the visitor scenery of great variety.*

This view of a plain in the Palkane region is typical of the southern part of the country.

Reproduction authorised. Please acknowledge source.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

Preparing the World Assembly for Peace

SUPPLEMENT TO THE BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 2 April 15, 1955

FRANCE

National Assembly for Peace

The National Assembly for Peace, organised by the National Council of the French Peace Movement, was an important event in French preparations for the World Assembly for Peace.

The unity achieved at the Assembly provided indisputable proof that the consolidation of the forces of peace, already very wide in France, will progress yet further in the struggle for peace.

The very nature of the discussion showed this. Dozens of speeches were made in the plenary sessions or in the commissions by scientists, professors, writers, artists, workers, elected representatives of all opinions, leaders of all kinds of political organisations, religious figures and mothers. This diversity was equally reflected in the composition of each delegation and the composition of the platform.

Professor Leon Wagner, of the Sorbonne, who gave the opening report, stated:

'For us the word 'Peace' does not mean that precarious political stability which someone imposes on his partners through solutions of strength...' He went on to point out:

'The forces of peace which exist among all the peoples have become aware of their strength. Today they are on their way to breaking down all the obstacles which divide them and thus thwart their potentialities.

'By coming together here today we are expressing in France and for France that understanding between the forces of peace which will be expressed on an international level at Helsinki. The forces of peace may have different views on a whole number of subjects, and they will, correctly, reserve the right to hold their opinions. But on the aim which we have just defined, on the necessity to use all means for reaching it, on the urgent need to overcome all the obstacles which

(Contd. on page 2)

Secretary of Finnish Social Democratic Youth a delegate to World Assembly

The United Organisation of Work for Peace has decided to take part in the World Assembly in Helsinki. It will be represented by its Secretary, Mr. Pentti Sulonen, who is also Secretary of the National Centre of the Social Democratic Youth.

Furthermore, the United Organisation of Work for Peace has recommended its member organisations to send delegates to the Assembly as well. Among these organisations are: the Social Democratic Party, the Finnish T.U.C., the National Centre of the Co-operative Movement and the Social-Democratic Women's Organisation.

One card equals 140 yards of the 6,000 mile journey from Tokyo to Helsinki

It is 6,000 miles from Tokyo to Helsinki... and the travelling expenses of the Japanese delegation will be heavy.

To raise the necessary money, two cards have been published and put on sale.

One of them bears a picture of a dove and the other a reproduction of 'Fujiyama', a painting by the famous Japanese artist Hokusai (1760—1849).

They are sold under the slogan 'one card to every 140 yards', since the price of each card represents the fare for 140 yards of the 6,000 mile journey. Thus the sale of 80,000 cards will cover the fare for one delegate.

MEXICO

National Assembly for Peace and Security

General view of the delegates at the Mexican Assembly for Peace and Security.

The National Assembly for Peace and Security which was recently held in Mexico demonstrated the Mexican people's interest in the World Assembly for Peace.

More than 600 people took part in the Assembly which was held on March 29, 30 and 31 at the call of 121 individuals and 31 organisations.

Among those who took part in the Mexican Assembly were:

General Heriberto Jara Corona, former government minister; Mr. Vicente Lombardo Toledano, president of the Confederation of Latin American workers; the famous film star Rosaura Revueltas; Mr. Manuel Ruiz, representing the con-

(Contd. on page 2)

National Assembly for Peace in France

(Contd. from page 1)

are put in our way, they are unanimous in their determination . . .'

After a thorough examination of current problems in the struggle for peace in France and an analysis of the Vienna Appeal, Professor Wagner concluded by stating the three aims of the action to be carried on: negotiation, security and disarmament.

The Closing Statement

After Professor Wagner's report, a very full discussion was held which concluded with the adoption of several documents including the following appeal to take part in the World Assembly:

'The revival of German militarism means that France is in danger of losing her security and her position as a great power.

'France is also in danger of becoming a target for atomic weapons.

'Men and women of France, you must unite and demand now that the French Government keeps its promise to negotiate.

'Negotiate for the peaceful solution of the German problem before the Wehrmacht is revived. Negotiate in Asia so that the peace in Indo-China shall not be a mere truce and so that France can establish bonds of friendship and co-operation with the people of Viet-Nam. Negotiate for a close and fraternal association with the peoples of the French overseas possessions before new war centres spring up.

'Negotiate for the destruction of all atomic bombs and for disarmament, before the armaments race results in the catastrophe of a third world war . . .

'The National Assembly for Peace, meeting at Drancy on April 2—3, makes a solemn appeal to French public opinion to take part in the World Assembly for Peace which will open in Helsinki on May 22, by sending a delegation fully representative of all political and social circles.

'Men and women of France, you are united in your solidarity. Only your united action can regain the independence of France.

'Men and women of France, you are united in your solidarity with all the peoples of the world: with them, since you are all faced with a common danger, you will seek the salvation of all in peace and negotiation.'

Among the many notable individuals present at the French National Assembly were: the writer Vercors, who chaired the opening session; Mr. Jean Marie Domenach, director of the review 'Esprit'; Mr. Jacques Chatagner, active Christian, and director of the newspaper 'La Quinzaine'; Mr. Deville, Vice-President of the Meurthe-et-Moselle Radical Federation; Mr. Martial Bellugue, socialist county councillor; Mr. Sutty, former county councillor, and several other well-known socialists. Mr. Dupleix, sercretary of the French Committee of the European Workers' Conference, took part, as did Roger Philipon, Gaullist Deputy Mayor of Perigueux; Mr. Roger Pigaut, the actor, who represented the 'Plays for Peace' committee; Jacques Nantet of the Young Republic; and the members of the Presiding Committee of the Peace Movement.

Professor Joliot-Curie made an important speech on the signature campaign and the problems of the use of atomic weapons, and the General Secretary of the World Council of Peace, Mr. Jean Laffitte, greeted the Assembly on behalf of the World Council.

Hundreds of Public Rallies

A wide variety of methods were used to choose delegates for the National Assembly. In particular, the French Peace Movement organised hundreds of public rallies at which delegates were chosen. These gatherings ranged from meetings of the tenants of a particular block of flats or street to meetings of the people of an entire neighbourhood or meetings at work-places. It was at such meetings that the people considered the questions to be discussed and took the necessary organisational steps.

A large number of these meetings are being held to popularise the World Assembly in Helsinki, stimulate the signature campaign and carry on the struggle against the London and Paris Agreements.

Mexican Assembly for Peace and Security

(Contd. from page 1)

gregation of the Jesuit church at Oaxaca; Mr. Enrique Cabrera, Mr. Mario Salazar Mallen and Mr. Guillermo Montano, all three representing scientific circles; and the painter Miguel Covarrubias.

The World Council of Peace was represented by Mrs. Isabelle Blume, Secretary of the Council. Mr. Jose Giral, former Prime Minister of the Spanish Republic also took part in the Assembly, and a message of greetings and support was received from General Lazaro Cardenas, former President of the Mexican Republic.

The agenda included four points dealing with the particular problems of the Mexican people:

1. The threat to the national culture.
2. Foreign interference in the countries of Latin America.
3. The atomic danger.
4. Organisational problems of the Peace Movement.

General Jara's opening speech, the reports presented on each of the points on the agenda and the discussion brought out how necessary the maintenance and strengthening of world peace are to Mexico if its own interests are to be protected.

The resolution adopted after the discussion on the second point on the agenda states on this subject:

'With the intensification of warlike preparations there is an increasing threat of a world war which would involve Latin America . . .'

After noting the repercussions of these war preparations on the political, economic and social situation in Mexico in particular and the Latin American countries in general, the resolution concludes with a programme for the defence of the national independence and economy and the rights and culture of the peoples of Latin America.

The Voice of Young Catholics

Mr. Manuel Ruiz, representing the congregation of the Jesuit Church at Oaxaca made a powerful contribution to the discussion:

'The young Roman Catholics whom I represent offer you their co-operation and wish to be considered as defenders of peace who, in Mexico and throughout the world, work to stay the hand of those who are the enemies of all mankind. They condemn any government, without distinction, which would dare to use nuclear weapons and demand the destruction of stocks and the cessation of their manufacture in the interests of the peace and security of the peoples.

Colombia Elec

The National Conference of the Colombian Pe part of the country and representing a wide range Conference entrusted the Colombian Peace Coun designate Colombia's representatives to the Worl very representative, will include members of trad barristers, writers and students.

The Conference unanimously approved the fol

'This Conference of the Peace Movement, meetin efforts to give the peoples a means of self-expressio won for the cause of peace. It hopes that the W to prevent atomic war, which is now being prep international differences and consolidate co-oper independence of the peoples.'

In the chair were Mr. Nieto Caballero, a Libe Conservative M. P.; and Mr. Diego Montana Cuella and former Mayor of Bogota. The Conference rece ing one from Don Baldomero Sanin Cano, a Stalin I ian Peace Movement.

Two Special Planes Chart

Two special planes have been chartered to tak The industrial area of West Yorkshire has elected f illor and an Anglican vicar.

Many ministers of religion are showing a keen i did not belong to any peace organisation, have sa

A Surrey local peace committee has published an Signatures are being collected for it door-to-door to cover the expenses of the Surrey delegates t

The British Peace Committee is preparing a sp May 1st. A section of it is devoted to a number of should figure on the agenda of the Assembly, and

French West and Eq Represente

The Co-ordinating Committee of the trade union met in St. Louis on March 12, 13 and 14 and calle Helsinki together with other organisations, the pe

In the preparations for the Mexican National Assembly for Peace popular tradition was used in the service of peace. The Studio of Popular Graphic Art, which won an International Peace Prize for 1952, illustrated and published a 'corrido' or popular romance by Candido Tepepa entitled 'Corrido del Congreso de la Paz' (Romance of the Congress for Peace). This poem was posted up and distributed in the streets and markets, thus informing everyone of the Assembly in a vivid way traditional to Mexico.

Elects its Delegation

ombian Peace Movement, attended by 500 delegates from every wide range of organisations, was held in Bogota on March 25. The Peace Council, in co-operation with the district committees, to the World Assembly in Helsinki. This delegation, which will be ers of trade union and peasant organisations, doctors, engineers,

ved the following resolution:

ent, meeting in Bogota, greets the World Council of Peace whose lf-expression and to organise their activity are behind the successes that the World Assembly for Peace called for May 22 will help being prepared, make negotiations prevail for the settlement of ate co-operation of the nations for the progress, well-being and

ero, a Liberal writer and former ambassador; Mr. Carlos A. Lis, tana Cuellar, general Secretary of the Colombian Peace Movement ference received many messages from all over the country includ- o, a Stalin Peace Prize winner in 1945 and President of the Colomb-

Chartered for Britain's Delegates

ered to take Britain's delegates direct from London to Helsinki. as elected four delegates including a Labour Party County Counc-

ing a keen interest in the Assembly and several, who up till now on, have said that they would like to take part.

ublished an appeal to the foreign delegations that will go Helsinki. or-to-door and the collectors at the same time ask for donations delegates to the Assembly.

paring a special number of its *Newsletter* which will come out on number of questions which, in the opinion of our British friends, embly, and there are four pages on the hydrogen bomb.

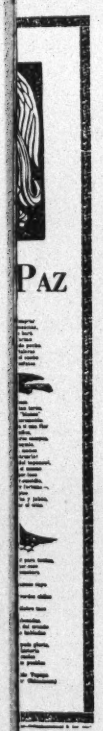
nd Equatorial Africa will be sented at Helsinki

trade unions of French West and Equatorial Africa and Togoland 14 and called on the trade unions to prepare to send delegates to ions, the people and public figures.

Representatives from Dakar, Senegal and Mauritania, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, Niger, Togoland and the Independent Federation of Railwaymen took part in the discussions.

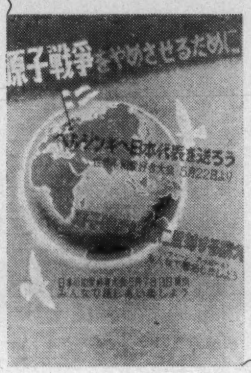
An important recommendation was unanimously adopted. It notes the aggravation of the international situation through the ratification of the London and Paris Agreements which will have unfortunate consequences in both the economic and political spheres, particularly through the danger of atomic war to which it gives rise.

They therefore recommend the trade unions to pay more attention to the struggle for peace.



onal
used
pular
onal
shed
dido
e la
ace).
d in
ning
way

Posters



On the walls of every city in the world are posters announcing the holding of the World Assembly and inviting the people to send their representatives. On the left is a Japanese poster, printed in 50,000 copies, which says: 'Send delegates to the World Assembly for Peace! Sign the Vienna Appeal against atomic war!'

The poster on the right is to be seen in the towns and villages of Austria.

80 Japanese Personalities

At the present time local committees in a number of Japan's major towns, including Tokyo, Asahikawa and Muroram, are preparing to send delegates to the World Assembly. A National Committee of more than 80 personalities was set up on April 1st.

The Miner's Union (membership 280,000) is conducting a signature campaign in support of the Assembly and in order to send representatives to it.

A meeting has been held in the town of Musashino-Shi under the auspices of the Council against the A and H bombs to send the mayor of the town to Helsinki as a delegate.

Mass Campaign in Uruguay

The Assembly of the Uruguayan Peace Council, held in Montevideo in March, adopted a resolution on the Uruguayan people's participation in the World Assembly.

After giving its enthusiastic support to the World Assembly, the meeting recommended to the Executive Committee that a representative delegation be sent to Helsinki and invited all organisations for peace to send delegates as well.

The Assembly decided to organise a mass campaign to collect the money necessary to cover the expenses of the delegates and to hold a National Peace Conference immediately after the delegates' return from Helsinki.

Organisational steps, particularly the setting up of a number of commissions, were taken to ensure that these various tasks are carried through.

Australia: Victoria Chooses its Delegates

The State of Victoria has already chosen its delegates: Rev. Neil Glover, Vicar of St. Mathias' Church, Richmond, who is very popular in his parish, and Mr. Sam Goldbloom, a business-man who served for four years in the R.A.A.F. during the war.

The preparations for the World Assembly are being carried on successfully throughout Australia and approaches are being made to all organisations and tendencies for peace in order to ensure that Australia is widely represented at Helsinki.

The Reverend Alfred Dickie recently stated: 'I would be very happy to see all sorts of bodies nominating and sponsoring visitors and delegates to this Assembly.

'The Assembly comes at a vital time in the history of world affairs and ... could affect very materially the course of history.'

Leaders of the Australian Peace Council are visiting every Australian State to carry forward the preparations for the World Assembly.

The Saar

The Saar Peace Committee has put on sale 10,000 postcards bearing the text of the Vienna Appeal. The money raised in this way will help defray the expenses of the Saar delegation to the World Assembly which will be elected at the Saar Peace Conference.

Germany: From District Conferences to the National Congress

The struggle against the London and Paris Agreements, the danger of the remilitarisation of West Germany and the preparations for atomic war are giving rise to intensive activity in preparation for the World Assembly for Peace.

There have been district conferences throughout the German Democratic Republic in preparation for the German Congress for Security and Peace, which will be held in Dresden on April 24.

Among the speakers at these conferences were such public figures as Mr. Otto Buchwitz, President of the German Red Cross; Pastor Kleinschmidt; Professor Tacke; Mr. Max Friedemann, Deputy Minister of Heavy Industry; and Mr. Heinz Willman, General Secretary of the German Peace Council.

All sections of the people helped in financing the conferences. For example, Mr. Dietrich Muller, a Rostock student, collected 300 marks for the German Peace Fund and has promised to collect 400 more. Also in Rostock, the personnel of the 'Neptun' dockyard gave 1,000 marks to the Peace Fund.

When the district peace conferences are over the German Congress for Security and Peace will be held in preparation for the World Assembly in Helsinki. Public figures have announced that they will take part, including Mr. Otto Nuschke, Deputy Prime Minister; Mr. Johannes Becher, Minister of Culture; Mrs. Anna Seghers, the writer Arnold Zweig; Professor Steiniger, chairman of the German United Nations Association; and Professor Herz, the theologian from Leipzig. In all there will be 1,300 delegates from the German Democratic Republic at the Congress, plus a strong delegation from the German Federal Republic and foreign visitors. The Congress will re-elect the German Peace Council and designate the delegates to the World Assembly.

'We Expect Big Results from the Assembly'

says Finnish Workers Conference

In the name of the Sponsoring Committee of the Conference of Finnish Workers for Peace, Mr. Matti Lahdenmäk, the Chairman, and Mr. Into Kälnio, the Secretary, have sent us the following statement:

'The participants and the organisers of the Conference of Finnish Workers for Peace expect big results from the World Assembly for Peace which will be held in Helsinki at the end of May.

'At this great gathering, thousands of representatives of different nations, different walks of life, different social circles and different beliefs will meet in our capital. This very fact will be a concrete proof of the present strength of the idea of peace. But, above all, this Assembly will show the way for the forces of peace to make new efforts to eliminate first of all the terrible danger of atomic war which threatens mankind.

'It is our hope and our conviction that there will be a great increase of activity in the struggle for peace as a result of this Assembly and we hope and believe that this will be as true of Finland as of the other countries of the world.'

It will be remembered that the Finnish Workers' Conference for Peace took place in Helsinki on December 5, last year, on the initiative of the workers of a big factory in Tampere. This Conference, as the Bulletin of the World Council of Peace reported at the time, attracted great interest throughout the country. 1,200 workers of the most diverse political views took part in response to the Appeal of a widely representative sponsoring committee.

In 1812, when Helsinki became the capital of Finland, the built-up area covered no more than a hundred acres and the population numbered no more than 4,000.

A century later the city had grown to seven square miles with a population of 160,000. At the last census the population totalled nearly 400,000.

In Helsinki today there are a great many modern structures in different styles. The photo above shows the chief railway terminus and surrounding buildings.

This Badge . . .

. . . the Finnish Emblem of Friendship, will go all round the world.

The Finnish National Peace Committee has taken a number of steps to stimulate the campaign.

Gold and silver badges will be awarded to the best signature-collectors representing, in the form of a dove, the traditional Finnish emblem of friendship.

The badges will bear the wording 'Helsinki 1955'. Each recipient will be able to send the badge with his greetings to the country of his choice where it will be given to one of the delegates to the World Assembly.

The Peace Committees and collectors are making a great drive for signatures and are organising meetings to make known and popularise the Assembly and its aims. The National Peace Committee is convinced that every delegate coming to the Assembly will have received a badge, the symbol of the Finnish people's work for peace.

PUBLIC FIGURES EXPRESS THEIR SUPPORT

Mr. Deryck Siven, Vice-President of the Finnish Pacifist Union and a member of the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Finland:

'Worried by the imminent danger of war and the increase in armaments, the people, irrespective of nationality, religious faith and political views, are supporting in growing numbers the demands of the World Council of Peace for the banning of modern weapons of mass destruction, which threaten alike capitalists and communists, Christians, pagans, black, brown and white men. It is the duty of all of us to state our position in face of the great world problems, the settlement of which is the decisive condition for the preservation of civilisation and the human race itself. Christians, those who follow the Prince of Peace, believing that Love alone can conquer Evil, have a particular responsibility. If the Christians of the world take their doctrine seriously, they must feel themselves called upon to take an active part in the international work for peace and they must give an enthusiastic welcome to the World Assembly for Peace which will be held in Helsinki in May.

'May the Assembly lead growing numbers of Finnish men and women to see the necessity of working for peace and may it be successful in giving clear and powerful expression to the nations' will to peace, so that responsible states will be obliged to reject the policy of strength which sooner or later leads to war and strive to achieve an international state of justice, the millenium foretold by the founders of religions and for which the noblest souls have worked.'

*

Professor Goran von Bonsdorff of Helsinki University:

'The World Assembly for Peace is to be held in Helsinki, in a country which has known great suffering in war. The Finnish people are therefore anxious to do all they can now to safeguard peace. It is in our vital interest to contribute to the lessening of East-West tension and to strengthen understanding and mutual respect between States with different political and social systems. If the World Assembly for Peace gives positive results in this sense, I can assure you that Finland will give it its full support and deep gratitude.'

*

Reverend Armas Tolsa, Director of the Settlement Institute of Kalliola, Helsinki:

'To avert the danger of atomic war, we must call on all men of good sense irrespective of race, nationality, social position and creed, for we are all threatened. The statesmen who decide war and peace have an enormous responsibility and we have to make them understand that they have no right to use their power for the destruction of life.

'Thus the World Assembly for Peace to be held in Helsinki in May has two important tasks. It must call upon and rally the peoples to the cause of peace, regardless of frontiers. There are still far too many sceptical and prejudiced people. We have to make people understand that work for peace is not party politics and that the demand for the banning of atomic weapons is not turned only in one direction: it concerns all peoples alike. The other task is to make the voice of millions of peace-loving people heard by the leading statesmen in such a way that they cannot neglect it.'

PASSPORT FORMALITIES FOR FINLAND

Delegates from the following countries do not need visas to enter Finland:

Algeria	Greece	Monaco
Austria	Holland	Saar Territory
Belgium	Iceland	San Marino
France	Italy	Switzerland
German Fed. Rep.	Liechtenstein	Tunisia
Great Britain	Luxemburg	Turkey

● Delegates from Denmark, Norway and Sweden need neither passports nor visas.

● The amount of Finnish currency which can be taken in to the country is 20,000 Finnish marks.

● There is no limit on the amount of foreign currency or travellers' cheques which can be taken into Finland.

Reproduction authorised. Please acknowledge source.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

BULLETIN OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

INFORMATION BULLETIN PUBLISHED BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

No. 8 (2nd. Year) APRIL 15, 1955

All peace forces for Helsinki

Reports from every part of the world show how warmly the decision to convoke a World Assembly for Peace at Helsinki, May 22-29, has been welcomed and how wide is the basis for its preparation.

Without doubt the campaign against the preparation of atomic war has played and is playing the principal part in this. During the collection of signatures, and in the course of thousands of discussions in trade union organisations, political parties, religious circles, social organisations, which are leading to a growing flood of declarations, appeals, delegations to M.Ps., and similar actions, it has become clear that there is a new feeling among the peoples. It is not only that ever wider circles welcome the campaign because they feel a new need to act before it is too late. They are feeling also more and more strongly the need for more effective ways of acting together, the need to break down the barrier between those who work for peace from different points of view.

For this reason national peace movements have been linking their preparations for the World Assembly closely with the campaigns in progress. That is to say they are not only popularising the Assembly in the course of the campaigns; they are also finding ways to link the signature collections and all the other forms of activity with the election of delegates, with discussions of proposals for the agenda, with messages of support for the Assembly and so on.

Moreover since the Appeal for the World Assembly was first launched new possibilities have become clear. The decision to organise atomic war and the rapid steps which have been taken to put this decision into effect — in particular the special emphasis which is now being placed on the hydrogen bomb as the all-powerful 'deterrent' for aggression — has started a deep process of rethinking and has begun to break down the hesitations of many people who up to now have not thought it right to get 'mixed up in politics'. This applies particularly to many of the world's most eminent scientists and doctors, among them, for example, a number of important atomic scientists in the U.S.A., who are warning peoples and governments of the terrible consequences of present policies.

While many members of all churches and religious bodies have long played their part in the struggle for peace, today there are significant new developments. In important circles of the Christian Churches, both Catholic and Protestant, for example, grave disquiet is now showing itself and searching discussion on the moral implications of the decision to use the Hydrogen bomb are going on. Eminent international lawyers, too, are challenging the legality of the use and production of such weapons.

These developments are of great significance in the world struggle against atomic war. It is particularly important that all these trends should find their full expression at Helsinki. The discussions at the World Assembly will help to resolve many of the doubts and difficulties being felt in these wide circles. At the same time it will be possible by joint study to reach a common understanding on positive lines of action for the future.

In many countries account is already being taken of this in preparing for the Assembly. In a number of countries, for example, big national assemblies, prepared by regional and local gatherings, are being held. In others national participation is being jointly prepared by the peace movement and by the representatives of other organisations.

A big factor in helping to ensure that the Assembly is truly representative of all these forces can be the draft agenda issued by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace: atomic weapons and disarmament; military blocs, general security, collaboration between the nations; independence of nations and the maintenance of peace. This agenda presents in three broad groups the main problems facing thinking people today, without prejudging the solutions. In detailed discussions of the many subdivisions of these problems all, on the basis of their own point of view and of their special interests, will be able to make a valuable and constructive contribution.

Already it is possible to say that the World Assembly will be exceptionally important and representative. Between now and May 22 it is the job of the Peace Movement to ensure the participation from every country of every force which is engaged, in such richness and variety, in the struggle for Peace.

IN THIS ISSUE

*

Page

- From all sides, new voices speak out 2
- Two major countries start the collection of signatures against atomic weapons 3
- News from Finland, Italy and Bulgaria 4
- The Turkey-Iraq Pact confronts the peoples of the Middle East with the atomic danger 5
- Questions and answers ..... 6 & 7
- Asian peoples determined to consolidate friendship and extend peace zone: Meeting in Tokyo. — The campaign in India — The programme of the Viet Nam Movement. The first signatures in Chile 8
- Women, young people and peasants in Germany continue the struggle against the London and Paris Agreements. Appeal for a European Workers' Conference. 9
- Statement by the great actress Rosaura Revueltas. Chaplin Peace Fund Competitions in Austria. The anniversaries of Schiller and Andersen..... 10
- Proposal by the American painter, Anton Refregier 11
- London sees panels condemning atomic war. Paul Robeson invited to Great Britain. The signature campaign in Argentine 12

From All Sides New Voices Speak Out...

• A Group of Teachers and Doctors in Buenos Aires

An important group of Buenos Aires doctors have declared their support for the banning of thermonuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

They include the following:

Dr. Gregorio Araoz Alfaro, Former President of the Academy of Medicine, founder and former director of the Institute of Semiology; Dr. Alejandro Ceballos, former professor at the Surgical Clinic and former adviser to the Medical Science Faculty; Dr. Nicolas Romano, academician and former professor at the Medical Clinic; Dr. Osvaldo Loudet, President of the Society of Criminology and Legal Medicine; Dr. Alfredo Ferrer Zanchi, M.P.; Dr. Manuel Oribe, President of the Psychiatric, Neurological and Neuropsychiatric Society; Dr. Moses Polak, Head of the Anti-Cancer Centre of Avellaneda; Dr. Juan Carlos Christensen, head of the neuro-surgical department at the French hospital; Dr. Oscar Alende, M.P.; Dr. Pedro Diaz Colodrero, Head of the Phrenopathology Institute; Dr. Lidio Mosca, member of the International Radiology Society; and Dr. Hector Villar, Head of the Psychiatric Department of the French Hospital.

These eminent medical figures have approved the statement sent to UNO by the Rosario doctors. *(See previous numbers of the Bulletin.)*

This statement says in part:

'We are living at an exceptional time. As doctors, trained in the spirit of humanism, we are obliged to recognise our moral responsibility.

'Expressing the agony of mind which is felt by all the peoples and aware of the great peril facing mankind, we have decided to send this message to UNO to ask them to ban absolutely every kind of atomic, hydrogen and radioactive weapon and all other weapons of mass destruction, and we invite all individuals and organisations to do likewise.'

• The Christian Democrat Mayor of Florence Calls a Conference of Mayors of Capital Cities

Mr. La Pira, the Christian Democrat Mayor of Florence and former Italian government minister, has recently decided to call a conference of the Mayors of all the European capitals in the near future in order to discuss the problems of disarmament and peace. This news was made public at a meeting of the Municipal Council. The representatives of the Council's different political groups immediately gave it their support and the announcement aroused very considerable interest.

• French Socialist Party Opposes the Manufacture of A and H bombs

In a communique, the Parliamentary group and the Executive Committee of the French Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.) state that they 'will oppose any efforts to impose the manufacture of atomic or thermonuclear bombs in France. They ask the French government, without waiting for the necessary agreements on disarmament, to take the diplomatic steps for reaching an international agreement for the immediate banning of all thermonuclear explosions.'

• Ministers of the Australian Methodist Church

As we have already announced, 119 of the ministers present at the Conference of Methodist Churches which was held in Melbourne at the beginning of March signed the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war. Resolutions were moreover adopted by the Conference calling for a lessening of international tension:

'We express our satisfaction at the end of the fighting in Indo-China but realise that the danger of conflict in Asia is still acute... We earnestly request our government to explore every possible means of peaceful co-existence... We believe that S.E.A.T.O. is likely to increase rather than decrease tension in Asia...'

Considering the difficulties which several Australian defenders of peace have had in obtaining passports, the Conference, in another resolution, drew the attention of the Federal Government to 'Article I, Section 2, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, viz., "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country". We urge upon the government the honouring of this clause.'

The Conference also went on record against the publication in the press of advertisements calling for war and propagating racial prejudice detrimental to the consolidation of world peace.

The President of the Swedish Trade Unions

Mr. Axel Strand, President of the Swedish T.U.C. and Social Democratic Vice-Chairman of Parliament, has stated that he endorses the demand to destroy all stocks of atomic weapons and stop their manufacture.

'From a human point of view, it would be a good thing to achieve this. When one knows the horrible consequences which can result from the use of these weapons, one can reach no other conclusion.'

The Swedish T.U.C. includes almost all Sweden's workers.

Cardinal Gelier, Archbishop of Lyons

Addressing a meeting at Lyons, Cardinal Gerlier, Archbishop of Lyons, evoked the threat represented by the atomic bomb and concluded: 'Let all men, let all Christians, agree to oppose such a thing and work to create that unity of public opinion throughout the world which alone can bring about the unity of all the leaders of the peoples against war and against the use of a means of destruction which would dishonour mankind.'

General Jose Rafael Gabaldon

well-known Venezulan Roman Catholic and President of the National Committee for Peace and Democracy.

In an article published by a Venezuelan newspaper, General Jose Rafael Gabaldon issued a warning against the serious dangers implied in the statements of the American Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles, concerning the use of the hydrogen bomb against China. This would provoke an unparalleled tragedy over Formosa, he said, and went on to point out the responsibility of the peoples of Latin America:

'As an ardent defender of Latin America, it is my opinion that we should not sign solidarity pacts with the United States and that we must proclaim our America a "peace zone" so as to free ourselves from those who would drag us into shady wars, such as that in Korea, and to escape from their interference and domination. What happened in Guatamala is the most recent example of this interference. What can we have in common with those who wish us no good and in fact do us all the harm they can?...

'I do not want us to be enemies of the United States; what I want is that we should not support them in undertakings which risk involving the world in total war...'

YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST ATOMIC WAR

Throughout the world young people are playing their part in the campaign against atomic war, linking this work to the preparations for the Fifth World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship which will be held in Warsaw, July 31—August 15.

In order to stimulate the signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal, the young people of Vienna have challenged the young people of Stockholm; likewise the whole of Austria is competing with the whole of Sweden.

Two young Japanese plan to tour Europe to help the campaign; one is from Hiroshima and the other from Nagasaki.

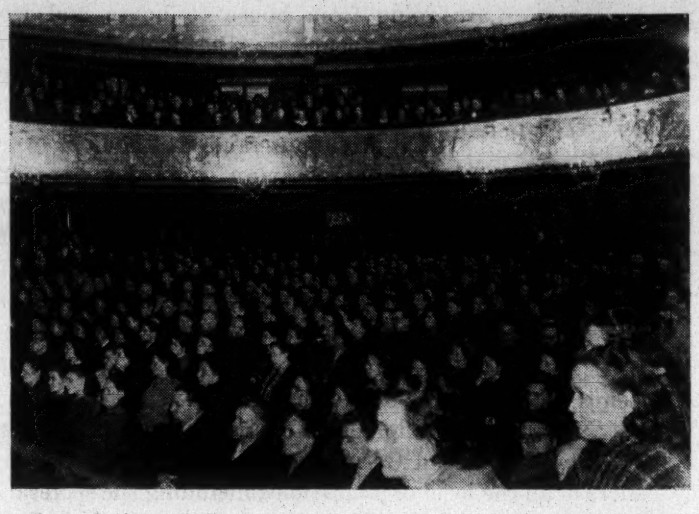
Young Austrians have already collected 15,800 signatures in factories, training centres, schools, etc. In a village of 251 inhabitants, two youngsters collected 248 signatures.

In Japan young people are using films, poems and songs to help the campaign.

The activities in connection with World Youth Week (March 21—28) gave a new stimulus to the struggle for peace.

In all their activities, the young people are using the most varied methods: collecting signatures in the streets, at stadiums, etc.; organising excursions, processions of cyclists, etc.

With the First Days of April the Signature Campaign Begins in Two Major Countries



General view of the hall during the session of the Latvian Peace Committee in Riga.

SOVIET UNION

The collection of signatures to the Vienna Appeal against the preparations for atomic war began throughout the Soviet Union on April 1st. The campaign is being organised in the following way:

Committees for the collection of signatures have been set up in every town and district of the country. On the morning of the 1st peace workers began to collect signatures door-to-door, and meetings of various kinds are being or will be held in the factories and the collective and state farms.

Signatures will be collected in trains, in the far away villages, in the towns which have recently sprung up on the newly ploughed lands, in the sanatoria, in the rest homes and hospitals, in the schools and universities, in the Soviet embassies abroad — in fact everywhere where there are Soviet people.

All Soviet citizens over the age of sixteen can sign the Appeal.

Meetings at which the participants signed the Appeal have been held in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Vladivostock, and in Siberia, Central Asia and elsewhere.

The launching of the campaign was preceded by a great deal of publicity and organisational work, and in order to prepare it carefully extended meetings of regional and local peace committees were held in many parts of the country at the end of March.

The Ukrainian Peace Committee met in Kiev and its President, Mr. Semenenko, vice-president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, gave a report on the campaign. A delegation was elected to represent the Ukraine at the Fifth Soviet Peace Conference.

A plenary session of the Stalingrad Regional Committee was held in that city. The participants unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the people of the region to make a still greater effort on behalf of peace.

A delegation to the Fifth Soviet Peace Conference was elected.

An extended session of the Latvian Peace Committee heard a report by Professor Peive, President of the Latvian Academy of Sciences. A unanimously adopted resolution expressed the Committee's conviction that every Latvian worker will sign the Vienna Appeal.

Solemn sessions of the Peace Committees were also held in the Republics of Byelorussia, Kirghizia, Tadjikistan and Lithuania.

FRANCE

'The National Assembly for Peace solemnly invites all Frenchmen to sign the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war issued by the World Council of Peace, and to get others to sign it.

'Let the greatest signature campaign that our country has ever known begin today throughout France.

'By giving a striking demonstration of France's will for peace, we shall save our country from war, help it to regain its independence and help to make negotiation and disarmament possible.'

These are the concluding words of an important appeal to the French people made by the National Assembly for Peace in Drancy on April 3rd.

So the campaign for the Vienna Appeal will begin immediately.

The decisions of the Assembly are contained in three texts which express the French people's determination to pursue their action against German rearmament until victory while beginning the collection of signatures against the preparations for atomic war.

The Assembly also adopted another document on organisational questions and elected a new National Peace Council whose 520 members widely represent the various tendencies and organisations working for peace.

Progress in Uniting those who Work for Peace

In order to realise the progress that has been made in uniting all who work for peace in France one need only look at the list of speakers in the public sessions or the commissions during these two days.

Here are a few names by way of example. The writer Vercors presided the opening session and paid warm homage to the memory of Yves Farge and Professor Leon Wagner of the Sorbonne presented the introductory report. Then there were Mr. Philippon, deputy mayor of Perigueux; Mr. Bellugue, Socialist mayor of a locality in the Drome Department; Mr. Deville, vice-president of the Meurthe-et-Moselle district committee of the Radical Socialist Party; Mr. Laurent Casanova, member of the Presiding Committee of the French Peace Movement; Mr. Sutty, former Socialist county councillor for the Rhone Department; Mr. Jacques Chatagner, an active Catholic, formerly director of the review *La Quinzaine;* Mr. Roger Pigault, the film actor, representing the Actor's Committee for Peace; Mrs. Marcelle Auclair representing the National Committee of Writers; Mr. Joussa of the Jewish Action Committee against German rearmament; Mrs. Georges Huisman, who spoke on behalf of the World Congres of Mothers; Mr. Cerf-Ferriere, former chairman of the Resistance group in the Consultative Assembly (provisional parliament in France immediately after the liberation Ed.); and Mr. Dupleix, member of the Secretariat of the Preparatory Committee for the European Workers' Conference in Leipzig.

Messages from All over the World

Delegates from Great Britain, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Algeria and Switzerland brought greetings to the Assembly and Professor Nobuo Kusano of Japan, a specialist in atomic disease, also spoke.

Messages were received from Canada, Poland, the Soviet Union and other countries.

Speech by Professor Joliot-Curie

On the Sunday afternoon, Professor Joliot-Curie, President of the World Council of Peace, spoke on the great campaign for the banning of atomic weapons.

Mr. Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie, one of the presidents of the Movement, closed the Assembly by presenting the final Appeal which gives the reasons why a big French delegation should go to the World Assembly in Helsinki.

Finland:

The Campaign Goes on while the World Assembly is Being Prepared

Next month Helsinki will be the rendezvous of the representatives of all forces for peace in the world . . . The Finnish Peace Movement considers that this honour confers great obligations on its members and they propose to present an imposing list of activities at the World Assembly which will take place in their capital.

Considerable Results already Achieved

Before the collection of signatures started, the aims of the campaign were popularised in posters and leaflets with the result that it received a favourable welcome.

Many collectors have already collected hundreds of signatures and in a number of factories the personnel have signed 100 per cent. The young people in particular have won excellent results by linking their efforts with the preparations for the World Festival of Youth and Students which will be held in Warsaw.

The women's organisations have already achieved appreciable results. An example was set to all Finnish women by the Executive Committee of the Finnish section of the Women's International Democratic Federation, with the President, General Secretary and several members of parliament at their head. They were seen discussing and getting signatures in the street, in restaurants, bus and railway stations on International Women's Day.

Building Workers

The Vienna Appeal has been endorsed at three hundred meetings of building workers and Mr. Aarne Saarinen, president of the Building Workers' Union, has stated in a declaration the reasons for his union's support of the Appeal:

'Finnish workers,' said Mr. Saarinen, 'have the same reasons as the workers of other countries for demanding the banning of atomic weapons.

'It is really terrible to think that at the very moment when the International Labour Office announces that approximately two thirds of mankind are undernourished and that there are at least 180 million too few houses in the world, the N.A.T.O. Secretariat proclaims that the 13 member countries of this organisations spent more than 65 thousand million dollars on war preparations in 1953. With that we could construct seven-and-a-half million very comfortable flats of 50 square metres floor area.

'This situation cannot and must not continue any longer. We must change this whole policy. And that is only possible with the help of the mass of the people who will throw their strength into the active struggle for the peaceful use of atomic energy and for the reduction of armaments.'

Organisational Steps

The Annual Conference of the Movement, which was held on February 27, dealt mainly with the organisational problems involved in the campaign. It recommended various steps to extend the signature collection to the furthest corners of the country.

The work of collecting signatures is accompanied by various forms of publicity, and the World Assembly is being popularised through meetings at which the activities of the Movement as a whole are being advanced.

Bulgaria:

Many Organisations Take Part in the Collection of Signatures

The Bulgarian Peace Committee and the National Council of the Fatherland Front solemnly inaugurated the campaign at a great Assembly in Sofia on February 21.

The assembly was opened by a speech from Professor Nadjakov, Academician, president of the National Peace Committee. The speakers included representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions, the Orthodox Church, the Union of Youth, the Bulgarian Women's Committee, the Bulgarian Writers' Union, the Academy of Sciences and many other organisations. They all gave warm support to the Appeal of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace.

At the end of the meeting the participants enthusiastically signed the Appeal.

In the following days the mass organisations asked their members to support the Appeal.

At a special meeting, the Professors and students of the Sofia Law Faculty adopted an appeal to all professors, students and legal workers to support the Appeal.

Eminent personalities of the Orthodox Church made statements in the press calling on all members of the Church to join in the campaign, while the Grand Mufti and the Chief Rabbi also endorsed the decisions of the World Council and sent a message to their respective followers.

The campaign is in full swing in all the towns and in a great number of villages, and also in the factories of national importance and the great state enterprises and establishments.

Meetings and conferences are held after which special committees collect signatures in the factories and localities.

Italy:

Unity Forged by Friends of Peace

A leaflet published by the Peace Committee of Forli in Central Italy

From one end of Italy to the other collectors are going from house to house and from bench to bench in the factories, getting their neighbours and workmates to sign the Vienna Appeal.

Their strenuous and methodical work, aided by the many publicity measures described in the last issue of the Bulletin, is bearing fruit. The people of Italy are enthusiastically expressing their determination to see atomic weapons banned by signing the Appeal.

In many cases a wide unity of forces for peace is being achieved on the basis of agreement on the aims of the Vienna Appeal. For example, at Nonantola in Emilia a manifesto against atomic war and German rearmament has been signed by the leaders of all the local organisations, including the secretaries of the local branches of the Christian Democratic and Social Democratic parties. At Savignano in the same province the secretary of the local branch of the Christian Democratic Party is taking part in the collecting of signatures. Priests have signed the Appeal at Villanova, San Pancrazio, Ruttinara, San Damaso and Gambola.

This breadth of support is being realised in various ways. At Pieve de Sinalunga in the province of Siena all the workers of the Nello Quinti factory have signed including the owner, while at Rigaiolo, Poggialli and Crocifisso the whole population has endorsed and signed the Vienna Appeal.

Growing numbers of municipal and provincial councils are giving active support to this campaign.

At a meeting of the town council of Viareggio, a little town on the Tyrrhenian Sea, 16 Christian Democratic councillors, eight of the Left wing minority and two Republicans presented a joint motion against the atomic weapon. It was unanimously adopted and distributed to the people, who were asked to take part in the campaign for the destruction and banning of atomic weapons.

In the province of Turin the Grugliasso town council took a similar step. It first of all passed a resolution demanding the outlawing of atomic and thermonuclear weapons and an agreement between the great powers. A letter was then sent to all the inhabitants in which the council recalls that the Nazis massacred 66 people in the region and states:

'We are in full agreement with the Appeal issued by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, the most representative body of the forces for peace. We hope that the wrath of the people against those who want to hurl the world into the most terrible catastrophe will be reflected in millions and millions of signatures.'

These are only a few of the hundreds of examples offered by a campaign in which the great majority of the Italian people are endorsing the Appeal launched in Vienna.

Turkey-Iraq Pact Confronts Peoples of Middle East with Atomic Danger

From Teheran to Cairo there are mounting waves of protest against the ratification or implementation of the Turkey-Iraq military pact which threatens the security of the peoples of the Near and Middle East and constitutes a danger to world peace.

As a result of popular opposition, some governments have been led to state official opposition to this pact, following which foreign pressure on them has increased considerably. Diplomatic notes have been sent with the idea of intimidating them; and at the same time the Turkish press has started to make territorial demands at Syria's expense, particularly the Mossoul oil-fields, and against other Arab countries.

The atmosphere of tension, resulting from the intervention of certain governments with the aim of involving the countries of this region in military coalitions, disturbs the peoples still more when one of the initiators of such a pact in the Near and Middle East, Turkey, is already committed to N.A.T.O. and its army has long been equipped with atomic weapons.

In struggling against the Turkey-Iraq Pact, the peoples of the Near and Middle East are thus acting not only against war but also against war in its most monstrous form — atomic war. This is expressed in the warm welcome these peoples are giving to the campaign against the preparations for atomic war, launched by the World Council of Peace.

Common Action Against A Common Danger

At a time when the Syrian people see themselves especially threatened by the Turkey-Iraq Pact, a great rally at Damascus brought together political figures from several Middle Eastern countries to study the means of dealing with this pact, to consolidate the bonds of solidarity between the peoples of this region and to safeguard peace.

Responding to the Appeal for a Middle East Conference, members of parliament, leaders of political parties and mass organisations, religious leaders and journalists, lawyers, doctors and others met in the Syrian capital on April 1. This Appeal, which was distributed to individuals and newspapers in Syria, the Lebanon, Egypt and Jordan, states in particular:

'The gravity of the international situation faces the countries of this region with common dangers and difficulties, the most dangerous aspect of which are the efforts to impose pacts and charters on them.'

'In this situation, we believe that it is necessary for the statesmen, scientists and men of culture of all these countries to meet to discuss the common interests of their peoples, exchange views on this subject and strengthen the links between them.'

Among the signatories of this Appeal are the following:

Syria: Dr. Maaruf Dawalibi, M.P., former chairman of the House and former Prime Minister; Dr. Mustafa Libai, Leader of the Moslem Brotherhood and Dean of the Faculty of Religious Sciences; Ali Buzu, M.P., former minister.

Lebanon: Mr. Kamal Jumblat, President of the Progressive Socialist Party; Mr. Harsan Buhssuli, Vice-President of the National Association (a political party); Mr. Adnan Hakim, President of the Moslem Scouts (a political organisation); Mr. Antoine Tabet, member of the World Council of Peace.

Jordan: Mr. Abdel Kader Saleh, M.P., Mr. Mohmud Rashed Nazem, M.P.; Mr. Amar Katib, barrister, former minister, member of the Executive Committee of the National Democratic Party and others.

In the Syrian University and Parliament

Forty members of Parliament, including Mr. Rushdi Kikhia, President of the People's Party, former Chairman of the Lower House and Chairman of the Constituent Assembly; Mr. Rafik Bashur, Vice-Chairman of the Lower House; the Moslem Parliamentary group, members of the Socialist Party, the Arab Renaissance Party, etc., have signed the Vienna Appeal.

The text of the Appeal is circulating in the homes, localities, factories and schools in every town and village. 80% of the lecturers and students of the Damascus Polytechnic have signed, while fifteen newspaper directors and many barristers and doctors have joined in the campaign.

On all sides the signing of the Appeal is accompanied by statements against the Turkey-Iraq Pact.

A Statement by the Djamistel Vlama (Association of Priests)

Signed by its President, Sheikh Abukheir Al Midani, the Association of Priests has published a statement condemning atomic weapons and the Turkey-Iraq Pact. This body is the most important religious organisation in Syria.

300 Trade Unions Announce their Support

The Syrian Workers' Congress, representing 300 trade unions, met on March 25 in the great amphitheatre of Damascus University. They decided unanimously to continue ever more energetically the struggle for peace and against military pacts such as the Turkey-Iraq Pact. The Congress made a unanimous demand for the banning of atomic weapons and the hydrogen bomb.

The High Modjtahed of the Lebanon

The signature campaign is developing in the Lebanon amongst all sections of the people. Two M.P.s, 65 barristers and 300 business people have signed the Appeal. The High Modjtahed (religious leader) of the Lebanon, Hossein Shareffeddin, has given his support to the campaign against the preparations for atomic war and has signed the Vienna Appeal.

A Statement By the Egyptian Peace Comittee

The attempts to involve the Arab countries as well as the other countries of the Near and Middle East in military alliances are meeting with strong popular opposition in Egypt. On several occasions the government has declared its hostility to such alliances which divide the nations and aggravate tension in the world.

In response to the demand of the Egyptian people, the Peace Committee made an important statement at its recent meeting, as follows:

'The National Committee welcomes the attitude of the peoples of the Near and Middle East to the Turkey-Iraq Pact. The Committee is sure that the vigilance of the peoples is a guarantee that they will fight against any attempt to create pacts, blocs and military bases in the countries of this region.'

The Committee especially stresses the joint Nehru-Abdel Nasser statement which says in particular: 'It is a great duty to exert every effort to ban war and create an atmosphere of world peace. International differences must be settled by negotiation. Military blocs aggravate international tension. The armaments race is no guarantee of peace for any country. Atomic energy must be used for peace and above all for the advancement of the underdeveloped areas.'

While giving its support to this joint statement, the Committee asks the Egyptian Government to recognise the People's Republic of China and to oppose intervention by foreign forces in her territorial waters. The Committee condemns the preparations for atomic war and calls for the destruction of existing stocks of atomic weapons.

In Jordan 74 well-known People launch the Appeal

A statement by 74 M.P.s, religious leaders, barristers, doctors and others has been published calling on the people of Jordan to sign the Vienna Appeal against the preparations for atomic war.

The campaign is making good headway.

ALL POLITICAL TRENDS IN LEBANON CONDEMN FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

A National Congress against the Turkey-Iraq Pact was held in Beirut on March 10 with the participation of all the political and social organisations of the Lebanon.

The following organisations were represented: the Progressive Socialist Party, the Arab Nationalists, the Destour (Constitutional) Party, the Moslem Scouts, the Communist Party, the National Group Party, the Arab Renaissance Party, the National Peace Committee, the Society of Lebanese Industrialists, the Lebanese Women's League, the trade unions and the students.

In addition, others of the 150 delegates present were individuals without party affiliations.

The theme of the meeting was one of the most important problems at present facing the peoples of the Near and Middle East — the Turkey-Iraq Pact.

Among the important decisions unanimously adopted by the Congress were the following:

- To support the Charter of the First Lebanese National Congress (1943), dealing with the Lebanon's task in the struggle to safeguard the independence and solidarity of the Arab countries.
- To ask the Lebanese government to state frankly that it will not join in the Turkey-Iraq Pact or any other foreign military pact, this in order to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of the Lebanon and to save it from further foreign occupation.

A Noble Task

Every day and in every part of the world, hundreds of thousands of men and women are showing by their acts their ardent support of the cause of peace.

In Tokio and Paris, in Buenos Aires and Sydney, in Cape Town and Peking, in the ricefields of Viet Nam and the forests of Canada, in the villages of Scandinavia and the countryside of Latin America, from door to door, on the street corners, men and women of all conditions and opinions are collecting signatures for the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war launched by the World Council of Peace.

In certain parts of the world the preparations for atomic war are being accompanied by systematic efforts to sow confusion and disseminate falsehoods or to create an atmosphere of suspicion and fatalism favourable to this end. The signature collector knows that, as a result, he has a preliminary task to do before he can collect an appreciable number of signatures — namely to explain the situation, showing clearly and simply the seriousness of the threat which faces mankind and how it is possible for the peoples to avert this danger if they express unanimously and categorically their indignant opposition to the crime which is being prepared.

But however misleading may be the arguments which are used to try and justify the preparation of a war which would know no frontiers and which would entail infinite destruction, each and every one of them can be refuted. One only has to make an objective analysis of them to see immediately that they are specious, contradictory and feeble. Signature collectors must therefore be ready to answer any questions in such a way as to remove all doubts and expose all falsehoods.

Conditions must be created that will enable signature collectors to make direct contact with the whole population of their neighbourhood, their village or their factory. It is essential for every single man and woman to hear an explanation of the reasons which prompted the World Council of Peace to launch the Vienna Appeal.

The signature collector knows that his most effective weapon is persuasion. He knows, too, that a first refusal perhaps only means that his explanations have not been clear enough. By persevering in explanation and discussion the truth will win in the end.

The mission of the signature collectors is great and noble in that it gives the peoples an opportunity to express their will to live without the permanent danger of suffering, poverty and death. The questions and answers we give here have been compiled with the aim of making their task easier.

1 Why does the World Council of Peace state: 'Today, certain governments are preparing to let loose atomic war?'

On December 17 and 18, 1954, the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation met in Paris and approved a report presented by its military staff. This report plans the use of atomic weapons in the event of war. By adopting it, the N.A.T.O. Council authorised the general staffs to take all the necessary military measures — e.g. equipment of armies, training, etc. — to prepare for atomic war.

The N.A.T.O. Council is composed of members of the governments of the following countries: the United States, Great Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal, Greece and Turkey. No minister can take such an important decision without his government's approval. This means that these governments have officially decided to prepare for atomic war.

These preparations, accompanied by open threats to use force, are leading to an atomic war.

Questions a

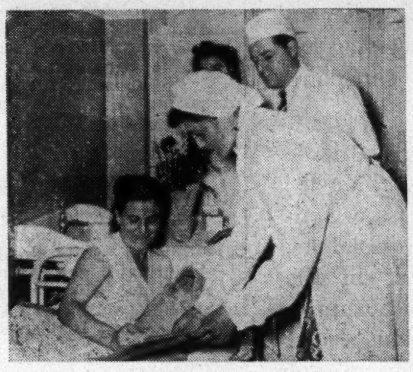
2 What would an atomic war mean?

Up till now there has been no war waged with atomic weapons on both sides. It is therefore difficult to foresee the full effects of an atomic conflict.

However, in August 1945 two atomic bombs were dropped, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Since that time, new atomic weapons have been developed. Japanese fishermen ninety miles away from the Bikini test explosion on March 1st, 1954, were gravely injured by the radioactive effects of the H bomb. One has since died.

During the Second World War Great Britain was the target for hundreds of air raids; the hundreds of thousands of bombs dropped day and night throughout these years caused enormous damage and killed 70,000 people.

One single atomic bomb on Hiroshima practically wiped out the city and annihilated 200,000 human beings at one blow. Today, responsible scientists tell us, the H bomb can cause destruction 1,000 to 2,000 times greater that that of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. It can destroy everything without exception in a circle twelve to twenty miles across, and cause death in a circle 120 miles across.



This means that, in an atomic war, whole peoples could be wiped out indiscriminately, cities levelled to the ground and small countries transformed into radioactive deserts. An atomic war would be a war of extermination.

That is why the decision to prepare for atomic war is extremely grave. It demands immediate action from all peoples.

3 Does the danger of atomic war threaten all countries?

The N.A.T.O. Council's decision to use atomic weapons sets up a general principle. Thus the danger which it gives rise to is general, not confined to any one area.

It hangs over Europe. Any war there would be likely to become a world war; this would be an atomic war. The full force of the danger becomes clear when this N.A.T.O. decision is set alongside the attempts to rearm Germany, that is, to set up a new Wehrmacht in which former Hitler generals would be armed with atomic weapons.

But it goes far, very far, beyond Europe. Some governments in the Atlantic Pact at the same time belong to other military pacts, particularly in the countries of Asia and the Pacific. They maintain armed forces and many military bases there. So the principle of atomic war which they have adopted applies just as much to other parts of the world. The very real threats to use atomic weapons in the Far East confirm this.

The countries of Latin America and Africa possess the raw materials needed for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. There are military bases and dumps on their territories. They could thus be plunged into the midst of an atomic war against their will.

The atomic threat can also be used to bring greater blackmail and pressure to bear on countries struggling to win or defend their independence.

Not even the neutral countries could escape the danger from the widespread destructive effects of atomic weapons.

s and Answers

ons on both
an atomic

d, on Hiro-
have been
Bikini test
radioactive

target for
ropped day
and killed

ut the city
responsible
2,000 times
an destroy
iles across,
le 120 miles

an atomic
l be wiped
ies levelled
l countries
radioactive
war would
tion.

ion to pre-
extremely
liate action

aten all

sets up a
eneral, not

become a
the danger
attempts
ich former

nts in the
cts, parti-
ain armed
tomic war
rts of the
Far East

materials
military
nged into

mail and
heir inde-

from the

4 Is the World Council's campaign biassed against certain governments?

The World Council works for peace. It does not defend or attack any particular government. Its principle is: non-interference in the internal affairs of countries.

But in working for peace it cannot be indifferent to any acts which raise the fundamental questions of peace or war. Its duty is to support any moves for peace, whatever government proposes them, and to oppose any actions likely to lead to war.

The present campaign has been launched to meet a very real danger which arises from the official plans of certain governments to prepare atomic war. The World Council calls on the peoples to oppose such plans and preparations irrespective of what government or system they may prefer.

Clearly, so long as atomic weapons exist, there will be a danger of atomic war. The World Council therefore says: destroy all stocks of atomic weapons and stop their manufacture. This applies, without distinction, to every country which has got them.

5 Does not both sides having atomic weapons guarantee that they won't be used?

The idea behind this question is this: Atomic attack means atomic retaliation; anyone using atomic weapons therefore invites destruction; no one would be mad enough to do so.

It is true that atomic weapons have enormous destructive power. But this very fact is an encouragement to aggression, not an obstacle. For an aggressor might think that by striking first he could gain a decisive advantage.

Modern history shows that, like Hitler, all adventurers have struck the first blow because they thought themselves the stronger — and also that they got involved in war and catastrophe on a scale that they had never expected. In the atomic age, such calculations can have even more disastrous results.

The idea that a huge stockpile of atomic weapons would guarantee security is also unfounded. Arms races have always led to war; the atomic arms race can only lead to a war of extermination. Once more the peoples would be the victims.

6 Why does the World Council demand particularly the abolition of atomic weapons?

Because atomic weapons are the most dangerous, and threaten the greatest number of people. An aggressor always uses the weapons that can do the most damage. Today this means atomic weapons, so the threat to use them is the main danger.

At the same time as calling for banning atomic weapons, the World Council has always supported disarmament. It has made specific proposals to this effect to the United Nations Organisation. It still maintains these proposals and has called on the people to support them.

Today, the banning of atomic weapons is an essential condition for reducing international tension and would be a decisive step towards general disarmament. It would make possible the full use of the vast power of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and human happiness.

7 Shouldn't banning war be the first step?

The World Council wants the elimination of war as a means of settling international differences. It is profoundly convinced that all differences between nations can be settled by peaceful means: that is what it exists for.

For this reason the World Council has always based its action on practical proposals to prevent recourse to war. The campaigns to end the wars in Korea and Indo-China and for the great powers to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations are examples of this.

So is the present campaign to abolish atomic weapons. It seeks to eliminate the gravest and most immediate danger, that of a war of extermination.

One can have different views on the best way of making war impossible; but no one can be unaware of the need, first of all and before it is too late, to prevent atomic war.

8 Can the use of atomic weapons be prevented?

There are precedents to show that it is possible to ban particular weapons. In the Geneva Convention of 1925, for example, the powers pledged themselves not to use poison gas. This was respected during the Second World War; none of the belligerents dared face the outburst of anger that would certainly have been provoked by the use of gas.

An agreement now to abolish atomic weapons would carry an even more powerful sanction, for it would be backed by the clearly expressed will of the people.

The successes already obtained by the growing pressure of public opinion show that such an agreement is possible.

The strength of opinion expressed through the Stockholm Appeal put a stop to threats to use atomic weapons in Korea.

The signature campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact established the idea of negotiations in the minds of the people: it led to the Berlin and Geneva meetings of the great powers to discuss the peaceful settlement of their differences. Public opinion was respected. The wars in Korea and Indo-China, which might have developed into atomic wars, were stopped.

9 What good is a signature?

A signature is a conscious, individual act. By signing an appeal, a man or woman shows his or her personal support for it. Obviously, one signature by itself will not prevent the outbreak of atomic war. But small streams come together to make great rivers — and hundreds of millions of signatures mount and mount; they become an irresistible flood, with all the significance and power of a universal demand. No authority — not a government or a parliament — can ignore so clear and definite an expression of public opinion.

The World Council's campaign makes it possible to express the general revulsion against atomic weapons with enough force to bring about their abolition.

In this immense task every signature counts.

Asian Peoples Determined to Consolidate Friendship and Extend Peace Zone

More than 300 delegates from 13 Asian countries took part in the proceedings of the Conference of Asian Countries which opened in New Delhi on April 6. This conference was organised by an international committee composed of representatives from India, Japan, the Soviet Union, Ceylon, the People's Republic of China and Syria.

Speaking at a press conference prior to the meeting, Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Chairman of the Indian delegation, said that the threat of thermonuclear weapons, colonialism and discrimination against Asian immigrants were among the problems which the Conference was likely to deal with. Later, other points were proposed by various delegations so that finally the agenda for the Conference was as follows:

1) The banning of weapons of mass destruction and the establishment of a control to ensure observation of this measure; the peaceful use of atomic energy.

2) The colonial system and foreign interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Asia.

3) The danger to the countries of Asia involved in the creation of military pacts and bases in Asia.

4) The restoration to the People's Republic of China of its rightful seat in the United Nations Organisation.

5) The peaceful reunification of Korea.

6) The normalisation of diplomatic relations among the countries of Asia.

7) The establishment of trade relations between the states of Asia on a footing of equal rights and mutual advantage, etc.

Our next issue will contain detailed information on this important conference and the decisions reached by it.

Demonstration in Tokyo

Two thousand five hundred people took part in a meeting held in Tokyo on March 17, the anniversary of the day on which the world learned the fate of the 23 Japanese fishermen stricken by radioactive ash from the Bikini hydrogen bomb test. The speakers included Mr. Tetsu Katayama M.P., former Prime Minister and member of the Right Wing Socialist Party; Professor Yoshitaro Hirano, General Secretary of the Japanese Peace Committee; Professor Kaoru Yasui, General Secretary of the National Council against the A and H bombs, and others.

A recording of Professor Joliot-Curie's speech at the Vienna meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace was played at the meeting.

Mr. Shinzo Suzuki greeted the participants on behalf of the victims of the Bikini tests and expressed their gratitude for the help that everyone has given them and their anger against those who are preparing for atomic war.

Mr. Jyukichi Uno, actor, Miss Setsu Asakura, artist, and Mr. Fukuo Kishibe, author of many fairy tales, spoke on the Vienna Appeal. In the course of the meeting it was announced that more than a quarter of the Japanese people had signed against weapons of mass destruction.

Preparations for the International Conference in Hiroshima

The preparatory committee for the International Conference for the banning of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, which is to be held in Tokyo on August 6, held its first meeting in Tokyo on March 2nd. The meeting was attended by representatives of the National Council against the A and H bombs, the trade unions and religious organisations.

It was decided to invite 50 representatives from abroad to the conference and to open it on the day of the day of the tenth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima. The Conference has the aim of calling on the peoples of the entire world to put up a yet more resolute struggle against the preparations for atomic war.

Poster put out by Madhya Pradesh Peace Committee, with the slogans of the campaign in Hindi.

The Signature Campaign in India

The signature campaign against atomic weapons is proceeding in the principal towns of India.

Calcutta. — A public meeting was held in Calcutta on March 10 organised by the West Bengal Peace Committee and the participants adopted a resolution expressing deep concern over the recent declarations of certain statesmen on the use of atomic weapons. The resolution also called on the people of West Bengal to sign the Vienna Appeal.

Madras. — The Madras Peace Committee has set itself the aim of collecting half-a-million signatures to the Vienna Appeal. The signature campaign was launched at a public meeting in Madras City on March 5.

The peace council of Ramnad District, Madras State, met on March 6 with a plan for the collection of 200,000 signatures.

Punjab. — In the East Punjab, a public meeting was held in Amritsar under the auspices of the city peace committee. A number of eminent figures spoke, condemning atomic war preparations and supporting the Appeal of the World Council of Peace.

Hyderabad. — The campaign is developing rapidly among all sections of the people and important personalities have already gone on record against atomic war. For example, 67 members of the Legislative Assembly of Hyderabad State have signed the Vienna Appeal.

The First Signatures in Chile

The signature collection began throughout Chile on Sunday, April 3rd and was officially opened at a public meeting in one of the capital's biggest theatres.

The first signatories include well-known representatives of political parties, trade unions and intellectual circles, such as Mr. Rafael Gumucio, M.P., president of the National Falange, a Catholic party; Mr. Eugenio Gonzalez, Senator and leader of the Popular Socialist Party; Mr. Luis Bossay, president of the Radical Party; Mr. Salvador Allende, Vice-President of the Senate; Mr. Baltazar Castro, President of the Chamber of Deputies; Mr. Pablo Neruda, writer; Mr. Benedicto Chuaqui, president of the Writers' Union; Mr. Humberto Martinez, Senator, president of the Democratic Party; Mr. Clotario Blest, president of the Chilean T.U.C.; and Mr. Luis Quinteros, Socialist Senator. These persons set up a Sponsoring Committee for the campaign.

The Peace Movement made careful preparations for the campaign. Following the Vienna meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, Mr. Volodia Teitelboim, Chile's representative at the meeting, Mr. Allende and Mr. Juan Acevedo M.P. spoke at many meetings and conferences to report back on the decisions of the Bureau. Mr. Allende and Mr. Acevedo visited the regions of Arica, Iquique and Antofagasta in the northern part of the country and spoke to thousands of miners in the course of a fortnight. On his return to Santiago, Mr. Allende undertook another tour of 30 to 40 meetings and conferences.

Moreover, the Movement was concerned to show how the Vienna Appeal meets the immediate preoccupations of the Chilean people and particularly stressed the danger of the thermonuclear tests that the American and British authorities intend to carry out in the Antarctic.

Viet Nam Peace Movement's Plan of Work for 1955

At its recent extended session in Hanoi the Viet Nam Peace Committee adopted a programme of work for 1955.

Among the 14 points of the programme are: to see to it that the Geneva agreements are strictly applied; to promote a vast signature campaign for the Vienna Appeal; to stand with the peoples of Europe in their struggle against German rearmament; to popularise the Five Principles; to oppose military pacts and foreign interference in the internal affairs of nations.

The signature collection for the Appeal against the preparations for atomic war was launched at a mass demonstration in Hanoi on March 10. More than 500 representatives of democratic parties, mass organisations and religious bodies attended the demonstration and were the first to sign the Appeal.

Mr. Nguyen Dang Hu, representing the workers of Hanoi, was the first to sign the Appeal. He stated that the workers had been sorely tried during the war and that they will never allow their peaceful life to be interfered with.

In Germany Women, Young People and Peasants Carry on Struggle against Paris Agreements

The Presiding Committee of the Peace Committee of the German Federal Republic has examined the situation arising from the ratification of the Paris Agreements by the Federal Parliament and adopted a statement from which we take the following extracts:

'Just as E.D.C. was foiled, the agreements on rearming the Federal Republic and incorporating it in a system of military alliances will be thwarted by the peoples' resistance. The struggle against these agreements goes on . . .

'At meetings and demonstrations throughout Germany and by adopting resolutions, our people will express their will to build a united, independent Germany outside any military alliance through free, general, all-German elections. In this way we shall prevent Germans from being armed against other Germans and our country from becoming the battlefield in an atomic war'.

Young People find basis for Common Action

On March 19 and 20 a Congress of German Youth against Remilitarisation, attended by 2,500 young people from all over Germany, including nearly 2,000 from the Federal Republic, was held in Berlin. Leading Christian members of the youth sections of the West German trade unions, members of the 'Falcons' (Socialist youth), members of the West German Union of Youth and the Free German Youth from the German Democratic Republic, well-known sportsmen — all found a common basis of agreement in the rejection of the Paris Agreements for the remilitarisation of West Germany, in spite of their differences on other questions.

In a solemn pledge, the Congress calls on the young people of Germany to act to prevent the agreements from hurling them into war and to work for the unity of Germany.

A small poster put out by the Peace Committee of the German Federal Republic. It opposes the stationing of atomic cannon in West Germany.

A majority of the 800 participants in a Y.M.C.A. meeting at Recklinghausen went on record against military service.

In Hanover, 500 young people took part in a public debate attended by Mr. Kopf, Prime Minister of Lower Saxony. In a very animated discussion the young people demanded joint discussions with the young people of the German Democratic Republic. Mr. Kopf pledged his active support for such discussions.

In Munich on March 13 the Bavarian trade union youth and the Federation of Trade Unions inaugurated a travelling exhibition on the theme: 'Germany's fate is in our hands'. Visitors to the exhibition, which opposes rearmament, are asked to go on record against the Paris Agreements and for the peaceful reunification of the country by signing the German Manifesto.

The delegates to the annual general meeting of the Socialist youth organisation, the 'Falcons', at Hildesheim and the participants in the youth conference of the engineers' trade union in Darmstadt rejected rearmament and military service and announced their determination to work for a peaceful agreement.

Appeal to all Women and Girls

The Presiding Committee of the West German Women's Peace Movement has issued an appeal to all women and girls calling on them to take part in the great common struggle against the London and Paris Agreements and not to relax their efforts until Germany has been united and general disarmament and the banning of atomic weapons have been obtained.

The Peasants

At Wernigerrode in the district of Magdeburg, several hundred peasants from both parts of Germany met to discuss the struggle against remilitarisation.

An appeal was issued to German peasants calling on them to work together with the patriotic forces of Germany against the implementation of the Paris Agreements. 'The policy of remilitarising Germany', says the Appeal, 'has already done great harm to the peasants of West Germany. The ratification of the Paris Agreements threatens even greater harm to German agriculture.'

Charleroi Engineers Send Message to Frankfurt Engineers

Several hundred workers of the Herstal division of A.C.E.C., an important Charleroi steelworks, have written to the engineers of Frankfurt in the German Federal Republic.

In their letter they recall their hostility to German militarism and conclude:

'These workers are at your side in the fight you are conducting and want to give you their support if it is needed. An exchange of views would be desirable with a view to developing the activity in our factory.'

*

At its recent annual congress, the National Federation of Belgian Ex-servicemen, which is a member of the World Federation of Ex-servicemen, adopted a resolution expressing 'ex-servicemen's anxiety at German rearmament and the possible use of weapons of mass destruction'.

*

In a resolution adopted at their recent congress, the Belgian Socialist Young Guard recall 'the positions adopted at the national congress in October: opposition to German rearmament; support for German Socialist youth; hostility to Chiang Kai-shek's regime; and the admission to U.N.O. of the People's Republic of China'.

Appeal for a European Workers' Conference

Following on a series of proposals emanating from factories in the North of France and taken up in other countries, and the meeting of a preparatory committee in Berlin, a European Workers' Conference will be held in Leipzig from April 22—24.

The appeal issued to the workers of Europe on the conference explains its aims in the following words:

'With anxiety you see international tension growing and gravely threatening you and your families. Your many actions in defence of your wages, your work and your rights are an expression of your preoccupation with the maintenance of peace and the improvement of your living standards. War budgets are becoming bigger and bigger. The armaments race is being speeded up . . . The Western powers rely above all on the German militarists who have unleashed war twice already. It is now intended to rearm them, though there is no doubt that war would be waged with weapons of mass destruction. The H bomb would blindly strike the workers down, making no distinctions.'

After bringing out the fact that all European workers have common interests, the appeal shows the great power the workers represent when united. It calls for a conference of workers and trade unionists of all tendencies and from every country in Europe to consolidate this unity — a conference to oppose German militarism, to defend the workers' living standards and rights, for prosperity and peace.

The appeal asks the workers to popularise the appeal and is signed by German, French, Czechoslovak, Polish, Italian, Swedish, Austrian and Danish workers.

Important Demonstration against Hydrogen Bomb in London

On Sunday, March 20, 5,000 people answered the call of the British Peace Committee to gather in Trafalgar Square, London, to protest against the British Government's decision to manufacture the hydrogen bomb.

This demonstration was the result of two weeks of intensive work by the national and local peace committees: 190,000 leaflets were distributed, 200 posters displayed at London Underground railway stations and a further 1,500 posters produced for local parades and the meeting itself.

The demonstration was addressed by Mr. R. Barrett, general secretary of the National Amalgamated Stevedores' and Dockers' union; Professor J. D. Bernal F.R.S., Vice-President of the World Council of Peace; Mr. John Burns, President of the Fire Brigades' Union; Councillor Edward Dixon, President of Coventry Trades Council; Mrs. Barbara Drake, well-known member of the Labour Party for 50 years; Mr. Theodore Harris, leading member of the Society of Friends; Mr. Harry Pollitt, general secretary of the Communist Party; and Miss Raymonde-Hawkins, member of the Sussex County Council.

A resolution adopted by the meeting called for support for the Appeal of the World Council of Peace.

After the meeting, in a procession a mile long, the 5,000 participants marched to the Cenotaph, where a wreath was laid, bearing the message 'In this atomic age Remembrance requires us to deepen our resolve that all shall live in peace.' The march took place in complete silence and its solemnity communicated itself to the thousands of bystanders who watched this moving ceremony.

Austria: Success of 'Chaplin Peace Fund' Competitions

The various competitions organised in Austria by the Charlie Chaplin Peace Fund Committee have had great success. The idea was born some months ago when the famous film actor and director decided to divide among the cities of London, Paris and Vienna the money he received as part of his International Peace Prize, stipulating that the money should be devoted to 'works inspired by a spirit of peace and understanding between the peoples'.

The number of participants shows the great interest which met the Chaplin Fund competitions. There were 440 entrants for the general competition on the question 'Why I stand for peace' and 234 in the literary competition on the theme 'Peace and understanding between the peoples'. Many composers and amateur photographers took part in the competitions for the best song on the theme 'Love of country and the desire for peace' and for the photo which best expressed the idea of 'Work, country and peace'. Moreover, 37 sports organisations submitted to the jury the names of those they consider to deserve the prize for the sportsman who through his activity has made an important contribution to the establishment of friendly relations between the peoples.

The various juries are composed of eminent intellectuals, writers, critics, artists and composers. The names of the prizewinners will be published shortly and the prizes will be awarded in May.

ROSAURA REVUELTAS, 'Salt of the Earth' Star, says:

Rosaura Revueltas as she appears in the film 'Salt of the Earth'.

'We cannot remain indifferent to the atomic threat'

The face of Rosaura Revueltas, the great Mexican actress, is already familiar to cinema goers in many countries. Those who have seen 'Salt of the Earth', that powerful film made in the United States, have had occasion to admire the gift of expression which enables her, in the principal role, to reflect the life and character of an ordinary woman. It is natural that Rosaura Revueltas, with her feeling for what is preoccupying the people, should oppose with all the passion of an artist the attempts that are being made to hurl mankind into atomic madness. Here is an extract from an interesting statement she has made on this subject:

'It is fine and reassuring to think that the people are beginning to take into their own hands an affair that so directly concerns them, and to see that never in history has there been such a wide, universal movement, and for such a noble aim, as the present one for the maintenance of peace. This must be seen as the true stamp of our civilisation, as the finest manifestation that man is determined to be free of the gloom of forest and cave to walk with firm stride across the fields of our vast world, without fear of being asked what country he belongs to.

'For many peoples the light is still wavering, but the dawn is near at hand, pregnant with life and prospects of happiness. In every town, village and hamlet, on every hill and road and ocean, in the mines, gazing excitedly through the microscope or devouring a book, kneeling on the granite floors of temples, there are people — people with simple, honest and human hearts — who want to live, to live a litte better if possible, but who are carrying the burden of a great anxiety and living in fear of a great catastrophe. American mothers, Chinese mothers, mothers of Great Britain, Russia, France, Japan, Germany and Spain... feel the sore and torturing memory of the dear ones they have lost pale into insignificance before their awful fear that this terrible nightmare could be repeated. Out of this fear and anguish and the sacred desire to save life the Peace Movement and all of us can and must weld the great force that can ward off mass death...

'What is needed is a real will for peace. There are millions of people who want peace but who think that it is useless to do anything, that there is nothing to fear or that fate will decide.

'This is where our work lies, in every corner of the world. We must organise those who are afraid, awake the sleepers and stimulate the pessimists. To this task we must all devote ourselves entirely.'

HOMAGE to ANDERSEN

The anniversary day of Andersen's birth, April 2, was commemorated in a variety of ways in many countries: radio and television broadcasts, lectures, films, articles, recitals, new editions of his works, essay competitions in the schools and so on.

The official celebrations in Denmark itself included a television broadcast from the house in Odense in which the great storyteller was born; the King of Denmark took part in the broadcast and read a message, while the British actor Michael Redgrave read two of Andersen's tales. There was also a procession of 5,000 children through the streets of Copenhagen; a great meeting in the Oddfellows Hall; and recitals by various artists in different parts of the town. Two great films were also presented for the first time: a documentary on Andersen's life by Jörgen Roos and a puppet film in colour based on the tale *The Little Tin Soldier*, made by the Norwegian director Ivo Caprino.

Then the Norden associations, which work for the development of the cultural, economic and social community of the Scandinavian countries, have announced an essay competition among Swedish, Finnish and Norwegian schoolchildren from 12 to 16 years of age on the following subject: 'Which of Andersen's tales do you prefer and why?' The prizewinners will visit Denmark for a week in the summer.

In the Soviet Union many events are being held in honour of Andersen. Lectures on his life and works are being given in the palaces of culture, clubs and libraries. The children's theatres are putting on various plays based on his tales and in the Pioneer Clubs special days have been appointed for the commemoration. On April 1st the Soviet Peace Committee, the Writers' Union and V.O.K.S. organised a well attended memorial meeting at the central children's theatre.

Germany Celebrates Schiller's Anniversary

The commemoration of the cultural anniversaries recommended by the World Council of Peace is going ahead in a number of countries. In Germany, in particular, important events in honour of Schiller will be held in Weimar from May 8-15 and well-known persons from Great Britain, Sweden, the Soviet Union, France, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Belgium, Poland and Norway have been invited to take part.

There will be a very varied programme, including concerts, plays — *Wilhelm Tell* and *Wallenstein* by the Weimar National Theatre, *Don Carlos* and *Intrigue and Love* by the Berlin Theatre, *Marie Stuart* by the Stuttgart Theatre, *The Parasite* by the Leipzig Theatre — memorial meetings, an international book sale, scientific discussions between German and foreign students at the German Students' Meeting at Jena, a carnival, a torchlight procession, and so on. Throughout the week visits to different parts of Weimar which have links with classical German literature will be organised.

Schiller will also be commemorated in other countries.

In Bulgaria, for example, there will be a memorial meeting in the National Theatre in Sofia on May 14, followed by a performance of *Don Carlos*. Memorial meetings have also been organised in various towns in the provinces.

In Rumania, the principal theatres will put on *Don Carlos*, *The Robbers* and *Intrigue and Love*.

Scrolls for the World Assembly

Proposal by the American artist Anton Refregier

Anton Refregier, the well-known American artist, has written from New York to the World Council of Peace with a proposal addressed to all artists who are friends of peace throughout the world.

In order that artists may contribute to the World Assembly through their art, Anton Refregier proposes that scrolls should be circulated to the painters and black-and-white artists of various countries. On these they would treat the theme of peace in the way they considered most appropriate.

An engraving on the theme of peace by the American painter Anton Refregier. It symbolises the beating of swords into ploughshares.

The scrolls would therefore illustrate the art of the different peoples, thereby symbolising international unity in the struggle for peace. They would be used to decorate the hall of the World Assembly in Helsinki and could then be exhibited in different parts of the world.

The first artists consulted on this proposal gave it their unqualified support. There is no doubt that it will receive the same welcome from all artists who defend the cause of peace and brotherhood between the peoples.

In order to facilitate the work and so that it may be ready by the time of the Assembly, it is proposed that one of the scrolls should go to the United States and Great Britain, another to Japan, China, India and the other countries of Asia, a third to France, Italy, Germany and Belgium, and others to the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries, the Arab countries and Latin America.

London Sees Japanese Panels Condemning Atomic War

A great number of people, including many artists and intellectuals, have visited the exhibition of paintings by the Japanese artists, Toshiko Akamatsu and her husband Iri Maruki, which was held in London from March 26 to April 7. These 'Hiroshima Panels' depict the horrors of the atomic bomb raid on that city in 1945 and were presented by Artists for Peace, a grouping of artists with greatly differing political and aesthetic views, but united in their opposition to weapons of mass destruction.

The sculptor Sir Jacob Epstein inaugurated the exhibition which was also sponsored by other eminent persons in the field of art: Ruskin Spear A.R.A.; Carel Weight R.B.A.; Stanley Spencer C.B.E., R.A.; Leslie Hurry, a specialist in stage decoration; John Berger, art critic; the Welsh painter Josef Herman; and Denis Matthews R.A.

An exhibition of the same panels has been sponsored in Coventry by the City Council and the Anti-Hydrogen Bomb League.

The great effect that the exhibition has had once again shows the British people's anxiety before the atomic threat and their desire to put up a vigorous opposition to the use of these terror weapons.

Science for Peace

Annual General Meeting Considers Effects of Nuclear Weapons

Science for Peace was established at a national conference of scientists held in London in January 1952 and is open to all natural and social scientists, engineers and technical assistants. Its purpose is 'to unite scientists in actions towards removing the danger of a third world war and ensuring that science can be fully used for constructive purposes'.

It held its Annual General Meeting in London on March 26 with Professor F.G. Gregory F.R.S. in the chair. The meeting was followed by a public conference: 'Nuclear explosions — their long-term effects'.

The meteorological and biological aspects of this problem were dealt with by Professor P.A. Sheppard, who spoke on 'Nuclear Explosions and the Weather'; by Dr. J.H. Fremlin, who dealt with the suject of 'Radioactive Rain'; and by Dr. A. Ryle, who gave an account of the Japanese scientific reports on the biological effects of atomic explosions.

The second part of the conference was on the question 'Atoms for Peace — not War', the opening speaker being Dr. E.H.S. Burhop on the subject 'The Problem of Abolition and Control'.

The great American scientist Albert Einstein sent a message to the conference.

Paul Robeson Invited to Great Britain by Sportsmen, Theatrical Workers and Cine Technicians

The great American singer Paul Robeson has announced that he has accepted an invitation to appear at a series of concerts in Great Britain. The invitation was sent by Mr. Dave Curtis, General Secretary of the British Worker's Sports Association, for the Silver Jubilee Anniversary of the B.W.S.A. which is associated with the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party. It was also signed by Mr. Tom O'Brien, General Secretary of the National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees, and Mr. George Elvin, General Secretary of the Association of Cine Technicians. The invitation also carried with it the request for Mr. Robeson to appear on May 1st at a concert in the Adelphi Theatre in London, sponsored by *Reynolds News*, official organ of the British Co-operative Movement.

In replying to the communication, Mr. Robeson said: 'Nothing gives me greater pleasure than to accept your invitation. I have a deep interest in all sports developments... Since my days as an All-American football player at Rutgers University I have had a continuing interest in sports. Particularly am I pleased that the Adelphi Theatre concert is to aid the International Fund, the purpose of which is to assist and encourage the visit of British workers' teams and cultural groups to other countries. Such exchange undoubtedly helps to promote friendship and understanding among peoples.'

Mr. Robeson mentioned in his reply that the Silver Jubilee Anniversary coincides with his own thirtieth anniversary as a singer and actor and that many friends in the United States have indicated that they will mark this occasion in many ways throughout the year.

He again called attention to the fact that since 1950, the U.S. State Department has continued its refusal to renew his passport and that a suit is now pending in the Federal Court.

'However,' said Mr. Robeson, 'I consider this invitation of such importance that I am exploring all available avenues in order to fulfil these engagements. To me, the invitation is significant evidence of the united desire of the majority of the British people to have me continue my long personal association with them. This is very heartening. I look forward to the time when a similar united expression takes place in these United States to guarantee for all people the right to travel without arbitrary restrictions.'

The Signature Campaign in Argentine

On March 5, the opening day of the campaign in Argentine, ten teams of collectors started collecting door-to-door in the Paternal district of Buenos Aires. March 19 and 20 were observed as special collecting days. Seventeen teams went out and one of them announced with enthusiasm that even soldiers did not refuse to sign.

This fact deserves mention because it shows the growing success of the campaign in Argentine. And good news of decisive experiences is coming in from many districts of the capital.

In the Central district ten teams collected 1,217 signatures on March 19 and 20. In a cafe one of the regular customers went from table to table collecting. He got 60 signatures, including the orchestra.

A team in the Almagro South district stated that out of 30 houses visited, only three people refused to sign.

Of course, everyone collects signatures in his or her own circle. A doctor has so far collected 120 among his patients and neighbours; a Protestant milliner collects among her clients; a bus conductor collects signatures among his passengers; a worker in a refrigerating factory of the town of Eva Peron, formerly La Plata, has collected 60 signatures among his workmates; a sales-girl in a big shop in Buenos Aires got those of the 30 girls working at the same counter, and so on.

The local peace committees are intensifying their publicity work. For example, the Santa Fe Provincial Peace Council has sent more than 3,000 letters to organisations and personalities asking them to join in the campaign and has taken steps to ensure a big attendance at the first conference in the northern region of the province.

The peace committee of the Mataderos district has issued 10,000 sticky-backs against the thermonuclear tests it is planned to hold in the Antarctic. In this district the young people are playing an active part in the campaign and have set up a number of committees.

A Good Idea

This information on the campaign in Argentine was sent to us by a correspondent who says in his letter that he is going to send in news for the Bulletin every week.

At a house meeting in Villa Crespo a new peace committee was formed; it decided to take part in the collection of signatures and enthusiastically welcomed the proposal to send a delegate to the World Assembly in Helsinki. It should be stressed that many local peace committees have been set up in the course of the campaign, both in Buenos Aires and in the provinces: three in the Liniers district of the capital; another in the garage of the Central District Transport Corporation; a third committee has been set up in Barrio Once; seven in the department of San Cristobal in the province of Santa Fe; one has been set up by the book-keepers of Rosario; a regional council has been formed in Ianus and a factory committee at Vicente Lopez in the province of Buenos Aires; and one each at Rivadavia, Eray Luis Beltran and Godoy Cruz in the province of Mendoza.

As a result of the campaign the Peace Council of Entre Rios has begun to function and it has set up committees in the towns of Diamante and Concordia.

The campaign has met with a great response among the people and new circles have given their support to the Vienna Appeal. In a parish near the town of Eva Peron it was signed by the priest and 180 of his congregation. It has also been signed by the director of the newspaper *El Litoral* of Santa Fe, by a number of industrialists of the same city and the leader of the tobacco workers' trade union. At Ramos Mejia in the province of Buenos Aires a group of women got Socialist and Radical women to take part in the campaign, together with priests and tradesmen.

The Appeal has also been supported by many branch leaders of the Peronista Party and by personalities and members of the Radical Party. A local peace committee of the province of Buenos Aires states that members of Catholic Action are participating in the campaign. A leader of this organisation has personally distributed the Appeal and has had it published in the local organ of Catholic Action.

'Atomic Weapons and International Law'

A pamphlet by Professor Heinrich Brandweiner

The German Peace Council has just published a pamphlet by Professor Heinrich Brandweiner, President of the Austrian Peace Council, member of the German Academy of Sciences and Professor of Canon Law at Graz University. The pamphlet is entitled 'Atomic Weapons and International Law' and is a legal exposition of the problems of atomic war. The Stockholm and Vienna Appeals are reproduced on the first page. A high scientific level is maintained throughout but the pamphlet can be understood by anyone.

Using scientific arguments, Professor Brandweiner shows that the use of atomic weapons in the event of war is a violation of international law. Similarly, he proves that the Bikini hydrogen bomb tests were a triple violation of international law. His detailed criticism of the theories of eminent American lawyers which justify the use of atomic weapons by the United Nations in the event of war — theories which have no basis in law — will also arouse great interest.

Round the World with the Vienna Appeal . . .

Geneva

Many trade union organisations have endorsed the Vienna Appeal or have passed resolutions which support its aims.

At their general meetings, the workers of the Similor, Hispano, Gardy, Charmilles and Nationale engineering factories have gone on record for the banning of thermonuclear weapons.

Committees of persons representing all circles are being organised to collect signatures in the various districts of the city. The young members of the Free Youth are distinguishing themselves in the collection of signatures; they have already got more than 2,000.

Toronto

The National Executive Committee of the Canadian Workers' Benevolent Society (membership 14,000) has enthusiastically welcomed the Vienna Appeal. It asks all its supporters and all honest people to sign.

Stockholm

The Stockholm Municipal Worker's Union has unanimously decided to support the Vienna Appeal.

Two young people, Sylvia Nilsson and Anders Blomkvist, have collected 700 signatures between them.

Montevideo

In Montevideo on March 11 the Uruguayan Peace Council held an extended meeting which was attended by representative of trade unions and a variety of organisations, some of which do not support the Movement. The trade union representatives stated that the collection of signatures against atomic war had successfully begun in the factories.

An appeal adopted at the end of the meeting asks the people of Uruguay to sign the Vienna Appeal and decisions were taken which will ensure that Uruguay is worthily represented at the World Assembly in Helsinki.

Luxemburg

The signature campaign was opened at the beginning of April by the Luxemburg Peace Movement together with other forces for peace. During March the aims of the campaign had been popularised through meetings, posters and articles in the press.

Subscription lists are being circulated to cover the costs of the delegation to the World Assembly.

Oslo

The Oslo section of the Sheet-Metal Workers' Union has sent to the president of the Parliament a letter which says;

'We oppose the putting of atomic weapons into the hands of German military men. Atomic energy must be used for peaceful purposes and not for war. The only solution, therefore, is that the use of atomic weapons be banned.'

Warsaw

At meetings and demonstrations in Poland, workers and peasants, teachers and students are demanding the banning of atomic and thermonuclear weapons and the destruction of all stocks of these weapons. In the voivode of Bydgoszcz, for example more than 2,000 such meetings were held in the towns and villages.

A delegation has handed to the Dutch Government a letter signed by 200 doctors, artists, priests and writers. The letter asks the Government to go on record at the United Nations for the banning of all atomic weapons and the stopping of all atomic bomb tests.

Reproduction authorised. Please acknowledge source.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

The world campaign against the preparations for atomic war

Questions and Answers

STATEMENT OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

In every country in the world, the Appeal of the World Council of Peace in favour of the destruction of atomic weapons and the stopping of their manufacture is rousing the conscience of all who are horrified at the prospect of a war of extermination. It meets the hopes of those who confidently believe that the peoples can prevent atomic slaughter.

We greet the many organisations and well-known public figures, indeed all, who, in various ways, are protesting against the preparation of atomic war.

The danger of atomic war has become more definite. Statesmen are freely threatening to use thermonuclear weapons. Governments which as yet do not possess them have decided to make them or are considering their manufacture. Attempts are being made to justify employment of these frightful weapons or to present their existence as a guarantee of peace, whereas in fact they increase the danger of aggression and can bring mankind only death and destruction.

The signature campaign is the means whereby the universal detestation of atomic weapons can so express itself as to induce all governments possessing them to agree to their abolition under strict control, an agreement which would constitute an important step toward general disarmament.

The peoples can make their voices heard to such effect that no government will dare face their disapproval.

Vienna, March 13, 1955.

The world campaign
against the preparations
for atomic war

Questions and Answers

At THE PRESENT TIME A GREAT CAMPAIGN IS BEING conducted against the preparations for atomic war. It expresses the growing revulsion against atomic weapons in every country and in all circles. It is based on the following Appeal, launched in Vienna on January 19 by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace:

Today, certain governments are preparing to let loose atomic war.

They are trying to make the peoples accept it as inevitable.

The use of atomic weapons would result in a war of extermination.

We declare that any government that lets loose atomic war will forfeit the trust of its people and find itself condemned by every people of the world.

Now and in the future, we shall oppose those who organise atomic war.

We demand the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the immediate stopping of their manufacture.

In every country, men and women are being asked to sign this Appeal — to defend their children, their future, the security of their country, the wellbeing of mankind.

1 Why does the World Council of Peace state: 'Today, certain governments are preparing to let loose atomic war?'

On December 17 and 18, 1954, the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation met in Paris and approved a report presented by its military staff. This report plans the use of atomic weapons in the event of war. By adopting it, the N.A.T.O. Council authorised the general staffs to take all the necessary military measures — e.g. equipment of armies, training, etc. — to prepare for atomic war.

The N.A.T.O. Council is composed of members of the governments of the following countries: the United States, Great Britain, France, Canada, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal, Greece and Turkey. No minister can take such an important decision without his government's approval. This means that these governments have officially decided to prepare for atomic war.

These preparations, accompanied by open threats to use force, are leading to an atomic war.

2 What would an atomic war mean?

Up till now there has been no war waged with atomic weapons on both sides. It is therefore difficult to foresee the full effects of an atomic conflict.

However, in August 1945 two atomic bombs were dropped, on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Since that time, new atomic weapons have been developed. Japanese fishermen ninety miles away from the Bikini test explosion on March 1st, 1954, were gravely injured by the radioactive effects of the H bomb. One has since died.

During the Second World War Great Britain was the target for hundreds of air raids; the hundreds of thousands of bombs dropped day and night throughout these years caused enormous damage and killed 70,000 people.

One single atomic bomb on Hiroshima practically wiped out the city and annihilated 200,000 human beings at one blow. Today, responsible scientists tell us, the H bomb can cause destruction 1,000 to 2,000 times greater that that of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. It can destroy everything without exception in a circle twelve to twenty miles across, and cause death in a circle 120 miles across.

This means that, in an atomic war, whole peoples could be wiped out indiscriminately, cities levelled to the ground and small countries transformed into radioactive deserts. An atomic war would be a war of extermination.

That is why the decision to prepare for atomic war is extremely grave. It demands immediate action from all peoples.

3 Does the danger of atomic war threaten all countries?

The N.A.T.O. Council's decision to use atomic weapons sets up a general principle. Thus the danger which it gives rise to is general, not confined to any one area.

It hangs over Europe. Any war there would be likely to become a world war; this would be an atomic war. The full force of the danger becomes clear when this N.A.T.O. decision is set alongside the attempts to rearm Germany, that is, to set up a new Wehrmacht in which former Hitler generals would be armed with atomic weapons.

But it goes far, very far, beyond Europe. Some governments in the Atlantic Pact at the same time belong to other military pacts, particularly in the countries of Asia and the Pacific. They maintain armed forces and many military bases there. So the principle of atomic war which they have adopted, applies just as much to other parts of the world. The very real threats to use atomic weapons in the Far East confirm this.

The countries of Latin America and Africa possess the raw materials needed for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. There are military bases and dumps on their territoires. They could thus be plunged into the midst of an atomic war against their will.

The atomic threat can also be used to bring greater blackmail and pressure to bear on countries struggling to win or defend their independence.

Not even the neutral countries could escape the danger from the widespread destructive effects of atomic weapons.

4 Is the World Council's campaign biassed against certain governments?

The World Council works for peace. It does not defend or attack any particular government. Its principle is: non-interference in the internal affairs of countries.

But in working for peace it cannot be indifferent to any acts which raise the fundamental questions of peace or war. Its duty is to support any moves for peace, whatever government proposes them, and to oppose any actions likely to lead to war.

The present campaign has been launched to meet a very real danger which arises from the official plans of certain governments to prepare atomic war. The World Council calls on the peoples to oppose such plans and preparations irrespective of what government or system they may prefer.

Clearly, so long as atomic weapons exist, there will be a danger of atomic war. The World Council therefore says: destroy all stocks of atomic weapons and stop their manufacture. This applies, without distinction, to every country which has got them.

5 Does not both sides having atomic weapons guarantee that they won't be used?

The idea behind this question is this: Atomic attack means atomic retaliation; anyone using atomic weapons therefore invites destruction; no one would be mad enough to do so.

It is true that atomic weapons have enormous destructive power. But this very fact is an encouragement to aggression, not an obstacle. For an aggressor might think that by striking first he could gain a decisive advantage.

Modern history shows that, like Hitler, all adventurers have struck the first blow because they thought themselves the stronger — and also that they got involved in war and catastrophe on a scale that they had never expected. In the atomic age, such calculations can have even more disastrous results.

The idea that a huge stockpile of atomic weapons would guarantee security is also unfounded. Arms

races have always led to war; the atomic arms race can only lead to a war of extermination. Once more the peoples would be the victims.

6 Why does the World Council demand particularly the abolition of atomic weapons?

Because atomic weapons are the most dangerous, and threaten the greatest number of people. An aggressor always uses the weapons that can do the most damage. Today this means atomic weapons, so the threat to use them is the main danger.

At the same time as calling for banning atomic weapons, the World Council has always supported disarmament. It has made specific proposals to this effect to the United Nations Organisation. It still maintains these proposals and has called on the people to support them.

Today, the banning of atomic weapons is an essential condition for reducing international tension and would be a decisive step towards general disarmament. It would make possible the full use of the vast power of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and human happiness.

7 Shouldn't banning war be the first step?

The World Council wants the elimination of war as a means of settling international differences. It is profoundly convinced that all differences between nations can be settled by peaceful means: that is what it exists for.

For this reason the World Council has always based its action on practical proposals to prevent recourse to war. The campaigns to end the wars in Korea and Indo-China and for the great powers to settle their differences through peaceful negotiations examples of this.

So is the present campaign to abolish atomic weapons. It seeks to eliminate the gravest and most immediate danger, that of a war of extermination.

One can have different views on the best way of making war impossible; but no one can be unaware of the need, first of all and before it is too late, to prevent atomic war.

8 Can the use of atomic weapons be prevented?

There are precedents to show that it is possible to ban particular weapons. In the Geneva Convention of 1925, for example, the powers pledged themselves

not to use poison gas. This was respected during the Second World War; none of the belligerents dared face the outburst of anger that would certainly have been provoked by the use of gas.

An agreement now to abolish atomic weapons would carry an even more powerful sanction, for it would be backed by the clearly expressed will of the people.

The successes already obtained by the growing pressure show that such an agreement is possible.

The strength of opinion expressed through the Stockholm Appeal put a stop to threats to use atomic weapons in Korea. The signature campaign for a Five Power Peace Pact established the idea of negotiations in the minds of the people: it led to the Berlin and Geneva meetings of the great powers to discuss the peaceful settlement of their differences. Public opinion was respected. The wars in Korea and Indo-China, which might have developed into atomic wars, were stopped.

9 What good is a signature?

A signature is a conscious, individual act. By signing an appeal, a man or woman shows his or her personal support for it. Obviously, one signature by itself will not prevent the outbreak of atomic

war. But small streams come together to make great rivers — and hundreds of millions of signatures mount and mount; they become an irresistible flood, with all the significance and power of a universal demand. No authority — not a government nor a parliament — can ignore so clear and definite an expression of public opinion.

The World Council's campaign makes it possible to express the general revulsion against atomic weapons with enough force to bring about their abolition.

In this immense task every signature counts.

MANKIND MUST CHOOSE

by Dr. E. H. S. Burhop

●

With the title 'Mankind Must Choose', the eminent physicist, Dr. E. H. S. Burhop, has just written a pamphlet on 'What the atomic war plans mean to you'. Starting off with a telling exposure of the dangerous decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council last December, Dr. Burhop exposes the dishonesty of some of the main arguments put forward by those who defend the use of atomic weapons. He shows how close the powers have come to a possible basis of agreement on disarmament, and how the possibilites of agreement are wrecked by the N.A.T.O. decisions; he shows clearly what the peoples have to expect if these weapons are used in war, and he shows how they have it in their power to change these decisions and to ensure that atomic war is not allowed to start.

This pamphlet will bring more people to understand that every man must take his place in the struggle, since he is faced with this choice: either the use of atomic energy in a war of mass destruction or the use of atomic energy for the well-being and security of mankind.

This pamphlet is published by the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace and is available now.

To keep abreast of developments in the world campaign against the preparations for atomic war,

READ THE

BULLETIN

OF THE WORLD COUNCIL

OF PEACE

The "Bulletin of the World Council of Peace" comes out on the 1st and 15th of every month, in four editions (English, French, German and Spanish). It gives exclusive news on every aspect of the activities of the World Peace Movement and the other peace forces in different parts of the world.

Editorial office of the "Bulletin of the World Council of Peace" — Tilgnerstrasse 4/6 — Vienna IV, Austria.

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

Numéro spécial sur le péril atomique

AVRIL 1955 — MENSUEL — 6e ANNEE — No 4 PRIX : 2 FRANCS

L'heure H a-t-elle sonné pour le monde ?

L'ENERGIE nucléaire, grande découverte de notre époque va-t-elle servir au bonheur des hommes ou à leur perte ?

La question se pose à l'heure présente de façon particulièrement grave et décisive.

Depuis novembre dernier, l'opinion mondiale est avertie par de hautes autorités scientifiques que les expériences atomiques répandent à la surface du globe une radioactivité de plus en plus grande, capable d'altérer profondément nos climats et de causer chez les êtres humains de graves troubles génétiques. Notamment, les futures générations humaines pourront subir de profondes modifications à caractère monstrueux.

Voilà la menace ! Devant ces perspectives d'horreur, qui ne voit la mesquinerie criminelle de ceux qui prétendent encore rechercher contre l'adversaire des « situations de force » alors même que celles-ci conduiront inévitablement à un massacre généralisé ?

Combien misérable apparaît l'argument selon lequel aucun adversaire n'osera employer contre l'autre l'arme nouvelle, comme ce fut le cas, ajoute-t-on, des gaz asphyxiants à la guerre précédente.

C'est oublier que l'efficacité stratégique de l'arme thermonucléaire est jugée décisive par les milieux autorisés, ce qui ne fut jamais le cas des gaz toxiques.

Non, on n'empêchera pas la guerre atomique en se refusant simplement à la croire possible.

Dans un récent passé, l'Appel de Stockholm a empêché par son retentissement mondial, l'utilisation de l'arme atomique en Corée.

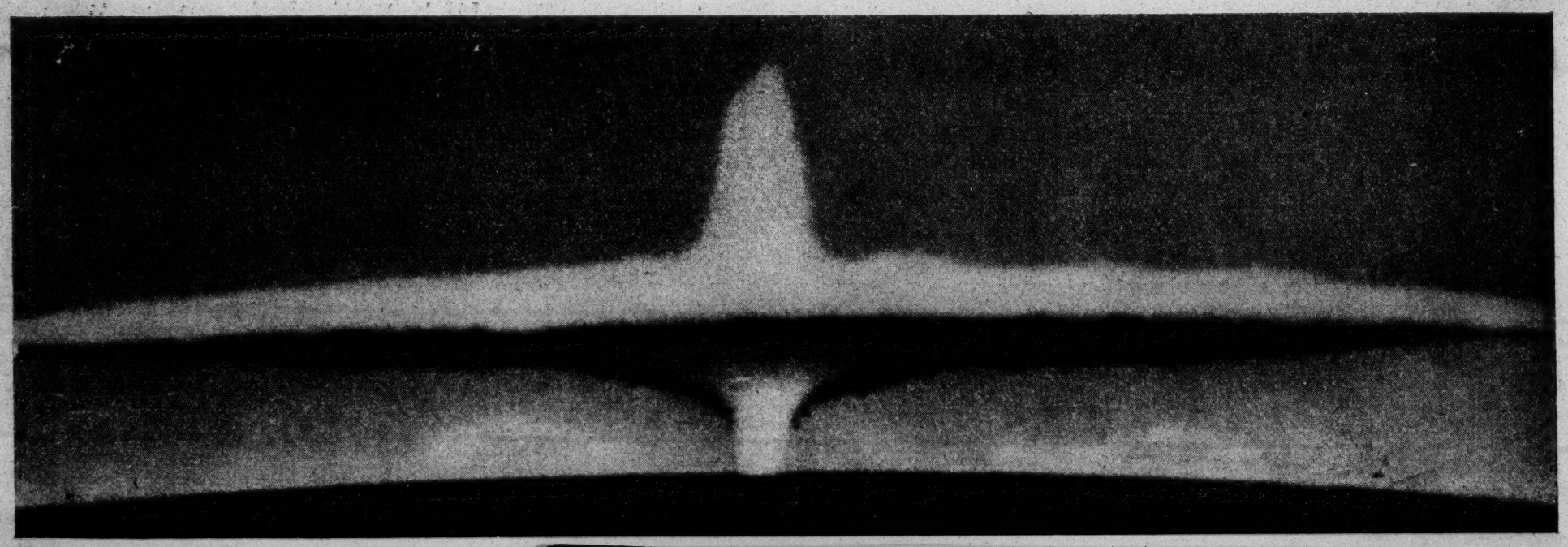
Il faut qu'à nouveau tous les hommes conscients, indistinctement menacés, s'unissent contre le péril.

A coup sûr, l'heure H a sonné pour le monde : c'est pour chacun, celle du choix et des responsabilités.

Il faut définitivement désavouer la bombe H comme première contribution importante au désarmement général.

Pierre OLLIVIER.

Le champignon de la bombe H s'élève à 40 kilomètres de hauteur et s'étend sur 190 kilomètres. Cette photo fut prise environ dix minutes après l'explosion.



BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Dix ans après, la bombe A tait encore des victimes à Nagasaki et Hiroshima

IL y a encore actuellement au Japon 200.000 personnes qui souffrent du « mal atomique ».

A Hiroshima, d'octobre 1953 à octobre 1954, quatorze personnes âgées de 12 à 68 ans, sont décédées de maladies atomiques : leucémie aiguë, leucémie myélique, anémie pernicieuse et autres maladies de la moelle.

Ces maladies sont incurables et peuvent se révéler des années après la période dite « dangereuse ».

LES ENFANTS

Depuis le jour néfaste d'août 1945 où une bombe atomique américaine a été lancée sur Nagasaki, sur sept nouveau-nés de cette ville, un est anormal, selon les statistiques qui viennent d'être publiées. En neuf ans, 30.150 enfants sont nés à Nagasaki sur lesquels 4.282 sont anormaux. Il y a eu 471 morts-nés et 181 cas d'avortements. En outre, 1.046 enfants sont nés avec une ossature ou un système nerveux déficients, ou encore des défauts de la peau ou des muscles ; 429 enfants sont nés avec des déformations des organes de l'odorat et de l'ouïe ; 254 avec les lèvres ou la langue déformées, 59 avec le palais fendu, 243 avec des déformations d'organes internes ; 47 avec le cerveau insuffisamment développé ; 25 sans cerveau et 8 sans yeux et sans orbites.

La durée de la vie diminue

L'hebdomadaire « Newsweek » du 7 mars 1955 écrit :

« Les autorités atomiques cachent une histoire brûlante : à cause des radiations, les survivants japonais des bombes A semblent vieillir prématurément. Des milliers de certificats de décès de survivants d'Hiroshima montrent que leur durée de vie serait moins longue que celle de la moyenne des Japonais (presque soixante ans)... »

Et ce n'était qu'une « petite » bombe A...

Récit d'un rescapé

Le professeur Yo Ming-Cheh, professeur à l'Université de Pékin, raconte :

« J'étais étudiant à l'Université des Arts et des Sciences d'Hiroshima en 1945, j'avais été retenu par la guerre et je ne pouvais pas retourner en Chine... » Il travaillait dans une pièce sombre du laboratoire, bâtiment de béton armé, le matin de cette journée fatale du 6 août où la bombe atomique a été lancée.

« Je courus dans la rue, la ville était un enfer. Partout gisaient des morts ou des mourants, leurs vêtements brûlés, leur peau carbonisée par une chaleur de 2.000 degrés engendrée par la bombe. Le feu a fait rage pendant cinq jours et cinq nuits. La ville jadis si belle a été transformée en un amas de ruines. »

... Et ce n'était qu'une petite bombe A !

UNE OMBRE qui donne à réfléchir

A 500 mètres du centre de l'explosion de la bombe atomique à Hiroshima, se trouve une banque, dont les marches sont entourées d'une simple barrière. Si l'on regarde à l'intérieur, on aperçoit l'ombre d'un être humain.

Apparemment, un homme était assis sur les marches et méditait, la tête entre les mains, le coude sur son genou.

La lueur fulgurante dégagée par l'explosion dans cette direction, a gravé l'ombre de cet homme sur les marches ; naturellement, il a été anéanti sur-le-champ, par suite de la radio-activité intense, mais l'ombre noire est toujours là, méditant...

(Extrait de la préface du Dr. Arata Osada, professeur à l'Université d'Hiroshima pour « Les enfants de la bombe atomique. »)

Trouvera-t-on un jour VOTRE ombre sur le mur de votre maison ?

Danger dans le ciel !

IL y a quelques semaines, les journaux ont annoncé qu'un nuage atomique avait traversé l'Ecosse. Venant des régions des Etats-Unis où, durant ces derniers temps, ont eu lieu une longue série d'explosions expérimentales, une masse de particules radioactives a donc traversé une grande partie du continent américain, franchi l'Atlantique, survolé l'Ecosse et s'est rapprochée de nos régions.

L'opinion britannique s'est émue, de même que les milieux scientifiques. Le passage de cette menace dans le ciel européen faisait soudain surgir cette vérité extraordinaire, difficilement assimilable pour nos esprits formés dans l'ère pré-atomique : pour n'importe quel être vivant sur la terre, toute explosion nucléaire où qu'elle se produise est un danger.

Les ravages qui seraient provoqués par une bombe H dans un rayon de quelques centaines de kilomètres sont connus. Des Japonais en ont fait, il y a un an, la tragique expérience.

Ceux qu'à plus long terme subiraient les hommes de n'importe qu'elle région du globe ont été évoqués récemment par plusieurs savants, et nous avons cité dans un numéro précédent la déclaration de M. Charles-Noël Martin, que l'on peut résumer comme suit : « Il arrivera un moment où, par suite de l'accumulation des effets des explosions nucléaires, les conditions qui permettent l'existence de la vie sur la terre disparaîtront. »

La folie des hommes serait-elle à ce point démesurée qu'il faille attendre la preuve statistique ? La raison ne viendra-t-elle qu'avec, par exemple, l'augmentation du nombre de naissances d'enfants anormaux ?

Nous n'en sommes pas là. La passivité du public disparaît progressivement. Le mécontentement grandit en Amérique même. Mais, comprenons-le bien : le nuage d'Ecosse est un avertissement ; c'est maintenant que, sous la pression de l'opinion publique alertée et décidée à se faire entendre, les gouvernements doivent se sentir obligés de consacrer toute leur énergie à négocier d'urgence un accord général sur l'interdiction des armes nucléaires.

Edmond JACQUES.

Une déclaration de M. Nobuo KUSAN

professeur adjoint à l'Institut des Maladies Infectieuses de Tokyo

En tant que Japonais qui à trois reprises ai souffert des armes atomiques, et aussi en qualité de professeur en médecine ayant participé aux enquêtes sur les effets de la bombe A, j'adresse mes salutations cordiales aux amis belges qui luttent contre les armes atomiques et pour la Paix dans le monde.

N'approchez pas, danger de m

Un rapide bilan d'un petit essai d'explosion atomique

LE 1er mars, le « Fukuryu Maru », bateau de pêche japonais, se trouvait à 71 miles (114 km.) de l'Atoll de Bikini, en dehors et bien loin de la zone dite « dangereuse », en vue des essais d'explosion atomique.

N'empêche que les vingt-trois hommes qui se trouvaient à bord furent tous atteints de lésions atomiques (brûlures, leucocémie, etc.), graves, incurables, voire mortelles.

Le 23 septembre 1954, M. Kuhoyama, opérateur-radio à bord du bateau de pêche, décédait à l'hôpital universitaire de Tokyo des suites des blessures atomiques.

Deux cent trente tonnes de poisson ont, à la même époque, dû être rejetées à la mer parce que révélées hautement radioactives, et d'avril à novembre 1954, soit sept à huit mois après l'événement, en moyenne 50 tonnes de thon par mois durent être rejetées !

Du point de vue commerce et industrie, les pertes dues à l'explosion furent estimées à quelque 15 millions de dollars (750 millions de francs belges).

Du 16 au 20 mai 1954, l'eau de pluie qui tomba sur le Japon était dangereusement radioactive (contrôle universitaire).

L'air était dangereusement radioactif et une autopsie pratiquée sur les corps de deux personnes décédées à cette époque révéla une radioactivité extraordinaire sur leurs poumons (examens effectués par des professeurs d'université).

Du fait de l'eau de pluie, tous les produits agricoles de la récolte de l'été 1954, depuis les choux et les oignons jusqu'au riz et au thé, renfermaient une haute teneur radioactive (recherches effectuées par les services techniques du Ministère de l'Agriculture du Japon).

A noter que les effets de la radioactivité sont héréditaires et cumulatifs !

Un voyage scientifique de cinquante et un jours sur les hautes mers révéla que ... était radioactive jusqu'à des endr... gnés de la zone dite dangereuse.

L'analyse des cendres et de la ... Bikini révéla la présence de stron... dont l'action corrosive et désint... s'étendre sur une période de ving...

Le m... par l...

« Avanti », l... liste italien, écri... ches des savants ... occidentale dan... inondées ont dé... de parcelles ra... les eaux de plui... suivant l'avis de ... sont concentrée... gigantesques da... supérieures de ... ont provoqué d... ments de tempé... verses régions d...

*

Le Bureau ... américain décla... que le mauvais ... dû aux explos... Mais l'article co...

« L'explosion ... du dernier type ... actuels du Neva...

CHARLES NOE... (dans un rappo... l'Académie F... Sciences.)

« Depuis qu... nucléaires exp... dix ans, c'est ... sert de laborato... règne vivant, y ... me, qui sert d... conséquences s... des années, des...

(L'Express, 2...

Les explosions de la t... échappent au ... de l'homme

LONDRES,

Le professeur Soddy, de l'université ... des savants atomistes britanniques les ... écrit dans une interview accordée au « ... nicle », que les explosions expériment... bes « H » échappent au contrôle de l...

Le professeur Soddy réclame « un co... mes nucléaires et une surveillance des ... pris dans le monde par des savants ... un organisme niternational qualifié ».

« Les explosions, dit-il polluent l'air ... activité. C'est une absurdité de dire ... inoffensif ».

1. Les nuages radioactifs peuvent dé... sources naturelles des campagnes et ... chaos et la ruine économique.

2. La mutation des gènes chez les être ... être affectée jusqu'au point de mettre ... nir de la race humaine.

Le professeur Soddy, qui est mainte... a été le collaborateur de Lord Ruther... quel il établit des théories sur la radio... transmutation atomique.

En 1912, il publia une théorie sur l'ex... mes lourds » qu'il baptisa « isotopes ... joua un rôle essentiel dans la science n... çut le prix Nobbel de chimie en 1921.

Le mauvais temps est-il provoqué par les expériences atomiques ?

« Avanti », le journal socialiste italien, écrit : « Les recherches des savants de l'Allemagne occidentale dans les régions inondées ont décelé la présence de parcelles radioactives dans les eaux de pluies, parcelles qui, suivant l'avis de ces savants, se sont concentrées en quantités gigantesques dans les couches supérieures de l'atmosphère et ont provoqué de forts changements de température dans diverses régions de la terre ».

★

Le Bureau météorologique américain déclare officiellement que le mauvais temps n'est pas dû aux explosions atomiques. Mais l'article commence ainsi :

« L'explosion d'une bombe A du dernier type dans les essais actuels du Nevada a été suivie dans les vingt-quatre heures par le pire blizzard du Middlewest depuis des années. Depuis que les essais de bombe A ont commencé au Nevada en 1952, les tornades annoncées par le Bureau météorologique des U.S.A. ont augmenté et passé du maximum de 230 en 1952, à 532 en 1953, puis à 686 dans les dix premiers mois de 1954.

» Dans la même période, la sécheresse et les vagues de chaleur sont devenues plus prononcées, et octobre 1952 a été le mois le plus sec que l'on ait enregistré aux U.S.A... »

(« U.S. News and World Report », 4 mars 1955.)

« La complexité des phénomènes physiques mis en jeu lors d'une explosion de bombe à fission ou de bombe thermonucléaire dépasse largement les possibilités actuelles d'en calculer théoriquement les effets avec précision. » Ainsi s'exprime M. Charles-Noël Martin au début d'une note présentée à l'Académie des Sciences de France par M. Louis de Broglie. Il n'en estime pas moins que certains effets sont à l'échelle du globe terrestre et « risquent d'entraîner, en s'accumulant, des conséquences particulièrement graves, sinon dramatiques ».

Les effets climatiques seraient les suivants : interception partielle du rayonnement solaire ; chutes localisées de pluies diluviennes au passage des fragments du champignons porteurs de centres de condensation d'acide nitrique, d'ions radioactifs et de poussières ; régimes des vents modifiés par le déséquilibre local du processus d'évaporation et de variation de température moyenne.

CHARLES NOEL MARTIN
(dans un rapport présenté à l'Académie Française des Sciences.)

« Depuis que les bombes nucléaires explosent, voici dix ans, c'est la terre qui sert de laboratoire et tout le règne vivant, y compris l'homme, qui sert de cobaye. Les conséquences s'étageront sur des années, des générations. »

(L'Express, 27 nov. 1954.)

Les heures ne compteront plus

Nous citons le journal américain U.S. News and World Report du 25 février 1955 :

Les armes atomiques ne seront pas utilisées " en soutien " des forces terrestres ; c'est le contraire qui sera le but... " Notre objectif ", déclare un général américain, " sera principalement homicide ; et le principal instrument d'homicide sera l'explosion atomique "...

Faut-il voir là un moyen de " défendre la civilisation " ? Citons encore :

" La " compression du temps " signifie que les heures compteront comme des mois de la deuxième guerre mondiale, les minutes comme des jours ; elle signifie que l'on pourra infliger plus de pertes et de dégâts en une semaine que durant des années de guerre classique... "

Et comme il est prévu que la guerre atomique future serait... *" si étendue qu'elle prendra cinq ans et coûtera des millions de dollars... "*

un simple calcul nous montre que, dans les milieux où l'on fait ces prévisions, on envisage, pour la prochaine guerre, au moins 500 fois plus de dégâts et de pertes que durant la dernière. Autant dire qu'il ne resterait plus grand monde sur terre, pour se plaindre de ce qu'on ait dépensé des milliards de dollars !

Hier et demain

Personne, pensent certains, n'osera déclencher la guerre atomique, dont les conséquences inimaginables feraient reculer les plus agressifs.

A cela, Jules Moch répond dans « La Folie des Hommes » :

« Réfléchissons et considérons un passé hideux : Hitler et les gardes-chiourme des camps de la mort, des chambres à gaz et des fours crématoires eussent-ils, au nom de la morale, hésité à recourir à un tel anéantissement de l'homme, s'ils l'avaient possédé et s'ils avaient eu la certitude de pouvoir, grâce à lui, étendre leur domination à l'univers ? »

Et pouvons-nous affirmer qu'il n'y aura jamais, qu'il n'y a pas déjà, peut-être, un nouvel Hitler ?

★

Il y a déjà, hélas, des généraux que cette perspective ne semble pas effrayer. Le général français Chassin, chef des forces aériennes en Extrême-Orient à l'époque de la guerre d'Indochine, écrit : « L'emploi de la bombe H n'a rien de plus immoral que celui de lances-flammes, des rockets, des bombes incendiaires, des torpilles acoustiques ou des mines à retardement. »

The Times (22 décembre 1954)
Interwiew de Foster Dulles :

« Il a exposé que la politique militaire en cours inclurait graduellement l'utilisation des armes atomiques pour des buts tactiques de même que la poudre à canon a supplanté l'arbalète...

La question de l'emploi ou du non-emploi des armes de destruction massive se pose dans toute guerre et — a avancé M. Dulles — n'implique pas de distinction entre le pouvoir de destruction des armes atomiques et celui des armes anciennes ».

A propos des mesures de protection

Dans l'état actuel de la science médicale, on ne peut guérir à aucun degré de la maladie atomique. On peut simplement affaiblir les effets de la radio-activité sur le corps humain. La " maladie atomique " se manifeste par les effets suivants : diminution des globules blancs, apparition de cancers, maladies de la peau, manque de défense de l'organisme contre les microbes, effets sur la descendance.

★

" ...Au terme de cette étude de la défense contre les attaques thermonucléaires, nous aboutissons aux conclusions suivantes :

Aucune défense passive, aucun éparpillement de la population, aucun abri non profondément enterré, ne protège efficacement contre celles-ci... "

Jules Moch dans
" La Folie des hommes ".

★

Le directeur de la Défense passive, M. Val Paterson, conseillait récemment aux New-Yorkais (qui sont 8 millions) de se tenir prêts à évacuer la ville ; pour quiconque est au courant des problèmes de la circulation à New-York, c'est évidemment une absurdité. M. Paterson a également laissé entendre que la solution du problème se trouvait dans la prière : " Il faut prier ", a-t-il déclaré à ses compatriotes.

★

" Aucune mesure efficace ne peut être prise en Hollande contre la bombe atomique, a déclaré le Ministre de la Défense au Parlement hollandais. "

(N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12 mars 1955.)

★

" Nous devrons nous enterrer dans des trous, niveler nos villes que des lacs remplaceront ", a écrit un savant américain prévoyant les conséquences des bombardements atomiques. Et le docteur Lapp semble savoir ce dont il parle : il a été directeur du bureau des recherches au ministère de la Défense des Etats-Unis.

Des armes atomiques sont déjà disponibles en Europe pour les Forces de l'OTAN

Dans un article du « New York Times » du 19 novembre 1954, intitulé « L'O.T.A.N. a jeté les dés pour la défense atomique », M. Hanson W. Baldwin décrit les armes atomiques disponibles, en plus des « bombes thermo-nucléaires dont la puissance explosive est de millions de tonnes de T.N.T. » Il déclare :

« Des armes atomiques d'une puissance moindre descendant jusqu'à 12 ou 14 kilotonnes (mille tonnes de T.N.T.) sont prêtes en Europe et à la périphérie de l'Europe depuis déjà assez longtemps.

A terre, la 49me division aérienne américaine, stationnée en Angleterre et équipée de F-84 Republic Thunderjets et de bombardiers légers B-45, est chargée depuis longtemps d'apporter le soutien atomique aux forces de terre de l'O.T.A.N. »

Il présente ensuite la liste suivante de ce qui est disponible en Europe :

Cinq groupes d'artillerie de six canons de 280 mm. (canons atomiques) — portée 30 km.

Plusieurs groupes d'artillerie de canons lance-fusées de 762 mm. — portée 30 km.

Engins guidés à vitesse supersonique « Corporal » — portée 160 km.

Deux escadrilles d'engins aériens guidés ou avions sans pilote. — portée 800 km.

LA PRESSE UNANIME SALUE LE CHEF-D'ŒUVRE DU CINEMA ALLEMAND

LE SUJET DE SA MAJESTE

(d'après le roman de Heinrich MANN « DER UNTERTAN »)

DES ACTEURS EXTRAORDINAIRES DANS LE PLUS GRAND FILM SATIRIQUE DE L'ANNEE

B R U X E L L O I S !

ALLEZ VOUS AUSSI VOIR CE FILM PUISSANT AU CINEMA DES BEAUX-ARTS

EN EXCLUSIVITE DEPUIS LE 1er AVRIL

« Le Sujet de Sa Majesté » qui entame aujourd'hui sa carrière à Bruxelles, constitue pour le cinéma auquel nous rendons hommage, un nouveau titre de gloire.
...C'est le réquisitoire le plus véhément que le cinéma nous ait donné d'un régime.
« LA LIBRE BELGIQUE ».

Cette peinture au vitriol de la vieille Allemagne mérite d'être vue de tous les cinéphiles soucieux du bon choix de leurs divertissements.
Nous donnons un large coup de chapeau à Wolfgang Staudte et à son équipe pour avoir eu le courage de moquer ceux qui conduisirent leur pays à l'abîme, tout en nous permettant de penser qu'aujourd'hui quelque chose a changé de l'autre côté du Rhin.
« LA LANTERNE ».

C'est un grand film lucide et courageux, qui mérite d'avoir le plus grand succès.
« LE DRAPEAU ROUGE ».

Peinture féroce, à peine poussée d'un régime, d'une société, d'une époque, peinture en pied extraordinairement vivante et fidèle d'un Allemand comme nous en eumes naguère quelques millions à exécrer.
« LA NOUVELLE GAZETTE ».

D'une capiteuse distribution où l'on note de nombreux types purement allemands, dessinés avec une féroce vigueur, il faut détacher Werner Peters qui est un véritable modèle de bêtise, de prétention, de servilité et de lâcheté dans le rôle du lamentable Hessling.
« LE SOIR ».

r de mort !

ion atomique

mers révéla que l'eau de mer
e jusqu'à des endroits très éloi-
e dite dangereuse.
s cendres et de la poussière de
a présence de strontium, matière
corrosive et désintégrante peut
ne période de vingt ans.

sions de la bombe H rappent au contrôle l'homme

LONDRES, 21 MARS 1955

Soddy, de l'université d'Oxford, l'un nistes britanniques les plus réputés, nterview accordée au « Sunday Chro- explosions expérimentales de bom- pent au contrôle de l'homme.

Soddy réclame « un contrôle des ar- t une surveillance des travaux entre- nde par des savants atomistes, par iternational qualifié ».

ns, dit-il polluent l'air avec la radio- ne absurdité de dire que cela est

radioactifs peuvent dévaster les res- s des campagnes et engendrer le e économique.

des gènes chez les êtres vivants peut qu'au point de mettre en péril l'ave- nmaine.

Soddy, qui est maintenant retraité, rateur de Lord Rutherford, avec le- es théories sur la radio-activité et la omique.

lia une théorie sur l'existence d« ato- u'il baptisa « isotopes », théorie qui entiel dans la science nucléaire. Il re- bel de chimie en 1921.

LE PERIL ATOMIQUE SOULEVE LA REPROBATION UNIVERSELLE

Déclaration du bureau du Conseil Mondial de la Paix

DANS tous les pays, l'Appel du Conseil Mondial pour obtenir la destruction des armes atomiques et l'arrêt de leur fabrication éveille la conscience de tous ceux qu'angoisse la perspective d'une guerre d'extermination. Il répond aux espoirs de ceux qui ont confiance dans les peuples pour empêcher les massacres atomiques.

Nous saluons toutes les organisations, toutes les personnalités, tous ceux qui, sous de multiples formes, se prononcent contre la préparation de la guerre atomique.

Le danger de la guerre atomique s'est encore précisé. Des hommes d'Etat brandissent la menace de l'utilisation des armes thermo-nucléaires. Des gouvernements qui ne les possèdaient pas encore ont décidé ou envisagent leur fabrication. On tente de justifier l'emploi de ces armes monstrueuses ou de présenter leur existence comme un gage de paix, alors qu'elles renforcent le risque d'agression et ne peuvent apporter aux hommes que la destruction et la mort.

La campagne de signatures permet à la réprobation universelle contre les armes atomiques de s'exprimer avec assez de force pour obtenir de tous les gouvernements qui les possèdent un accord sur leur abolition rigoureusement contrôlée, lequel serait un pas important vers le désarmement général.

Les peuples ont la possibilité de se faire entendre assez haut pour qu'aucun gouvernement n'ose braver leur réprobation.

Vienne, le 13 mars 1955.

Prenant la parole à Lyon, au cours d'une réunion, le cardinal Gerbier, après avoir parlé de la menace que représentait la bombe atomique, a conclu :

« Ah ! puissent tous les hommes, tous les chrétiens d'être d'accord pour stigmatiser semblable aberration et travailler à créer cette unanimité de l'opinion internationale qui sera seule susceptible de réaliser l'union de tous les chefs de peuples contre la guerre et contre l'utilisation d'un procédé de destruction qui déshonorerait l'humanité. »

APPEL
contre le péril atomique

Les expériences sur la bombe H et la course aux armements atomiques font courir à l'humanité un danger qui s'aggrave chaque jour.

L'usage de ces armes conduirait à une guerre d'extermination.

A l'appel du Conseil Mondial de la Paix partout dans le monde les peuples mènent campagne contre le péril atomique.

La Belgique, traditionnel champ de bataille, se doit de participer à cette action universelle.

Nous demandons à chaque citoyen, aux autorités scientifiques, syndicales, religieuses et politiques de prendre leurs responsabilités, de faire entendre leur voix.

Nous demandons aux députés et sénateurs, au gouvernement de notre pays de prendre des initiatives internationales pour :

— l'arrêt immédiat des expériences atomiques ;
— l'arrêt dans tous les pays de la fabrication des armes d'extermination et la destruction des stocks ;
— la recherche du désarmement.

Chacun de nous peut et doit agir contre le péril atomique.

Chacun de nous achètera la carte à 1 franc, qui lance un cri d'alarme contre ce péril.

Le peuple belge se joindra à l'action universelle engagée pour la sauvegarde de l'humanité !

A nos lecteurs

Ce numéro spécial vous aura convaincu, si vous ne l'étiez déjà, de la nécessité d'agir contre le péril atomique. Vous pouvez aussi faire quelque chose :

— En nous envoyant une déclaration d'une personnalité de votre entourage, responsable d'organisation approuvant l'Appel publié dans cette page.

— En faisant connaître ce numéro spécial autour de vous. En nous envoyant un timbre à 2 francs par numéro ou un billet de vingt francs pour onze numéros.

D'avance, merci.

Union Belge pour la Défense de la Paix, 17, rue Watteau, Bruxelles. - C.C.P. 8175.68.

LES CINEASTES SIGNENT PARMI LES PREMIERS

Les cinéastes, ces créateurs infatigables qui donnent vie à l'art le plus populaire, sont naturellement sensibles au danger qui pèse sur les hommes et sur la culture qu'ils contribuent à diffuser.

Il ne faut donc pas s'étonner si des réalisateurs et des acteurs de cinéma les plus connus figurent parmi les premiers signataires de l'Appel contre la préparation de la guerre atomique. Ce sont notamment :

Luchino Visconti, le remarquable réalisateur de « La terre tremble » et de « Senso » ; **Gérard Philipe,** l'inoubliable « Fanfan la Tulipe » et interprète de tant de films à succès ; **Rosaura Revueltas,** la grande actrice mexicaine, interprète du « Sel de la terre » ; **Sergueï Guerassimov,** le réalisateur de films d'une aussi haute valeur que « Fleur de Pierre », et le « Médecin de village » ; **Alberto Cavalcanti,** auteur, entre autres productions de qualité, du « Chant de la Mer », primé récemment ; et d'autres producteurs en renom, comme **Joris Ivens, Yves Montand, Aldo Vergani, Simone Signoret, Luciano Emmer...**

UN APPEL DE SAVANTS AMERICAINS

Le 6 mars, la Fédération des Savants américains a publié une déclaration dans laquelle elle avertit solennellement le monde que la poursuite des expériences atomiques et thermonucléaires est susceptible de porter un immense préjudice à la race humaine.

« Nous pouvons approcher d'un point où nous n'aurons plus la certitude de ne pas transformer le monde entier en un laboratoire et de ne pas faire de toutes les choses vivantes des objets d'expérience », déclare-t-elle.

« Nous ne pouvons renoncer à faire un nouvel effort pour que quelque chose soit fait au sujet de la menace grandissante pour l'humanité que constitue la continuation incontrôlée de la course aux armements nucléaires. »

LE PARTI SOCIALISTE FRANÇAIS CONTRE LES EXPERIENCES

En conclusion d'une récente résolution, les dirigeants socialistes français déclarent :

« Le comité directeur et le groupe parlementaire demandent enfin que, sans attendre les accords nécessaires sur le désarmement, le gouvernement français prenne les initiatives diplomatiques qui conviennent pour obtenir, par un accord international, l'interdiction rapide de toutes les explosions thermo-nucléaires. »

75 % DES ITALIENS CONTRE L'EMPLOI DES ARMES NUCLEAIRES

Selon un sondage de l'opinion publique italienne, effectué sous des auspices semi-officiels, 75 % des personnes interrogées se sont déclarées opposées à l'emploi des bombes A et H en cas d'attaque de l'Europe occidentale au moyen des armes classiques. La plupart ont maintenu leur opposition pour le cas où l'usage de ces bombes serait le seul moyen d'éviter l'invasion de l'Italie.

LES ANCIENS COMBATTANTS DE BELGIQUE

Extrait de la résolution du dernier congrès de la F.N.C. :

« Les anciens combattants soulignent l'inquiétude des anciens combattants devant le réarmement de l'Allemagne ainsi que devant l'emploi éventuel des armes de destruction massive. »

UN JOURNAL DE WASHINGTON DEMANDE L'INTERDICTION DE LA BOMBE H

Le « Washington Post » vient de lancer un appel en faveur de l'interdiction de la bombe à hydrogène.

Les Etats-Unis devraient proposer d'interdire tout nouvel essai d'armes thermonucléaires et suggérer un système de détection pour s'assurer que l'interdiction est assurée.

LE « POURQUOI PAS ? »

Dans son premier numéro d'avril, l'hebdomadaire bruxellois demande l'arrêt des expériences atomiques en faisant appel à l'opinion mondiale pour qu'elle agisse.

Edit. resp. : Rose Michaut, 12, r. des Visitandines, Bruxelles.

Pour une assemblée mondiale de la Paix

LA menace d'une guerre atomique pèse désormais sur chaque pays, sur chaque maison, sur chaque homme.

Au lieu de mettre l'énergie atomique au service de l'humanité, on amasse des armes monstrueuses ; au lieu de désarmer, on crée de nouveaux blocs militaires ; au lieu de négocier et de s'entendre, on menace et on excite à la haine.

Mais par la menace et la force, on va vers la guerre et non vers la paix.

Le réarmement de l'Allemagne, la situation créée à Taïwan (Formose), les interventions contre l'indépendance des peuples aggravent partout les discordes et l'anxiété. A poursuivre dans cette voie, il n'y aurait plus de sécurité pour personne.

Tous les hommes en sont excédés. Ils repoussent avec horreur l'idée de massacres atomiques.

L'abolition des armes nucléaires, le désarmement général, la sécurité pour tous et le respect de la souveraineté et des droits de chaque nation doivent être exigés avec l'énergie que les peuples peuvent mettre à protéger leur propre vie.

Dans cet esprit et pour ces buts, le Conseil Mondial de la Paix invite les représentants des forces pacifiques de tous les pays à se réunir le 22 mai à Helsinki dans une Assemblée Mondiale pour y débattre librement des questions urgentes de l'action pour la paix.

Vienne, 13 mars 1955.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Documentary Material

Vienna, February 22, 1955

GREAT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS OPPOSE THE THREAT OF AN ATOMIC WAR

I

1. The World Federation of Trade Unions
2. The Women's International Democratic Federation
3. The World Federation of Democratic Youth
4. The International Federation of Resistance Fighters
5. The International Organisation of Journalists
6. The World Conference of Buddhist Associations
7. Asian Lawyers.

I I

8. The World Council of Churches
9. The World Federation of United Nations Associations
10. The International Red Cross.
11. The International Co-operative Alliance
12. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
13. The International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace
14. The Inter-Parliamentary Union.

III

15. Japanese Women's Organisations
16. Important Japanese trade union bodies
17. Big trade union bodies in Great Britain
18. The German Association for Peace
19. The Congress of Argentine Peasants
20. American Congregational Churches.

Prepared by the Reference Department

From the moment the danger first became known the peoples have persistently opposed the preparation of atomic war.

Everywhere this opposition, which takes different forms in different countries, is rapidly gaining ground among different sections of society and all trends of opinion. After the thermonuclear test at Bikini last year, a wave of protest and indignation arose everywhere, particularly in Japan, in Italy among the Roman Catholics, among scientists in France, at the Conferences of the major trade unions in Great Britain, and also in the U.S.A.

But this movement acquired an even greater strength following the decisions taken on December 18, 1954 by the N.A.T.O. Council which took certain decisions leading directly to the preparation of atomic war. It was the new situation created by these decisions which led the Bureau of the World Council of Peace, on January 19, 1955 to make its appeal to the peoples for a world signature campaign to avert the grave danger.

In this short collection we are giving the positions taken up by some of the most important international organisations and some national organisations in some cases before and in some cases after the N.A.T.O. decisions. Such statements made by varied and responsible organisations show clearly that the struggle against the preparations for an atomic war is becoming universal.

I

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS WHICH WENT ON RECORD
AFTER THE N.A.T.O. COUNCIL
DECISIONS

-

World Federation of Trade Unions

'The World Federation of Trade Unions wholeheartedly supports the decision taken by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its last meeting in Vienna, and the document it adopted condemning those who are pressing for an atomic war.

'In particular the World Federation of Trade Unions gives its full support to the appeal against preparations for an atomic war...

'The World Federation of Trade Unions is convinced that the workers of the whole world, whether or not they belong to an organisation affiliated to the W.F.T.U., will throw their full weight behind this campaign against preparations for an atomic war and sign this appeal in their millions.

'It calls on them to organise, in the most varied forms, the collection of signatures in all enterprises and to make every effort in support of this appeal.

'It also urges them, and above all the workers and trade unions of all European countries, to take the lead in the struggle against the Paris agreements which are aimed at making German militarism touch off an atomic war.

'The World Federation of Trade Unions reminds all trade unionists, all workers, that every step towards war is always accompanied by measures to lower the living standards of the working people and whittle away their trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

'The fight of the workers for better living and working conditions and their struggle for peace, collective security and the lessening of international tensions, and against preparations for a new war and the militarisation of the economy are indivisible.

'In face of the grave and acute dangers threatening the world and the policy which means for the people poverty and an atomic war which could wipe out entire countries, the W.F.T.U. is convinced that all workers, whatever their nationality, trade union affiliation, political opinion or religious belief, will strengthen their unity and fight with determination. In this way they will make a decisive contribution to the action of the people for peace, freedom and a better life.'

Vienna, February 2nd, 1955
General Secretary,

Louis SAILLANT

Secretaries

V. BEREZIN L. GRASSI LIU CHANG CHEN H. JOURDAIN

#

Women's International Democratic Federation

Statement in support of the decisions of the World Council of Peace

'The Council of the Women's International Democratic Federation is aware of the immediate danger created by the decisions of certain governments to prepare and regularise the unleashing of atomic war throughout the world.

'It is the duty of every woman to redouble her efforts to protect her home and children and to ensure the happiness of the rising generation.

'Only a powerful protest movement by the peoples can avert this grave danger and thwart the plans of those that want to unleash atomic war.

'That is why the Women's International Democratic Federation gives its full support to the resolutions adopted by the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at its Vienna meeting on January 19, 1955, and calls on women to unite and strengthen the opposition movement of the peoples by signing and by asking people to sign the powerful Appeal against the preparations for atomic war.'

(Council of the W.I.D.F., Geneva,
February 9 - 13, 1955)

#

World Federation of Democratic Youth

Statement by the Secretary of the W.F.D.Y.

The Secretariat of the W.F.D.Y. made the following statement on January 28, 1955:

'The World Federation of Democratic Youth declares on behalf of its 95 million members that it approves the resolutions of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace on the struggle against the remilitarisation of Western Germany and on the organisation of a great campaign against the preparations for atomic war.

'The World Federation of Democratic Youth asks all local, national and international youth organisations, their leaders and all those who are responsible for the lives and future of young people to support this movement.'

The Secretariat of the W.F.D.Y. has decided to call a meeting of its Executive Committee in Berlin on February 25-28 to discuss the tasks of youth organisations in the struggle against the danger of an atomic war.

#

International Federation of Resistance Fighters

Resolution of the Bureau at its Warsaw meeting, January 23-24, 1955

'In view of the fact that the events which have taken place since the Vienna Congress have aggravated and brought nearer the risk of the use of atomic weapons, thus putting our countries in danger of total destruction,

'The Bureau of the International Federation of Resistance Fighters considers it necessary to recall that the resistance fighters and deportees had stated at the Vienna Congress that "the use of such weapons would mean putting into effect in an even more extreme way the criminal Nazi practice of exterminating millions of men and women, old folk and children in gas chambers and incinerators" and that in consequence "it was appropriate to examine in every country the possibilities for the affiliated organisations of the International Federation to start a campaign for the banning of weapons of mass destruction along with all resistance fighters and deportees."

'It therefore welcomes the initiative of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace in issuing an appeal demanding the banning and destruction of atomic weapons. It considers that it is urgent and indispensable to invite member organisations, to give every possible support to the signature campaign for the Appeal of the World Council of Peace, while continuing energetically to oppose the Paris agreements for the remilitarisation of Western Germany, and to make an urgent appeal to the resistance fighters and deportees of their country to this end.'

#

International Organisation of Journalists

At the end of January 1955, the Secretariat of the International Organisation of Journalists published an Appeal calling on all journalists actively to oppose the danger of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs. The Appeal states in part:

'The whole of worldpublic opinion, the whole of progressive mankind, are disturbed by the N.A.T.O. decisions which in practice permit the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

'This disquiet is well founded. The peoples have not forgotten the tragedy of Hiroshima. In ever-increasing numbers the people of every continent are warning against the danger of the use of weapons of mass destruction.

'Honest journalists cannot hold aloof from the general struggle. In these days journalists bear a great responsibility to the peoples of the world and to their own conscience. Every journalist who does not want war has the duty of informing public opinion sincerely and truthfully on the growing danger.

'At this decisive hour in our history, the International Organisation of Journalists calls on all representatives of the press to speak out against the unleashing of a new war, against the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons in the interest of all mankind!'

#

The World Conference of Buddhist Associations

The World Conference of Buddhist Associations, held in Burma in December 1954 and attended by Buddhists from 29 countries including India, Japan, Burma, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Siam, the Philippines, and even France and Germany, adopted a resolution which

'calls on the governments and the peoples of the whole world to work for the banning of the manufacture and use of atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass destruction.'

#

Asian Lawyers

The Conference of Asian Lawyers which was held at Calcutta on January 30, 1955 and attended by delegates from China, Burma, India, Pakistan, etc., adopted a resolution demanding 'the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs and the stopping of experiments with them.'

#

II

A NUMBER OF OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS HAD MADE THEIR POSITION CLEAR BEFORE THE DECISIONS OF THE N.A.T.O. COUNCIL.

World Council of Churches

The Assembly of the World Council of Churches, held in August 1954 at Evanston in the United States, adopted a declaration which demanded, among other things:

'The prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction; including atomic and hydrogen bombs, with provision for international inspection and control such as would safeguard the security of all nations, together with the drastic reduction of all other armaments.'

*

World Federation of United Nations Associations

At its fortieth meeting in Geneva from May 15-18, 1954, the Executive Committee of the World Federation of United Nations Associations passed the following resolution:

'The Executive Committee of the World Federation of United Nations Associations.-

'aware that the perfecting of ever more devastating weapons of mass destruction is a threat to the very existence of civilisation,

'and considering that the manufacture of atomic and hydrogen bombs, bacteriological weapons and other weapons of mass destruction now represents in itself an important cause of mistrust and fear between the nations, thereby aggravating international tension even more,

'asks all governments, and particularly the governments of the great powers, to draw up plans for:

'- the speediest possible reduction of all conventional armed forces, the banning of the use and production of atomic and hydrogen bombs, bacteriological weapons and other means of mass destruction and, simultaneously, the adoption of an effective system of international control and inspection for the implementation of these measures; and

'- the use of the resources freed by disarmament for peaceful developments in the economic, social and cultural spheres, paying special heed to the needs of underdeveloped countries,

'and urges all peoples to press this policy on their governments, their M.P.'s and their representatives in the various public bodies.'

*

Four months later, in September, the Assembly of the World Federation of United Nations Associations made the following demands in a resolution on disarmament and the banning of atomic and bacteriological weapons:

'That the use and production of nuclear weapons and other contrivances for mass destruction should be prohibited by a convention which would become binding with the setting up of an inspecting body capable of discharging its duties...

'That in the meantime, and in order to create a favourable atmosphere, the nations concerned desist from any explosions of nuclear weapons likely to endanger life or property, taking all necessary precautions to this end, and that they make moreover a statement to this effect.'

#

International Red Cross

A resolution adopted on May 6, 1954

by the Council of Governors of the International Red Cross, says:

'All the nations of the world must reach agreement for the absolute banning of atomic and bacteriological weapons and of poison gas, and must take effective measures to protect the peoples against the danger and destruction arising from the testing of atomic weapons.'

#

International Co-operative Alliance

A resolution adopted by the 19th Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance, held in Paris from September 6-9, 1954, appeals to the governments of all countries to limit their armaments and develop trade, and points out that it views

'...with the gravest concern the menace to peace arising from intensive competition in the invention and adoption of ever deadlier and more destructive methods of warfare; and the growing danger to the common people, carrying on their peaceful occupations, caused by experiments and exercises with such methods of warfare.'

#

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

At its meeting in Copenhagen after the Bikini explosions, this organisation issued a statement in which it said:

'In view of the possible apocalyptic effects which the latest nuclear arms experiments forecast, the W.I.L.P.F. believes that the United Nations should

take steps immediately to outlaw the use and further development of fission and fusion bombs and other weapons of mass destruction.

'The W.I.L.P.F. takes the position that nations should at once initiate a plan for total world disarmament, which would necessitate the following steps:

'An immediate stand-still in the production of atomic and other weapons of mass destruction as well as of all other weapons...'

*

International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace

At its Conference from August 24 to 29, 1954 I.L.O.O.P. passed a resolution from which we take the following passage:

'The sufferings caused by the atomic bombs dropped in 1945 and the H bomb tests have shown the incalculable effect of atomic weapons. Such tests should be banned and agreement should immediately be sought to abolish the use of weapons of this nature.'

*

Inter-Parliamentary Union

In a resolution adopted at the 43rd Inter-Parliamentary Conference, held in Vienna from August 27 to September 2, the Inter-Parliamentary Union

'calls on the Parliaments of the world to use their influence to get all governments, and particularly those of the countries principally interested, to establish contact with each other with a view to placing all atomic weapons and everything that has to do with nuclear energy under the effective surveillance and control of the United Nations and to envisaging the methods and means of banning the use and manufacture of atomic weapons - all this within the framework of a general programme for the reduction of armaments.'

#

III

A large number of national organisations of every kind have denounced the danger represented by atomic and thermonuclear weapons. We shall mention only a few.

Japanese Women's Organisations

In October 1954, the leaders of the main organisations of Japanese women issued an 'Appeal to the Women of the Whole World' on behalf of all their members. The Appeal ends as follows:

'The Japanese have been baptised three times by atomic and hydrogen weapons. We, as the only unfortunate victims of these weapons, cannot but appeal to every thinking soul in the world for the prohibition of the production, testing and practical use of such cruel weapons as hydrogen bombs. We demand the immediate stopping of the experiments on the high seas, which threaten the lives, the trade and the food of peaceful and innocent citizens. We do not only speak for the safety and happiness of the Japanese people, but in order to save all humanity from destruction and to build a really peaceful and prosperous world.

'We beg you to convey to your organisation and to the organisations affiliated to yours, our strong desire for the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and for world peace. We urge you to appeal to them because it is only with the support and co-operation of the women of the whole world that we can create worldwide public protest against these terrible weapons and against war.'

General Council of Trade Unions of Japan

The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan requests the Government to take the following measures:

'To make representations to the U.S. Government regarding the prohibition of the testing, manufacture and possession of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

'To take measures to make all mankind realise that their lives are in peril.'

Council of Government and Public Service Workers Unions of Japan

The Council of Government and Public Service Workers Unions of Japan, which has a membership of nearly two millions, has demanded the immediate banning of the manufacture, use and testing of atomic and hydrogen bombs, together with the establishment of an international control of these weapons.

(World Trade Union News, February 1-15, 1955)

Amalgamated Engineering Union

At its Annual Congress at the beginning of May 1954, the Amalgamated Engineering Union - one of the most powerful unions in Great Britian - unanimously passed a resolution inviting the nine million trade unionists of Great Britain to demand the banning of the hydrogen bomb.

The Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians of Great Britain

The leaders of the Association of Supervisory Staffs, Executives and Technicians asked that the members of the T.U.C. should begin to take action against the hydrogen bomb.

In a resolution, they expressed their fear of the destructive power of the hydrogen bomb.

(Reuter, May 6, 1954)

The British T.U.C. Annual Congress

The Annual Congress of the T.U.C. adopted a resolution on the atom and hydrogen bombs submitted by the Association of Scientific Workers. The resolution demands that negotiations be opened to prepare for a conference between Great Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States, China and France to secure the universal abolition of all atomic and thermonuclear weapons under an effective system of international control.

The resolution was presented by Professor Powell, Nobel Prize Winner.

(Le Monde, September 10, 1954)

German Association for Peace

The Conference of the German Association for Peace (Federal Republic), held in Duisburg on January 16, 1955, adopted a statement which says:

'We are on the threshold of the atomic age, which means that the future of each one of us is being decided by a new political and social reality. Either atomic energy will be put at the service of the peaceful development of mankind and its prosperity, or the fission of the atom will remain an instrument of the outdated policy of military force. In the latter case, a war would be inevitable and the decisions of the last session of the N.A.T.O. Council make it quite clear that any new war would be an atomic war. That would mean the end of the countries involved in it, including Germany.'

Congress of Argentine Peasants

The Forty-second Annual Congress of the Argentine Agricultural Federation, which was held on September 20 last, unanimously approved a resolution for the banning of atomic weapons and all weapons of mass destruction. The peasant delegates showed their determination to free mankind from the atomic threat.

In a public statement, the Argentine Federation of Agricultural Co-operatives took up a firm stand against the testing of atomic weapons and the threats to use them.

American Congregational Churches

At their annual conference in New Haven on June 28, 1954, the representatives of 6,000 Congregational churches from all over the United States denounced the thoughtless statements by public figures demanding that the atom and hydrogen bombs be used in current war.

#

# #

#

N O T E

The texts that we have assembled here give only an incomplete picture of the movements existing at the present time.

Particularly from January onwards, as people became aware of the gravity of the NATO decisions and of the threat of an atomic war, various organisations, groupings and trends of opinion have been expressing their opposition.

Great movements are developing in countries like Italy, where hundreds of thousands of signatures have already been collected and where the biggest popular organisations are actively supporting the campaign; France, where an energetic campaign is simultaneously being carried on against German rearmament; India and other Asian countries; Brazil and Argentine; Canada and the Near and Middle East.

The movement against the threat of an atomic war and for the collection of signatures is now in full swing and is particularly strong in the Soviet Union, China and the other People's Democracies.

As the fragmentary information which we have at our disposal shows, the peoples are more and more forcefully expressing their determination to achieve the banning and destruction of weapons of mass extermination.

-:-:-:-:-:-:-

SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

Documentary Material

Vienna, March 1, 1955

INTRODUCTION

I

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FORMOSA QUESTION

1. Joint Declaration of all Democratic Parties and People's Organisations of the People's Republic of China
2. The special powers granted to President Eisenhower
3. The view of Mr. Attlee
4. U.N.O.'s invitation to the People's Republic of China
5. Mr. Molotov's statement to the British Ambassador
6. Chou En-lai's reply to the Secretary General of U.N.O.
7. An explanation by Sir Anthony Eden on the status of Formosa
8. The American journalists' interview with Mr. Khrushchev
9. Two statements by Mr. Foster Dulles
10. The opinion of the Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Bulganin
11. The Soviet proposal for a ten power conference
12. Statement by the British Foreign Office on the Soviet proposal
13. The position of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru
14. A statement by the Indian President, Mr. Rajendra Prasad

II

PRESS REACTION

15. The People's Daily (Peking)
16. The New York Herald Tribune (Walter Lippman)
17. The New Statesman and Nation
18. The Times
19. Pravda

Prepared by the Reference Department

INTRODUCTION

Certain politicians still dare deny that Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pen-Hu Islands (Pescadores) belong to the People's Republic of China; there are others who claim that the question is not settled, that it is in abeyance. But the majority of reasonable and sensible people state honestly that there can be no possible dispute and that these island territories are rightfully an integral part of People's China.

From the historical standpoint:

It was China which, at the beginning of the third century, discovered Formosa and the archipelagoes in the Formosa Straits containing more than sixty islands. During the reign of Wu, navigation started between continental China and Mi-Chu, as Formosa was then called. (The name of 'Ilha Formosa', which means island of beauty, was given to the island by the Portuguese who, in common with the Spaniards, tried on several occasions to annex the island).

In the year 605, the reigning emperor of the Chinese Such dynasty began sending his representatives to the island and at the end of the 13th century the reigning emperor of the Yuan dynasty sent soldiers to Formosa. During the same period Chinese government bodies were established in the Pescadores. In reality, it was at that time that Formosa and the Pescadores officially became part of China.

Trading and other relations developed thereafter uninterruptedly between the islands and the Chinese mainland.

During the 16th century, the reigning emperor of the Ming dynasty was prompted by the threat of Japanese and Dutch invasion to strengthen the military defences considerably and in so doing he consolidated Chinese possession of these territories. Later on, in 1885 to be precise, Formosa became one of China's 23 provinces.

Formosa extends over an area of about 22,000 square miles; its population is at present about eight millions, of whom the overwhelming majority are of Chinese origin.

From the legal standpoint:

Japan annexed Formosa in 1895 and this occupation was recognised by the Shimonoseki Treaty signed by the Chinese government of the decadent Manchu dynasty. Some international law specialists have tried to make this treaty a basis for contesting the right of People's China to Formosa. A discussion on these lines has taken place in the London Times for example. Here is what Mr.A.T. D'Eye wrote in the February 9 issue in a polemic with the well-known lawyer Dr. Schwarzenberger:

'Dr. Schwarzenberger omits one vital but all-important fact; a fact which attacks and destroys the foundation of his whole argument, i.e., that China had ceded Formosa to Japan by the Treaty of Shimonoseki. On December 8, 1941, China formally proclaimed itself in a state of war with Japan. At the same time it solemnly declared the the abrogation of all treaties, including the Treaty of Shimonoseki, between China and Japan. By so doing, from the point of view of international law, China recovered its sovereign rights over Formosa...'

This argument, which derives from an incontestable fact, is undoubtedly valid. To it must be added the fact that when Japan surrendered at the end of the Second World War she renounced all rights and claims to the island.

From the political standpoint:

The great powers gave commitments and took decisions on this question which are of such decisive political import that for all people of good faith discussion on the matter is rendered superfluous.

On December 1, 1945, the Cairo Conference between the heads of the United States, British and Chinese governments made a Declaration which said:

'....that all territories Japan had stolen from the Chinese such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China.'

This statement was subsequently endorsed by the Soviet Union.

Finally, there was the ultimatum to Japan issued from Potsdam by the great powers, which included the categorical statement that "The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out."

In fact, Manchuria was returned to China by the decisions of Cairo and Potsdam and no one would dare contest her right to it. Why then should it be otherwise with Formosa and the Pescadores? It is thus contrary to solemn international agreements that that can happen.

#

To come to the more recent events which have led to the present tense situation, it is appropriate to recall a few concrete facts.

On January 5, 1950 President Truman found another opportunity for confirming, as his eminent predecessor had done, that Formosa belonged to China. He stated in particular that the United States had no intention of sending their armed forces to intervene in the Chinese conflict and that the United States Government did not wish to become involved in the Chinese civil war.

The then Secretary of State, Dean Acheson remarked during the same period that no one, not even a lawyer could dispute the fact that Formosa was a Chinese province.

But just a few months later, on June 27, 1950, Truman decided to send the American Seventh Fleet into the Formosa area to defend it from 'communist' attacks and to prevent Chiang Kai-shek's military formations from making attacks on the mainland. This act was described as the 'neutralisation' of Formosa.

On February 23, 1953, the new President of the United States, in his 'State of the Union' speech, announced the 'deneutralisation' of Formosa, while keeping the Seventh Fleet in the area. In practice, this meant encouraging the Kuomintang forces to indulge in all sorts of actions against the People's Republic with American arms and aircraft and under the protection of the American armed forces.

Finally, on December 2, 1954, the Mutual Security Treaty was signed between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek. This treaty means direct intervention by the United States government in the internal affairs of China and the dê facto occupation of Formosa by the Americans.

Since then there have been more and more hostile acts every day. Based on

Formosa and the islands lying off the coast, sorties, both major and minor, are a daily occurrence. Chinese towns have been bombed, with considerable loss of life, by many aircraft. They exceeded two thousand sorties a month. Armed groups have been landed on the mainland to blow up bridges, roads and factories. This was verified over a long period without a break.

On January 18, 1955 the People's Republic undertook the re-establishment of the sovereign rights of the Chinese state over these territories by taking possession of Yi-Kiang-Chan in the north of the Tachen archipelago and only 19 miles from the coast. It was one of the islands used as a base for raids against the continent and sheltered the American diversion centre. 'Western Enterprise'.

We have given the concrete facts relevant to the present situation in this part of the world, a situation liable to place peace in grave danger, as the following material shows.

#

# #

#

I

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE FORMOSA (TAIWAN) QUESTION

JOINT DECLARATION OF ALL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AND PEOPLE' S ORGANISATIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Signed by the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Committee and by all the democratic parties and people's organisations, a declaration on Formosa (Taiwan) was published on August 22, 1954 from which we give the following extracts:

'To safeguard the security and territorial integrity of the motherland and the peace of Asia and the world, the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. Taiwan is an inseperable part of Chinese territory. Its occupation by the United States cannot be tolerated; and it is equally intolerable to have it placed under United Nations trusteeship. To liberate Taiwan and to eliminate the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek group is an exercise of China's sovereignty. It is China's own internal affair, and we will brook no interference by any foreign countries. If any foreign aggressors dare to prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan, they thereby interfere in China's internal affairs, infringe on China's sovereignty and violate her territorial integrity; they must therefore take all the grave consequences of such aggressive action.'

#

SPECIAL POWERS GRANTED TO PRESIDENT EISENHOWER FOR MILITARY INTERVENTION

President Eisenhower sent a message to Congress on January 24, 1955 asking for the power to intervene if necessary by means of American armed forces in the Formosa (Taiwan) region and in the straits. (For the text of the President's message, see the previous issue of Documentary Material.)

The powers asked for were granted by the House of Representatives on January 25, and by the Senate on January 29.

The first effects of this grant of special powers was the large-scale movement of sea and air forces for the 'evacuation' of the Tachen islands. This American intervention is considered by the government of the People's Republic of China and by other governments as an act of open aggression against People's China.

#

THE VIEW OF MR. ATTLEE

Commenting on the question of Formosa (Taiwan) in the House of Commons on January 26, the leader of the Labour Party said:

'It is, of course, clear that in this matter of Formosa and the islands there is an intervention in a civil war. It is clearly an action by the United States, and not an action of the United Nations. But in view of the need for preventing hostilities and trying to get some peaceful arrangement, is it not clear that the right thing would be that China should occupy her proper position

in the United Nations?'

A few days afterwards, on January 31, Mr. Attlee developed his views in an article in the Daily Herald:

'The Labour Party starts from the broad proposition that Formosa was recognised by the Allied Powers after the war as an integral part of China.

'It is clear that the Peking Government won the civil war against Chiang Kai-shek. It would then have occupied Formosa but for the intervention of the United States Fleet.

'The American action, taken at the same time as the United Nations action in Korea (in 1950), had nothing to do with the United Nations, but was dictated by the American policy of security.

'Since that time, the forces of Chiang Kai-shek have constantly attacked the Chinese mainland.

'But it seems to me quite unreasonable that, under the shelter of American forces, the Chiang Party should be able to carry on a civil war...

'It is, of course, obvious, as we have urged so often, that occupation of a seat on the Security Council of the United Nations should be given to the People's Republic of China.

'As long as that seat is occupied by the puppet Government of Chiang Kai-shek, negotitaions are bound to be difficult.'

#

THE NATURE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL'S INVITATION TO THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

On February 1, the New Zealand delegate presented a proposal for the Security Council agenda dealing with the military operations in the area of certain islands near the Chinese coast and stating that a representative of Chiank Kai-Shek should be present to discuss this question.

The Soviet delegate, Mr. Sobolev, also presented a resolution inviting representatives of the government of the People's Republic of China to take part in the discussion on the question: 'In connection with the agressive acts of the United States of America against the People's Republic of China in the area of Taiwan and other Chinese islands.'

This proposal stated that the Kuomintang representative should be excluded from the Security Council meeting.

The members of the Security Council decided by a majority vote to place these two proposals on the agenda, but to give priority to the New Zealand proposal. Thus the invitation to the People's Republic of China was in fact formulated on the basis of the New Zealand proposal. And the New Zealand proposal took no account of the real responsibilities for a situation created by foreign intervention in a question which the government of the People's Republic of China considers to be of a strictly internal nature.

#

MR. MOLOTOV'S STATEMENT TO THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR

The Soviet Foreign Minister received Sir William Hayter, British Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., on January 28, 1955. On being informed of the move made by New Zealand, Mr. Molotov replied:

'As regards the statement of the British Ambassador, as well as Sir Anthony Eden's recent statement in the House of Commons, the question has been completely circumvented of the real reasons of tension in the area of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the national territory of China, as has already been pointed out in Cairo and the Potsdam declarations signed also by the Governments of Britain and the United States.

'At the same time it is perfectly clear that these causes reside in the gross interference of the United States in the internal affairs of China, the endeavour to separate Taiwan from China.

'The aforementioned actions of the United States represent aggression against the Chinese People's Republic which has every right to Taiwan and the Pescadores.

'On the other hand, the actions of the United States, and the Chiang Kai-shek clique which is being encouraged by it, lead to an intensification of international tension in the Far East and are full of menace of a new war.

'If the United States were to stop its aggressive actions in the area of Taiwan, this would facilitate the easing of international tension.'

At the same time Mr. Molotov drew the attention of the British Ambassador to the fact that if Britain were not supporting the United States in her aggressive actions in this area the United States would not have decided to undertake such actions.

In conclusion, Mr. Molotov told Sir William Hayter that the statement made by the Ambassador would be considered by the Soviet Government.

#

Mr. Chou En-lai's reply to the invitation from the United Nations' Secretary General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold

(extracts)

'The United States aggression against China's territory of Taiwan has all along been the source of tension in the Far East. Recently, after it concluded the so-called "Mutual Security Treaty" with the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek, clique, the United States dispatched additional large units of naval and air forces to the area of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and openly made war threats and war provocations against the Chinese people in preparation for an extension of aggression against China, thereby further aggravating the tension in the Far East. In order to ease the tension in the Far East, eliminate the threat to the security of China, and put an end to the United States aggression, the

Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports the resolution submitted by the representative of the Soviet Union in the United Nations Security Council concerning the "acts of aggression by the United States of America against the People's Republic of China in the area of Taiwan and other islands of China."

'Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and other coastal islands are all inalienable parts of China's territory. The Chinese people's exercise of their own sover reign rights in liberating their own territory is entirely a matter of China's internal affairs and has never caused international tension, nor can it threaten international peace and security. But the representative of New Zealand proposed that the United Nations Security Council consider the "hostilities in the area of certain islands off the coast of the mainland of China" between the People's Republic of China and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique. This is obviously to intervene in China's internal affairs and to cover up the acts of aggression by the United States against China, and is therefore in direct violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter.

'What is especially intolerable is the fact that the People's Republic of China, representing the 600 million Chinese people, is up to now still deprived of its legitimate position and rights in the United Nations, while the representatives of a small handful of remnants of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique, repudiated long ago by the Chinese people, continue to usurp the position of representing China in the United Nations. Such an extremely unjustified situation makes it impossible for the representative of the People's Republic of China to take part in discussions of questions concerning China in the United Nations.

'Therefore, the Government of the People's Republic of China cannot send a representative to take part in the discussion of the New Zealand proposal in response to the invitation of the United Nations Security Council.

'The Government of the People's Republic of China holds that only for the purpose of discussing the resolution of the Soviet Union and only when the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique has been driven out from the Security Council and the representative of the People's Republic of China is to attend in the name of China, can the People's Republic of China agree to send a representative to take part in the discussions of the Security Council.

'All genuine international efforts to ease and to eliminate the tension created by the United States in this area and in other areas of the Far East will receive the support of the People's Republic of China.'

(New China News Agency, 4.2.1955)

#

An explanation by Sir Anthony Eden on the status of Formosa (Taiwan)

In the House of Commons on February 4, Sir Anthony Eden gave the following reply to a written question from Mr. Shinwell (Labour):

'Formosa and the Pescadores were ceded to Japan by China in the Shimino-seki Treaty of 1895. In the Cairo Declaration of November, 1943, the allies stated that it was their purpose "that all the territories which Japan has stolen from the Chinese such as .... Formosa and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China ...." This declaration was a statement of intention that Formosa should be retroceded to China after the war. This retrocession has in fact never taken place because of the difficulties arising from the existence of two entities claiming to represent China, and the difference among the Powers as to the status of these entities.

'The Potsdam Declaration of July, 1945, laid down as one of the conditions for the Japanese peace that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. In September, 1945, the administration of Formosa was taken over from the Japanese by Chinese forces at the direction of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers; but this was not a cession, nor did it in itself involve any change of sovereignty. The arrangements made with Chiang Kai-shek put him there on a basis of military occupation pending further arrangements, and did not of themselves constitute the territory Chinese.'

(The Times ,5.2.1955)

#

The interview given by Mr. Khrushchev to the American journalists W.R. Hearst, Kingsbury Smith and F. Connif

Mr. Khrushchev, in the course of an interview he gave recently to the three American journalists, made the following observations on the question of Formosa (Taiwan):

'The declaration that Taiwan and the other Chinese islands were non-Chinese territory was at variance with existing international agreements and historical facts. This could not be called anything but perfidy. Could China really recognise that the United States had the right to claim Taiwan or could she agree that Taiwan was necessary to secure the defence of the United States? If one considered the distance between the Chinese mainland and Taiwan on the one hand, and between the United States and Taiwan on the other, it would become clear that no comparison was possible. In his opinion the current actions of the United States in the area of Taiwan were a disgrace to the American people. No sensible people, irrespective of their political views, would ever justify a conflict caused by the policy of the United States. As for future developments in that area, they would depend on the United States itself. Could China really recognise that the United States or its puppet, the scoundrel Chiang Kai-shek, had the right to Taiwan?...

'The Soviet people were shocked by the actions of the U.S. Government. They had known and respected Eisenhower as their partner in the war against Hitler. They failed to understand the United States policy on the question of Taiwan and felt that the American people themselves hardly understood this policy. The United States was carrying on unprecedented activity in the Far East and artificially complicating the situation, evidently under the influence of the most reactionary elements.

'If America showed common sense in this question, it would be possible, with the participation of other countries interested in the preservation of peace, to prevent a conflict in the Far East.'

(Pravda, 11.2.1955)

#

TWO STATEMENTS BY MR. FOSTER DULLES

Speaking on February 7, 1955 at the meeting of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Mr. Foster Dulles said:

'To summarise, what the treaty would accomplish is this:

'It would give the Chinese Communists notice, beyond any possibility of misinterpretation, that the United States would regard an armed attack directed against Taiwan and the Pescadores as a danger to its own peace and safety and would act to meet the danger - such action to be in accordance with our Constitutional processes.

'It would provide firm reassurance to the Republic of China and to the world that Taiwan and the Pescadores are not a subject for barter as part of some Far Eastern "deal" with the Chinese Communists.

'Taken in conjonction with the treaties which have already been concluded by the United States... this treaty rounds out the Western Pacific security system.

'It would be theoretically preferable if that round-out were accomplished by a multilateral regional pact. This may come as a future development. However, that is not practical at the present time, and in the meantime we need to act within the limits of the practical.

'After the treaty was signed, there took place an exchange of notes, dated Dec.10, 1954, between the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs and myself. These were designed to insure that our two Governments will act in harmony and concert in relation to the present troubled state of affairs in that area. It was agreed that offensive military operations by either party from the territories held by the Republic of China would be undertaken only as a matter of joint understanding, because unilateral action of an offensive character by one party might throw heavy burdens upon the other party. Therefore, neither will act in disregard of the other.

(New York Times, 8.2.1955)

#

Mr. Foster Dulles made a speech to the Foreign Policy Association on February 16, in which he made the position of his government even clearer. We give the following extracts:

'It has been suggested that Nationalist China should go further and surrender to the Chinese Communists the coastal positions which the Communists need to

stage their announced attack on Formosa.

'It is doubtful that this would serve either the cause of peace or the cause of freedom.

'The Chinese Communists have been the initiators of violence in this area. They have already formally declared their intention to take Formosa by force. If the Chinese Nationalists now oblige by making it easier for the Chinese Communists to conquer Formosa, will they be less apt to do so? I doubt it.

'The United States has no commitment and no purpose to defend the coastal positions as such. The basic purpose is to assure that Formosa and the Pescadores will not be forcibly taken over by the Chinese Communists.'.

'We sincerely hope that this decision (to reject the Security Council's invitation, Ed.) of the Chinese Communists is not irrevocable and that they will abide by the principles of the United Nations rather than challenge by force the defensive obligations of this country. In any event, we believe that their attitude toward the United Nations Security Council has not ended the responsibility of that body which, by the Charter, has the "primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security."."

'If the non-Communist Asians ever come to feel that their Western allies are disposed to retreat whenever Communism threatens the peace, then the entire area could quickly become indefensible.'

(New York Herald Tribune, 17.2.1955)

#

THE OPINION OF THE SOVIET PRIME MINISTER, MR. BULGANIN

In his speech to the Supreme Soviet on February 9, 1955, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Bulganin, said the following about the Formosa (Taiwan) question:

'In Asia too, they (the United States, Ed.) are knocking together military blocs, and are organising military provocations against the People's Republic of China and interfering in her internal affairs.

'The American Government has embarked on the dangerous course of aggravating the situation in the Taiwan area. It has been reinforcing its military, naval and air forces there, and continues to pursue a policy of provoking war. Disregarding the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China and trampling international agreements underfoot, the United States has seized the Island of Taiwan - Chinese territory from time immemorial - and has made it a hotbed of war provocation in the Far East.

'The stand taken by the United Nations Organisation in this matter is astonishing. To this day it has not condemned the aggressive actions of the United States against China, has not demanded of the United States the immediate withdrawal of its armed forces from Taiwan, and the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

'The policy of the Chinese Government in this matter has our full approval and support. The People's Republic of China enjoys the sympathy of the Soviet peoples and of all progressive mankind, because it is waging a struggle for a just cause, for the honour and independence of its country. In this noble cause the Chinese people can count on the help of their true friend - the great Soviet people.'

(Isvestia, 10.2.1955)

A TEN-POWER CONFERENCE PROPOSED BY THE U.S.S.R

On February 4, the Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Molotov made a statement on behalf of the Soviet Government to the British ambassador, Sir William Hayter, in which he recalled the reasons which made it impossible to discuss the question of Formosa (Taiwan) in the Security Council and went on to put the following proposal:

'Aiming at the consolidation of peace and reducing international tension in the Far East, the Soviet Government considers that under the circumstances it would be expedient to try to explore other ways facilitating a settlement of the question concerning the situation in the above area.

'In the opinion of the Soviet Government it would be expedient if the countries particularly interested in normalising the situation that has arisen in the area of Taiwan and other Chinese islands would discuss this matter at a conference,

'Besides the People's Republic of China and the United States, Britain, the U.S.S.R., France, India, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and Ceylon could take part in such a conference.

'The initiative in this matter could, in our opinion, be taken by Britain, the Soviet Union and India, if the Government of Britain and the Government of India agree to this step.

'Such an initiative would accord with the wishes expressed by Mr. Eden concerning the need for joint efforts by Britain and the U.S.S.R. to solve outstanding international problems.

'As regards the time and venue of the conference the Soviet Government holds that the conference could be convened in Shanghai or New Delhi in February this year.

'The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the Government of Great Britain will examine these considerations of the Soviet Government and give its opinion.'

(Tass, 13.2.1955)

#

On the same day Mr. Molotov handed a similar statement to Mr. P. Kaul, the Indian chargé d'affaires.

#

Statement by the British Foreign Minister on the Soviet Proposal for a Ten-Power Conference

The Foreign Office issued the following statement on February 13, as a comment on the Soviet proposal:

'Her Majesty's Government have received from the Soviet Government a proposal for the summoning of a conference to consider the situation that has arisen in the area of Formosa and the islands off the coast of China. H.M. Government have given the proposal serious examination. It was discussed with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London, and the United States Government were informed. Pending further exploration of the proposal, H.M. Government made certain observations to the Soviet Government.

'Their first comment related to the composition of the conference which, as

proposed by Mr.Molotov, does not appear to be representative. In particular, they note that the Chinese Nationalist authorities in Formosa are to be excluded. Her Majesty's Government are convinced that a conference that did not include both of the two parties most directly concerned could not have a useful result. Their second comment was that the position of the United Nations should not be overlooked. In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, it is desirable that any meeting for the discussion of the situation in the area of the coastal islands and Formosa should be organised in a form acceptable to the United Nations.'

(The Times, 14.2.1955)

MR. NEHRU'S POSITION

Before leaving London to return to India, Mr.Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister, commented on the Soviet proposal for a Ten-Power conference on Formosa. Concerning India's attitude to the proposal he said:

'Certainly we have not rejected it. It was addressed to us, too.'

'We have pointed out that while the conference is desirable and will have to be held some time or other, it requires a great deal of preparation beforehand, and if I may say so, informal approaches before the formal conference is held...'

Asked for his comments on the world situation, he said:

'I think I am on the whole more hopeful. The main reason for this hope is the success of the Geneva Conference last year.

'I think we should be able to find some way out of the present difficulties in the Far East.'

He spoke in a similar vein to journalists at Orly aerodrome near Paris, saying that the proposal was a good one which should be taken up.

At Cairo, where he met the Egyptian Prime Minister, Col. Nasser, he made these observations:

'Nonrecognition of Communist China by the United Nations and "other nations" was blinking at the "patent fact" that China has a strong and stable government controlling hundreds of millions of human beings, the Indian leader said. This policy makes it difficult to settle Asian problems around a conference table as they ultimately must be settled, he added.'

(New York Times, 17.2.1955)

A Statement by the President of the Indian Republic, Mr.Rajendra Prasad

'President Rajendra Prasad opened the budget session of the Indian Parliament with a warning that "the threat of war again darkens the future of humanity."

'The President pointed to the Formosa crisis as "the most serious of the present moment" which he said he hoped would "be solved peacefully and by negotiation."

'"My Government recognises only one government of China and considers that the claims (on Formosa) of this republic are justified," he said.'

(New York Herald Tribune, February 22, 1955)

II

PRESS REACTIONS

The question of Formosa occupies a prominent place in the news and comments appearing in the international press.

We are limiting ourselves here to giving only a few comments taken from the press of the countries which are most involved in this question at the present time.

Comments by the People's Daily (Peking)

Referring to the various moves which had been made, and in the first place to that of the New Zealand delegate at the United Nations, the People's Daily wrote on January 29:

'For the Chinese people a cease-fire would mean that it must submit to the United States' threats to war, tolerate the division of China by the United States and allow the United States to draw its lines of defence across Chinese territory by using it as a military base and as a springboard for extending its aggression against China and unleashing a new war.

'Neither the United Nations nor any country has any right to interfere in the question of the liberation of Formosa which is essentially within China's internal jurisdiction. The liberation of Chinese territory, Taiwan included, by the Chinese people derives from the exercise of its sovereign rights. So long as there is no armed interference from outside, no international tension will ever result.'

On February 5, i.e. after Chou En-Lai's reply to the UNO Secretary-General, the same paper wrote:

'The Soviet proposal is genuinely aimed at eliminating tension and the war menace created by the United States in the Taiwan area whereas the New Zealand proposal is obviously for the purpose of intervening in China's internal affairs and violating the U.N. Charter.

'The Chinese people, in exercising their sovereign rights and liberating their territory, which is a domestic affair, never has created and never could create international tension. The tense situation in the Taiwan area results from the United States seizure of Taiwan and interference in China's domestic affairs.

'At the latest Security Council meeting, however, the proposal of the delegate of the Soviet Union to drive out the representative of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique was again rejected. The Chinese people will not tolerate this. The United Nations Security Council must drive out the representative of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique, which has been repudiated by the Chinese people, and have the reprsentative of the Government of the People's Republic of China speak on behalf of China in the discussions concerning the Soviet proposal. Only thus can the discussions of the Security Council be conducive to the easing of tension in the Taiwan area. This is the firm, just stand of the Chinese people.

It is fully in accord with the desires of all peace-loving people and those who sincerely wish the relaxation of Far Eastern tension.

'In line with their consistent stand to work for the relaxation of Far Eastern tension, the Chinese people will support all genuine international efforts to ease and eliminate the tension created by the United States in the Taiwan area and in other areas in the Far East.'

Walter Lippman in the New York Herald Tribune

On February 8, 1955 the New York Herald Tribune published an article by the well-known columnist Walter Lippman. This article gives the position of certain sections of American opinion and does perhaps constitute the index of the contradictions existing between different circles in America. We give here two short extracts from this article as follows:

'On the one hand, there is the decision not to support an attempt by Chiang to return to the mainland. This decision carries with it the unavoidable conclusion that Chiang's government in Formosa is not the government of China, and that it is not entitled to the Chinese seat in the United Nations.

'On the other hand, there is the desire to keep Formosa out of Red Chinese control, and the assumption that the only way to do this is by supporting the Chinese government in Formosa.

'Chou En-Lai's hopes are based on the belief that the Chinese in Formosa can be induced to come over to his side. We are not sure that they cannot be induced to do that. It is not a comfortable situation and that is why everyone who is serious about this business feels that he is standing on very uncertain ground.

'We have staked a lot on the reliability of Chiang's regime. Yet in deciding, as our own vital interests require, against supporting his return to the mainland, we have done what is most likely to sow fatal doubts within his regime. To offset these doubts, to preserve the morale of the Chinese of Formosa, we have felt compelled to become entangled in the Chinese civil war on the offshore islands. So we find ourselves unable to draw a clear line or to take an intelligible position that can command the support of world opinion.'

Comment in the British Press

A leading British weekly, the New Statesman and Nation, in its editorial of February 5, thus defines the responsibility for the situation which has been created in the Far East:

'The British people is convinced - and in our view rightly convinced - that the main responsibility for the Formosa crisis lies in Washington, not in Peking. If the Seventh Fleet becomes involved in hostilities, no one will be able to persuade the average Englishman that the U.S. has not brought this on itself by its blindness and folly in intervening in the Chinese civil war and seeking to reverse the Asian revolution. Maybe Mr.Eisenhower and Mr.Dulles now see the folly of the "liberation" policy which they trumpeted so loudly when they first took office. Maybe they regret their decision, two years ago, to reverse Mr.Truman's policy and actively assist Chiang Kai-shek in his subversive operations on the Chinese mainland. It is even possible that the whole of this aggressive American strategy was a piece of irresponsible bluff, undertaken not with any serious hope of restoring Chiang to power but merely in order to appease the China Lobby, and that

the purpose of the present diplomatic and naval manoeuvres is to provide a smoke-screen under which Chiang's forces can be withdrawn to Formosa and confined there.

As for the British daily press, the Times makes this comment on Mr.Dulles' speech of February 16:

'Certainly Mr. Dulles did nothing to reduce the dangers over Formosa. What is most regrettable is that he should still oppose so strongly any Chinese Nationalist withdrawals from the offshore islands opposite Formosa. As though acknowledging the doubts among America's own allies, he says that the United States does not propose to defend these islands "as such". It is hard to read any practical meaning into the qualification. As such, or not as such, the islands remain islands, the guns remain guns, and the dangers remain dangers. Mr. Dulles is chiefly concerned with the defence of Formosa, and many are with him there. But, even on the score of defence, it is surely better to put a hundred miles of sea between the two sides than leave provocative and exposed outposts on China's doorstep.'

A Pravda Editorial

On February 14, on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance, Pravda published an Editorial from which we quote the following:

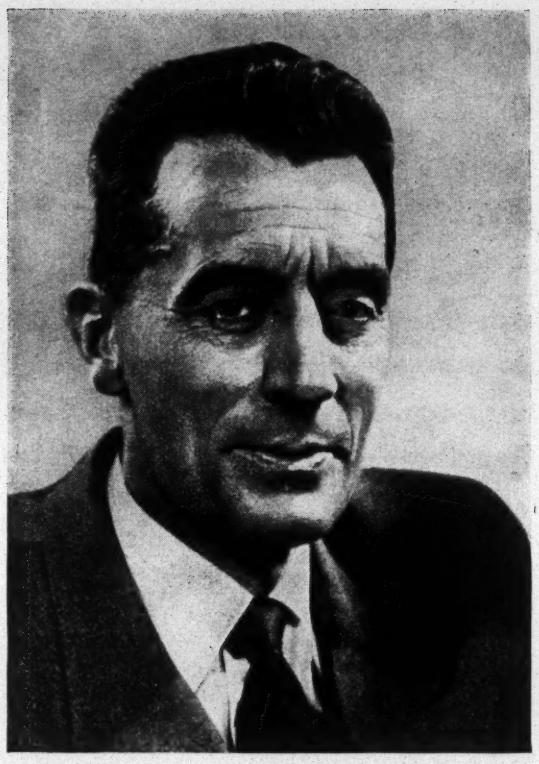
'Recently, the United States armed forces have increased their military provocations in the area of Taiwan and the other islands which they have criminally seized and which are an integral part of China. In this connection the position of the United Nations Organisation cannot but arouse amazement in that up till now it has not condemned American acts of aggression against China, nor requested the United States to withdraw its armed forces immediately from Taiwan and other Chinese islands which they have seized , nor demanded the restitution to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate rights.

'The endeavours to intimidate the Chinese people by cynical military demonstrations by the American armed forces in the area of the Taiwan Straits are doomed to complete failure. Is it possible to intimidate a people which has won its freedom after many years of bitter armed struggle, and inflicted serious defeats on the imperialists? There is nothing timid about the Chinese people; they are firm in their determination and they are fully aware of their strength. No one will ever succeed in wounding their national interests with impunity...

'The Soviet Union's position on Taiwan is clear and well-known. The Soviet Union considers that the question of Taiwan is an internal Chinese question and that the United States' acts of invasion and their threats of war are acts of aggression. The Soviet government has submitted to the Security Council for its examination the question of United States aggression against the People's Republic of China. Within the last few days it has proposed the holding of a conference of the countries particularly interested in the settlement of the situation created in the Taiwan area.

'The policy of the government of the People's Republic of China, which is defending its sovereignty and its national honour against the aggressor, arouses the sympathy of the Soviet people and of all progressive mankind.'

\# \# \#



STATEMENT

BY PROFESSOR F. JOLIOT-CURIE

PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

We still have present in our hearts the emotion we felt when the extent of the damage wreaked by the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki became known. That was in August 1945, and every year since then we have learned that the effects of the dropping of these two bombs are still coming to light. The list of victims and their sufferings is not closed.

The problem of the banning of weapons of mass destruction had already been raised in 1945, and at their meeting in Moscow in December of that year the the Foreign Ministers Mr. Bevin, Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Molotov demanded that a special committee to study this problem should be created alongside the Security Council of the United Nations.

The committee was created. Negotiations that proved difficult were entered into and pursued. New factors arose one after another: the disappearance of the atomic monopoly, the perfecting and testing of thermonuclear bombs thousands of times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb.

A further wave of anxiety arose out of the terrible consequences of the explosion in the Pacific on March 1, 1954. Fishermen who were *some hundred miles* away from the scene of the explosion were all stricken and one of them has died. The repeated warnings of scientists competent in the matter were dramatically confirmed. A new anxiety arose but hope began to revive through the apparition of certain signs of a relaxation of international tension, in relation both to the ending of wars going on and to the successful conclusion of the negotiations in the important Disarmament Commission of the United Nations.

It cannot be denied that, in the sum total of factors that succeeded in preventing the use of the atomic weapon in Asia and in bringing about a certain easing of international tension, a role of the first importance was played by the mass consultation that took place in all social circles through the launching of the Stockholm Appeal.

Everyone was asked for his opinion; all the questions were raised; all the answers given were thoroughly criticised. And the conscience of the peoples was so strongly revealed that the most responsible and powerful political leaders had to recognise the power of public opinion in the question of the use of atomic weapons.

Disarmament seemed possible; the negotiated settlement of political problems appeared over the horizon; the peoples began to hope for a stable peace and to see the promise of happiness . . . It is precisely at this moment that acts are committed which put everything back into the melting-pot; the rearmament of Germany, and the decisions of the N.A.T.O. Council on the use of nuclear weapons. As if the principle of the use of these weapons had been admitted.

Clearly, these acts, which are part and parcel of the policy of 'positions of strength', are diametrically opposed to the success of the negotiations going on in the United Nations Organisation and are a threat to peace.

As to the Atlantic Council's extremely grave decision, which implicitly admits the legalisation of the atomic weapon — if there has not yet been a strong reaction on the part of public opinion, it is because the operation has been skilfully conducted. Public opinion was 'softened up' by carefully prepared statements by military leaders and the decisions themselves were presented in a diplomatic and technical form which makes it difficult to appreciate their full consequences.

Today, when a great number of atomic weapons have been produced and when even more powerful weapons have been perfected and tested — with what tragic results — an attempt is being made to override the censure of public opinion and to lead it, by stages, to accept the possible use of tactical atomic weapons, then strategic atom bombs, and finally thermonuclear bombs. It would appear that henceforth discussion should only bear on how nuclear weapons should be used, whereas the first and only problem is the very principle of the use of these weapons.

In short, these recent decisions of the Atlantic Council are the final touch to the preparations for the unleashing of atomic war, preparations

which bear within themselves — and I am weighing my words — the possible annihilation of the human race.

The people will not thus passively allow themselves to be dragged down to cllective suicide. For that is what is involved. Once nuclear war began, it would be waged with the full range of existing weapons. Think of the deserts that are Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Think of the unfortunate victims in the Pacific *who were some hundred miles away* from the explosion on March 1, 1954. Tell yourself that nowhere will you be safe and that effective civil defence is an illusion. Understand that the nuclear bombing of any target in the world will sow immediate or delayed death even in places very far away.

The problem that is raised is not that of the level — General Staff, Minister, or meeting of Ministers, with or without veto — at which atomic war will be decided on. The problem is: will mankind accept the ruins and destruction, the death of hundreds of millions of living beings, wretchedness for the survivors and the probable birth of freaks, and even the possible annihilation of all life on our planet?

Paris, January 13, 1955

Frédéric JOLIOT-CURIE

SESSION OF THE BUREAU
OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

DECLARATION
and
APPEALS

Vienna, January 17—19, 1955

DECLARATION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

At the outset of 1955, two threats to the peace of the world have become definite: the remilitarisation of Germany and the steps taken to prepare and justify atomic war. These threats come just at the moment when new prospects of peace are opening before the peoples. It is now a matter of the acts of responsible governments, and no longer only the declarations of politicians and generals.

These acts deliberately flout the desires of the peoples concerned and world opinion.

The remilitarisation of Germany, and the obstacles placed by S.E.A.T.O. in the way of a peaceful solution of the problems of Asia, underline the exceptional gravity of the measures adopted by the Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

These measures are designed to regularise atomic war, which has been condemned by the conscience of mankind and is contrary to international law, and persuade public opinion to accept it as a necessity. They can lead to the automatic unleashing of atomic war in Asia as well as in Europe. From now on, they threaten with this peril every country on every continent.

The remilitarisation of Germany and the regularisation of atomic war are closely linked. They are the fruits of a single policy founded on the division of the world into two blocs, the drive for positions of strength and recourse to war in prosecuting international differences.

The peoples know from experience that this policy can lead only to economic chaos, poverty and war. The World Peace Movement calls upon them to appreciate the magnitude of the new dangers and to avert them by all means in their power.

The concerted action of the peoples can end the policy of blocs. It can oblige the governments to negotiate, to disarm and to use nuclear energy solely for peaceful purposes.

Mankind will not passively allow itself to be led toward the disasters of atomic war.

The problem is not to calculate at what staff or government level atomic war may be decided on, nor to draw distinctions between so-called tactical and strategic weapons. The task is to reject the destruction, oppression and suffering that it entails, to ensure to all the peoples of the world their independence and the right to develop their own wealth, and take together the path towards security and prosperity.

It is to fulfil this task that the appeal to maintain the struggle against the remilitarisation of Germany and the appeal to organise a great signature campaign to stop the use of atomic weapons have been issued.

It is to this same end that the call has been issued for a great World Assembly that, on May 22nd, 1955 in Helsinki, shall bring together representatives of all tendencies and organisations for peace.

Vienna, January 19, 1955

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF EUROPE

The peoples of Europe refuse to accept the Wehrmacht.

They oppose the revival — a bare ten years after the end of the war — of the army which brought death and destruction down upon all Europe.

They are revolted by the idea that atomic weapons should be put at the disposal of Hitler's former generals.

The peoples will never accept this crime.

The ratification of the Wehrmacht treaties is far from being achieved.

In London and Paris, when the parliaments voted on the ratification, not even one half the members supported them. The governments, like the parliaments, have been obliged openly to acknowledge the hostility of the peoples concerned. But they are resolved to override the opposition of the peoples of Europe, and in particular the growing opposition of the German people themselves.

The peoples cannot be bound by decisions adopted by parliaments against their will.

Today, the governments that signed the London and Paris agreements can no longer cover up the tragic consequences of the creation of a new Wehrmacht: the remilitarisation of Western Germany would result in the setting up of armed forces in Eastern Germany. It would speed up the arms race. It would make the peaceful reunification of Germany impossible for years to come and would prevent any possibility of the collective organisation of European security.

The World Council of Peace calls on the men and women of every country to put all their strength, all their determination and all their courage into preventing the ratification and implementation of the London and Paris agreements.

It calls on all the men and women who have been waging such a magnificent struggle against the rearmament of Germany, and on all

those also who are today becoming aware of the imminent danger which it involves, to join and multiply their efforts to oppose the revival of German militarism and to organise the security of Europe with participation of a peace-loving Germany.

Europe, supported by all the peoples of the world, will not let a new Wehrmacht be thrust upon her.

Vienna, January 19, 1955

APPEAL AGAINST THE PREPARATIONS FOR ATOMIC WAR

Today, certain governments are preparing to let loose atomic war.

They are trynig to make the peoples accept it as inevitable.

The use of atomic weapons would result in a war of extermination.

We declare that any government that lets loose atomic war will forfeit the trust of its people and find itself condemned by every people of the world.

Now and in the future, we shall oppose those who organise atomic war.

We demand the destruction of all stocks of atomic weapons wherever they may be and the immediate stopping of their manufacture.

Vienna, January 19, 1955

Eigentümer, Herausgeber und Verleger: Roland Vuillaume, Redakteur des Informationsdienstes des Sekretariats des Weltfriedensrates, Wien IV, Tilgnerstraße 4/6. — Verantwortlicher Redakteur: Max Ungar, Wien XXII, Kraygasse 48. — Druck: Globus II, Wien VI, Gumpendorferstraße 40—44.

MG 170 ORGANIZATIONS WORLD PEACE COUNCIL FRAGMENTS n.d. 12/19

Asian-African Conf.

Statement to & from Conf.

Broad Com, immediately organized

Pres. Drent (Livingston) Dr. Du Bois
Earl B. Dickerson
Bishop Alleyne
Rev. Hill
Rev B.C. Robeson
Dr Brown
Dr. Warner
Dr. Stephens
Mrs. Auborin
Rev Hughes
Elmer Benson
Rev. Jernigan
Henry Pratt Fairchild
Louise Pettibone Smith
Dr. Wells
Asherry Howard
Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune

1.) Easie to write note — asking to join Com. affairs in name of Com.
2.) Call together Work Com. to explain plans.
3.) See Miss Price — Paul
4.) Paul Landis picture — Conf for Negroes in Big League
5.) Broad Com to make facts known.

6.) Scroll to be signed by thousands

Check again on Trotter

he fell seriously sick and his state required his being moved to a hospital, but the direction of the prison refused to do it.

Here are four examples, which prove that the terror has increased. Among the imprisoned of Western Germany, there are young christians, trade unionists, sportsmen, members of the FDJ, communists, non organized people, workers, employees, that is to say, from all sections of the youth.

We are convinced, that the broadest sections of youth and the most different personalities will participate and lend their support to this work, for the release of young Germans.

We enclose some addresses in case you would consider it necessary to contact them directly.

Expecting your support, dear friends, we send our warmest greetings

For the Liaison Bureau:
O. Fischer
Secretary

For the Secretariat:
Bruno Bernini
President.

Bn/Bernini

- One enclosure

Addresses:

An die Regierung der Bundesrepublik, Bonn;

Bundesverfassungsgericht, Karlsruhe;

Präsidium des Bundestages in Bonn;

Bundespräsident Theodor Heuss, Bonn;

Bundesverwaltungsgericht, Berlin-Charlottenburg 2 Hardenbergstrasse 31.

Messages of solidarity and gifts may be sent to the following addresses:

Manfred von Brauchitsch, Untersuchungsgefängnis, München /official/; Kempfenhausen Nr.49 b. Starnberg /private/

Jupp Angenforth, Untersuchungsgefängnis Karlsruhe /official/; Düsseldorf-Holthausen Halbuschstr.104. /private/

Heinz Dunsche Untersuchungsgefängnis Essen /official/; Dortmund, Fritz-Reuter-Str.15./private/

Zauner, Straubing, Weingasse 6;/private/ Gefängnisanstalt, Straubing /official/.

This menace is in the first place directed against the Soviet Union, against whom Franco sent a "Blue Division" to his friend Hitler, but it is also directed against neighbouring peoples, such as France and Italy who are hostile to the European Defence Community. In this respect, the arrogant words of the officials of Madrid correspond exactly to the arrogant speaches of the Bonn revanchists.

The Franco regime has attempted to raise an impassable wall between Spanish youth and their brothers, but police and fascist measures cannot drown the voice of Spanish youth. There have been a thousand proofs that this new generation, like their predecessors is animated by a patriotic spirit, a love of freedom, and a determination to change their lives of misery.

The recent demonstration of Madrid students, instigated by the Francoists against the occupation of Gibraltar by the British, was transformed into a patriotic demonstration against the transformation of the whole of Spain into a Gibraltar, into an American strategic base. Defying the forces of repression, the Madrid students demanded the independence of their fatherland.

During the great number of actions which took place throughout the whole country, young people alongside their elders, demanded better living conditions, reductions in the overwhelming amounts expended on war, and police, and for an end to this regime in which enormous fortunes are amassed on the atrocious misery of the majority of the population.

Like wild animals at bay, enraged by the peoples opposition, the Franco dictatorship has intensified its terror. 32 patriots in the Ocana prison, await trial and the death sentence is demanded for several of them; executions have taken place and Lopez Raimundo who was only saved from death by a powerful campaign, remains in prison, threatened by the hangmen.

The solidarity of young people of the world is more necessary and urgent than ever before! On this 14th of April the courageous Anti-Franco youth of Spain must feel the full support of the whole world!

It is under the slogan of the broadest unity that this Day is prepared for by all the honest young people who act together against this menace to peace, this offence to democracy.

On the 4th of April a Conference will take place in Great Britain on the initiative of the Youth Committee of Aif to Spain, which has the support of many organisations and personalities, some of whom are labour councillors, and M.P.s. In France, a great wave of protest is rising against the repression of Spanish Republicans, and against the persecution of young Castagnier because he was a delegate to the Bucharest Festival.

Convinced of the necessity for co-operation of all who are against Franco, the Secretariat of the WFDY has decided to suggest to the International Union of Socialist Youth that they should join in making the 14th of April a more powerful demonstration than ever before. This example will be followed on a national and local scale, and will stimulate the unity of all young Anti-Francoists.

The unity of Spanish youth and young people of the whole world will triumph in this as in all the fields of our struggle for life and happiness!

Jacques DENIS
General Secretary of the W.F.D.Y.

Nota : d'autre part, notre président M. Joliot-Curie s'adresse personnellement, dans le même sens, à :

M. le Rév. MOULTON
M. Thomas MANN
MM. A. EINSTEIN
MORRISON
Linus PAULING
FLETCHER
Charlie CHAPLIN
Harlow SHAPLEY

STAMPE

M. Paul Robeson
23 W. 26 Street
NEW YORK (N.Y.)
(Stati Uniti)

53W125St

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

bénéfice de la condamnation conditionnelle. La nouvelle de l'injuste condamnation a provoqué une vive indignation; de fortes protestions se sont levées des fabriques de Casentino.

Cagliari. L'absurde sentence formulée par la "préture" de Cagliari à la fin du procès contre 6 partisans de la Paix qui, en janvier dernier avaient manifesté contre l'arrivée en Italie du gauleiter atlantique Eisenhower, a été arbitrairement confirmée par le tribunal. Raimondo Cocco, Giampaolo Porur, Luciano Pilato, Carlo de Agostini, Villio Atzori, Giovanni Foddai et Antonio Carrucciu, pour avoir invités le peuple de Cagliari à s'unir dans la lutte contre les criminels de guerre et pour conquérir la paix, ont eu confirmé la sentence précédente et ont été condamnés, en outre, a versé les dépenses de l'appel.

oooo

INFORMATION SERVICE
ИНФОРМАЦИОННЫЙ БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ
SERVICE D'INFORMATION
SERVICIO DE INFORMACION

FÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DE LA JEUNESSE DÉMOCRATIQUE — ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ МОЛОДЕЖИ — WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH — FEDERACION MUNDIAL DE LA JUVENTUD DEMOCRATICA

No 261. REPRODUCTION AUTHORISED December 8, 1953.

CONTENTS

AFTER THE VIENNA SESSION OF THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL 1

Declaration of the WFDY Secretariat 1

DECEMBER 19, INTERNATIONAL DAY OF SOLIDARITY WITH THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AN END TO THE COLONIAL WARFARE IN VIETNAM 1

The National Bureau of the Union of Republican Youth of France to the National Bureau of the Socialist Youth 2

MESSAGE FROM THE KOREAN YOUTH TO THE WFDY ON THE OCCASION OF ITS EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY 2

THE POPULARISATION OF THE IIIrd CONGRESS AND THE IVth FESTIVAL CONTINUES 2

Young Spaniards in Argentina Popularise the Congress and the Festival 2
Reports on the Festival and the Congress in India 3
High Level Activities of the Italian Socialist Youth Since the Festival 3
Popularisation of the Festival in Australia 3

NEWS AROUND THE WORLD 3

A Declaration of the Antifascist Committee of the Soviet Youth 3
A Conference of Young Miners in Great Britain 4
The National Union of Great Britain's Students Decides Not to Break Off Relations with the International Union of Students 4
Solidarity with Cuban Youth 4
Indian Students Defend Their Academical Rights 5
Columbia 5

NEWS OF THE LAST MINUTE:

An Appeal of the Rural Youth to the Youth of the World for an International Meeting of Rural Youth 5

ADRESSE: BENCZUR-UTCA 34. BUDAPEST — ADRESSE TELEGRAPHIQUE: DIVSZ BUDAPEST